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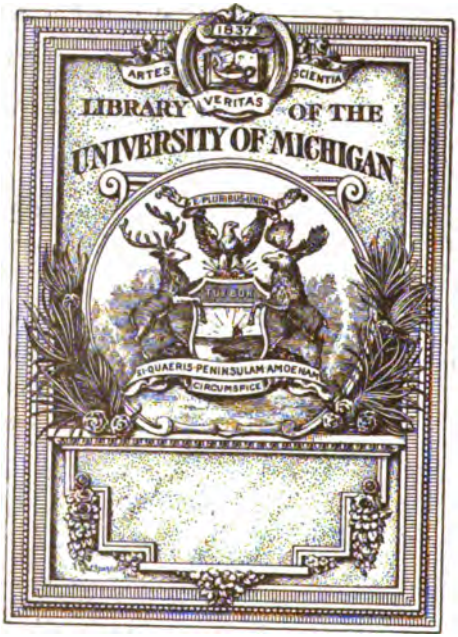
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME LIX.—1877.

JANUARY NUMBER.

PAGE

LANGUAGE AND HISTORY 5
DAVID H. WHEELER, Editor "Methodist," New York.

RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN, [SECOND ARTICLE] 29
EDMUND ANDREWS, M.D., Chicago, Ill.

THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE AT CHAUTAUQUA 57
Prof. WILLIAM WELLS, LL.D., Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM AS PATRONS OF CHRISTIAN ART 79
Prof. C. W. BENNETT, Syracuse University.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND THE NEGRO RACE 100
Prof. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Liberia, Africa.

THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS AND MODERN GENESIS 127
Rev. S. PARSONS, M.A., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES 157

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 167

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 171

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE 178

APRIL NUMBER.

LORD MACAULAY 197
Rev. ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., Switzerland.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW ON "THE RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN." 225
JAMES C. SOUTHALL, Richmond, Virginia.

REV. WILLIAM TAYLOR AND INDIA MISSIONS 251
Rev. J. T. GRACEY, Penfield, N. Y.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN METHODISM CONTRASTED 276
Rev. R. W. HORSFIELD, Auburn, Kansas.

HUXLEY AND EVOLUTION 289
Prof. WINCHELL, Syracuse University.

THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE OF THE CHINESE 305
Rev. R. H. MACLAY, Foochow, China.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR 321
Rev. ENOCH POND, D.D., Bangor, Maine.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES 334

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 353

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 356

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE 357

JULY NUMBER.

PAGE

POPE'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY..... 389
Rev. JOHN MILEY, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S INDIAN POLICY..... 409
S. G. ARNOLD, Esq., Washington, D. C.

MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL..... 430
Mrs. MARY STEVENS ROBINSON, New York.

LIBERIA AT THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL..... 448
EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Principal of the (Archibald) Alexander High School, Liberia.

THE FREEDMEN..... 462
Rev. THOMAS H. PEARNE, D.D., Dayton, Ohio.

METHODISM IN THE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES..... 481
Rev. JOHN ATKINSON, A.M., Chicago, Ill.

HOLINESS..... 505
Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., Macon, Georgia.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 523

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 542

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 544

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 547

OCTOBER NUMBER.

THE ATONEMENT, IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE MORAL UNIVERSE. 581
J. H. DAWSON, Esq., Norfolk, Va.

THE WORDS ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH IN GENESIS..... 610
Rev. WILLIAM AIKMAN, D.D., Aurora, N. Y.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTES OF INDIA..... 626
Prof. G. THEOR. DIPPOLD, Boston University.

THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD: ITS ORIGIN..... 644
Rev. W. B. SLAUGHTER, D.D., Lincoln, Nebraska.

THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE..... 667
Prof. HEMENWAY, North-western University, Evanston, Ill.

SCHOEBERLEIN ON THE RESURRECTION BODY..... 679
Prof. LACROIX, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 708

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 729

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 732

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 734

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1877.

ART. I.—LANGUAGE AND HISTORY.

THE new science of Linguistics has been, like every other, forcibly impressed into the service of skepticism. Its parents and best friends declare that this is not a voluntary enlistment, and they demand its release from an enforced service. The moment is a favorable one for setting forth some of the reasons why language is not a lantern to search obscure regions of history, or a witness to an immeasurable length of human development, or even a safe instructor in the growth of human ideas. The moment is favorable, because the philosophy of human progress is once more in the foreground, after having been for some years overshadowed by physical science. We once more definitely recognize the necessity of reasoning together. A few bald physical facts no longer assume to set aside logic and render philosophy contemptible. Many who were recently bewildered by the unexpected phosphorescence of bogs that had long lain in darkness, perceive once more that the sun is still the light of the earth and lord of our skies. The facts of development, whatever they may be, must be lightened upon out of the understanding, and their value estimated by the processes of human logic. The significance of a fact is to be gathered by a painfully minute attention to all its surroundings, and by a more laborious study of its relations to the whole world of knowledge and the entire government of the reason. We cannot declare that evolution lies in the vast abyss opened under

us by theorists on the testimony of rocks alone—making their supposed *ipse dixit* final. There are laws of interpretation, comparison, evidence. The very language of nature requires an interpreter. And every utterance must be analyzed, correlated with other sayings, and used, when sifted of all doubts, with the caution and discretion essential to all sound inference.

No new and royal road to truth has been opened by scientific discoveries. We must use our judgments, compare our knowledge, and, at last, we must *philosophize* upon it. New facts *may* confute old philosophies, but it must be in fair battle. Victory cannot be gained by marching off in the opposite direction, or by a flanking march. The camp of philosophy must be captured, for its equipments and its camping-grounds are necessary to the hostile forces. These general truths are more fully appreciated than they were a few years ago. The sober second thought is *regnant.* Agassiz gave evolution five years in which to run its course. Are we witnessing at the end of two of those years the first flagging of that spirited racer?

The time to examine the ground upon which we stand has come, and language must be asked for its exact testimony concerning the history of man on the earth. The purpose of the present article is to strip that testimony of three false interpretations. It is unfairly used to teach that *man has been for a very long time upon the earth;* that *it is itself older than recorded time;* that *it is an authority for the history of venerable ideas*—ideas so old as to have no date in history. The last false interpretation is more important than it seems, and the too hasty acceptance of it by some scholars may cause great mischief. Language, like other human faculties and arts, had a foundation in our original endowments, an elaboration in practice and experience, and has been the subject of a wide range of modifications. Its beginnings are nowhere recorded except in Genesis; its early growths are more completely lost than any others that have sprung out of the nature of man. Its present (and recent) condition, varieties, and laws of change, are our best field for its study, and we have not gone over a hundredth part of this. Speech habits in the historical period are imperfect guides in the unknown times when men first spoke. Admitting that they began as our children do, this will not help us to understand their learning to talk without an

older generation to teach them. There are growths, such as the demonstrative roots, which have no analogies in historical experience; we cannot compare the process of their development with our own changes of words. Terms that have kept for a long time a common base of signification in widely-branched classes of tongues shed no light on the growth of ideas; for the secondary meanings, not the primary, need to be one, (for the argument,) and the survival of the original base makes it unsafe to reason that the secondary sense has been in use at any particular unknown time. The root *pu* (pure, purge) has to this day a higher and a lower sense; we dare not infer the higher sense merely from the wide diffusion of the root. Language is, as a growth, a child of the intellect, not of the lip.* There is abundant proof, to be sure, that lip-change (unnoticed by the ear) has led to intellectual change, and *vice versa;* but we must seek in mental processes for the evolution of every thing that dignifies speech. An optative mood is not a matter of articulation; a mental process comes to permanence by seizing upon an articulation for a house; but the process must have gone on, and the process must continue to go on. There is, then, a study of intricate mental processes, rather than of mouthfuls of vocalized air, at the bottom of every linguistic investigation. How old is language? means, How old is the human intellect? If we had any certain means of determining at what age, or in what necessities, or by what stimulations of desire, man's intellect accomplishes any great step forward, we might use it in language; we have no such time-rate or thought-gauge. We must be content in this field to take all the helps from without, to adjust the knowledge we obtain about speech as well as we can to the generally received chronologies and systems of philosophy. Language is a servant and a minister—a most useful one, but still a servant. Language has no ascertainable chronology of itself, much less of man and his other institutions. These thoughts will be explained more fully in the following pages.

I. Does language assert a high antiquity for human history?

The most instructive aspect of this question is presented in

* "No language is a *mere* collection of words; and Locke, in all that he has written about *words*, has offered no proof that any system of *syntax* is ultimately due to sensible ideas."—*Farrar: Origin of Language*, p. 162.

the institutional character of language. It is a human habit, a custom, an institution. We may waive all questions concerning the origin of language; however they may have begun to talk, historical men have been talkers; and their speech, so far as it can be traced backward, has always been subject to the general conditions that surround habits. Among these conditions are those of change. There is a permanent and a changeable element in man's development. In language this permanent element is that man talks;* the changeable element is that he talks differently in different times and lands. He changes his language though he does not cease to talk. In this respect, lingual habits resemble others that rise to the dignity of institutions. They rest upon a permanent base, and they rise from it in diverse and changing structures.

For example: Man is political; some form of government is essential to his social expression; but this habit or institution runs into large diversity, and is, indeed, subject to subtle variation wherever human vitality works with any freedom. So in language; the permanent base remains, the superstructure undergoes perpetual change. The relations of the sexes furnish another example. The institution of marriage has its base in sex difference; its vast range of diversity, and its subtle and complex changefulness, are due to the power of man over his habits. Manifestly the base or permanent element is worth nothing for historical research. Its definition, as unchanging, imports that it is useless as a key to change, or an explanation of a mutable order of things. And in history we are concerned with what changes. Something happens to a people. We shall not explain it by saying that they have a speech, were addicted to government, and were of two sexes. But if we know that their government was a monarchy, their speech Aryan, their marriage Monogamic, we may be a little helped to understand the change. As a rule, however, the inferences we base on such an amount of information concerning institutions want trustworthiness. Modern historical

* The people who do not talk always turn out to be talkers. The last time it was publicly stated that the Veddahs of Ceylon have no language, Max Müller had the matter investigated. It turned out, as it has always done in other cases, that there was plenty of language, and very good language, too; "Many of the words are mere corruptions of Sanskrit."—*Chips*, vol. iv, p. 342.

writing has sought to give value to its work by penetrating far more deeply into the changeful side of institutions. How bald the old generalizations—"Sparta was a kingdom and Athens a republic"—compared with the minute description of the mechanism of these governments furnished us by modern histories! When we deal with institutions as parts of a national life, we need to know them somewhat intimately before we make them the grounds of inferences, the explanations of political changes; and, as a rule, the more nearly our knowledge approaches completeness the more useful it becomes; nay, it is possible that the last day's work may upset all the reasonings of former study.*

If we consider the changeful character of language, we shall find abundant reason for desiring minute information before we build a house of inference upon it. The story of the science of language is full of false inferences, set up one day to be pulled down the next. Some of these failures are the fruits of stupendous egotism in the self-conceited authors of them;† but many more were very sincere guesses at truth, fortified by a deal of misplaced learning. Nor have we a right to reason that here and now the danger of error has been removed. Our knowledge, as we shall presently show, wants as signally as ever the minuteness that will warrant sound inference.

The incompleteness of a linguistic test of historical facts is somewhat greater than that arising from the use of other institutions in the same way. Marriage has been cast into a few simple molds, and has always indicated, with some definiteness, a few other social habits. Government is commonly of such a public and ostentatious character that some of its lines surviving are the first signs of national wreck. Religion tends to more stability, even in the variable factors, than any other

* The theory that language is an institution should be credited to Prof. Whitney. Prof. Max Müller makes faces at it, but gives no sound reason for rejecting it.

† The description by Plato is still applicable to a good deal of theorizing: "I have not a bad notion which come into my head only this moment. I believe that the primeval givers of names were undoubtedly like too many of our modern philosophers, who, in their search after the nature of things, are always getting dizzy from going round and round, and moving anyhow; and this appearance, which arises out of their own internal condition, they suppose to be a reality of nature."—*Cratylus*, i, 650.

outgrowth of the mind and heart of man. But language is subtle in its changefulness, and very wide differences spring from narrow bases. About forty characters, or sounds, run into endless combinations, and the combining law may be so subtle as to require the finest discrimination for its discovery. Take a classification: Let the three forms, *New town*, *Newton*, and *Naples*, stand for a morphological classification of languages. The student's first trouble is that any civilized tongue will furnish him, as English has done, with the types by which he is to distribute them into classes.

But let us imagine ourselves testing historical statements by some other institution. Let us say that we have undertaken to unravel a tangled story of the British Kelts. It occurs to us to settle the matter of the Arthurian legends by an appeal to the governmental habits of the people. We shall be at once reminded that we do not know the details of the governmental institutions except through the legends. The general information derived from other sources is worthless for our purpose; the legends assert certain details concerning which we have no other information. We should require to know so much as to need no help from our test in order to know the test. Equally true would be the statement when applied to language. When we have so mastered our test as to be able to use it, we should no longer need it. The completeness of knowledge required implies a like completeness in our knowledge of the life of the people concerned.

It is time to remind the reader that an institution is not merely something set up—it is something grown. It is a result of vital ongoings and interflows of sap between root and branch—of reactions between men and their institutions. The heart of a people, as well as the brain of a people, takes form in the institution. But who can read it backward and spell out the fine type in which love and loyalty, inveterate hatreds and obdurate evils, write themselves into page and volume? The sublimest ongoings of human life come to record in a complexity that baffles our skill in discrimination, and makes it doubtful whether the keenest intellect with the richest furnishing has ever unraveled the making of even one human institution. Sir John Lubbock's attempt to trace the least complicated one—that one in which the permanent factor is

confessedly largest—the institution of marriage, was made with great learning and no common critical faculty. But who would stake his fortune on the soundness of the results?

We take language as a test of history, and must begin by confessing that a bald grammar and a fractional dictionary, containing a tenth, perhaps, of the whole vocabulary, are our whole lingual equipment. We do not know one word for certain of the popular speech; a few pieces of a literary or political sign-book are pretentiously styled a language, and asked to tell what dead witnesses have left unsaid. The whole business is a splendid delusion. We fancy that, because language is penetrative, subtly pervasive, common carrier for all vital functions in society, concerned, with every thing, and used, like the tub of Diogenes, for every purpose, forsooth we can learn it from a bit of lexicon, and there learn all its associated activity.

The truth is that we must know the whole of the language, and that when we know the whole of it there will be no historical questions; for in mastering the whole of the language we shall have studied every thought, custom, and emotion which it described. The amazing self-conceit that can build hypotheses of grave concernment on linguistic data appears when we recall our ignorance of the *spoken* dialects even of the Greeks and Romans. The test of language applied to the mutations of the Roman Constitution is nearly worthless because the book speech in which those changes come to record is a very imperfect display of the thoughts and conflicts, the interests and passions, which led to change. We need the popular terms in which wrath and prejudice recorded themselves. Imagine the difficulties of our political history, so short and made in such perfect sunlight, if we had not those epitomes of political life, our slang terms "Loco-foco," "Barnburner," "Silver Gray," "Kitchen Cabinet," etc. All that and all its correlatives are hopelessly dead with the dead popular speech of the whole ancient world. When now and then a poet like Aristophanes has stooped to these vulgar forms, he has enriched us not a little in suggestion; but the suggestion is always vague, and stimulative of the imagination rather than guiding to the judgment. The writer once conceived the task of writing the history of the little Republic of Genoa. He had before him the finest

extant collection of social documents in the records of the Bank of St. George. This bank combined the functions of the modern bank with those of a Custom-House, a Probate Court, and a "Safety Deposit." For centuries its books threw a clear and strong light upon the social customs and personal vicissitudes of the whole people. But a very early lesson in that magnificent presence was that lexicons were practically useless. The perfect comparison of this vast collection of records was a preliminary task—the labor of a life-time—for understanding this polyglot and dialectic tongue. And if all that had been done, there remained to lament an irretrievable loss of the figures under many a term—a sharp and terse sense had gone with the life that wrought these terms.

We only feebly comprehend, even when we distinctly think it, how new is our one speech for all the people. Most civilized peoples are dialectic to this day. Lovers at Naples and Milan woo in different tongues; the mother-tongue is different in every valley of Italy; and, in less measure, the same is true all over the old world. Even in England, the dialect vocabulary is as large as the literary. Beyond Rome and Athens we plunge into an impenetrable fog because the popular speech is utterly unknown to us. How vast must be the presumption that attempts to correct the testimony of the Scriptures by the chance-found fragments of contemporaneous speech!

How pale and cold is the image of a past life which we recover by the fullest lights of history!* When all aids have conspired, much of the liveliness of Grote's History comes from transferring the vital consciousness of Englishmen to the shores of the Ægean. We fail to catch the difference of tone, of atmosphere, and fancy that by broadening the kinship of our na-

* Of these nations, [early Semitic,] with the single exception of the Israelites, we have, properly speaking, no history. Their manners and customs, [a little,] their religion, the succession of their sovereigns, are known to us. But we have no continuous series of events; although the knowledge of them is fuller, through the investigations of the last fifty years, than in former times, yet it is still shadowy, fragmentary, mythical. They are like the figures seen in the dream of Sardanapalus, as depicted by the modern poet; here a mighty hunter, or conqueror like Nimrod, or Sesostris, or Sennacherib, there a fierce and voluptuous queen like Semiramis—yet

"All along
Of various aspects, but of one expression."

—*Dean Stanley's Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, Third Series, p. 52.

ture we may think and feel like a Spartan or a Cretan of the ancient world. It is pure conjecture, and the best history becomes entertaining historical romance. The subtle organs of its life have perished, and we are left to shrewd guesses, filled in with our own temper and desire.

No doubt, then, it may be all true that language would disclose all secrets—if we had it. But, for antiquity proper, we have scarcely a shred of that language which enshrined the molding emotions and aspirations of social existence. We can only shrewdly guess what words the people spoke in the cities of Egypt, of Babylon, or even in Jerusalem. Their *ipsissima verba* died with their generations and are hopelessly lost. Look at the vast labor of the early English Text Society over the English speech between the years 1200 and 1600, and who of us that has followed these arduous toils with most satisfaction feels any assurance that we have more than grazed the popular consciousness of medieval England? So little of what Englishmen of those centuries said has been preserved, and so much of our treasure wants the color and ring of the ancient metal, that we distrust our glossaries as a counterfeiting of the coin of the dead.

The Elamites could not have been Semitic, because some memorials from beyond the Tigris belong to the Elamites, and the language disproves the statement in Genesis. So says, in substance, a bright scholar in the British Museum. Probably he had not stopped to think of the wildness of his conjecture. 1. There is no clear proof that the original Elamites either remained in the region or emigrated from it. 2. There is no proof that they ever settled the particular city whose ruins have come to light. 3. There is no reason to believe that all the descendants of Shem continued to speak a Semitic dialect, but the contrary. 4. If an Elamite city were conquered by an Aryan tribe, the official language might become Aryan, and only that survive in records. 5. It is presumptuous to assume that the records were found *in situ*—that is, upon the ground where the history was made to which they refer. These statements are made very broad, to answer for many cases. If we have any reason to doubt the Semitic blood of the Elamites of the prophets, our doubts depend on other evidence than that of language. The language of the region in

question may have changed a dozen times between Chedorlaomer and Cyrus; and there is, probably, not the faintest evidence as to what language the people at any time spoke.* Of the State dialect, at different epochs, fragments may survive, but the more or less permanent people have left no sign.

It ought not to be necessary to record over again one caution, which, happily, we have near reminders of. We every day speak of "The Indians," preserving, against our knowledge, the error of the early discoverers of this land. An accident has given us a false name, but we go on using it because it is a small inconvenience to change. If a name can be so bald a lie in our mouths, what may it not have been in the older and less instructed world? Every ancient people was known to itself by one name, to its neighbors by another. A conquest might fasten the nickname on the people; a misconception of the name, or a translation of it, or both, might give rise to a third or fourth. Popular vanity might trace the national lineage to a false source, just as kings acquired divine descent. Blunders in names alone would confuse many a chapter of ancient history *did we depend on language for our information.*

To these observations must be added a suggestion upon a much-neglected theme. The migrations of the ancient world, especially of the earlier ages of man, are almost a sealed book. Language is absolutely worthless as a key, for several reasons:

The *status* after any given set of movements, say those which followed Babel, has, probably, been altogether changed in the next century, and successive changes have washed out the landmarks of each other. Race lines settled at last into some permanence; but the border lines, except when boldly defined by sea or mountain, remained dim and wavering. In the mutations, race and language ceased alike to be pure-blooded. Semitic blood took up Aryan speech, and *vice versa;* the races mingled more or less, and the entangled lines will never be separated and straightened by study of royal monumental literature.

* The terms *Elam* and *Elamite* in the Prophetic Books set up no claim to ethnological or linguistic accuracy. Persia is still called Persia after greater changes. But there is no difficulty in supposing that the original Semitic stock continued to dwell in the old lands, though it did not govern. Perhaps the most confusing race mixtures belong to this very region.

The facility with which people change their speech is too often overlooked. We say English without taking in the vast breadth of the term. We cannot half read Chaucer even with a dictionary. To comprehend him would require the labor of a life-time. The author usually styled Caedmon is even less comprehensible, although his scriptural themes take away nine tenths of the difficulties. An unintelligible English may be heard by taking a half-day's journey from London. The body of the North French people have, probably, spoken Keltic, German, and French within a period which is short compared with the periods of antiquity to which linguistic tests are applied. In Britain several dialects of Keltic, English, Danish, Latin, and French, with variations, making an aggregate of twenty diverse tongues, have been spoken since the time of Julius Cesar. The intercommunicating body of Englishmen spoke Danish, English, and French successively within the compass of a century and a half. The body of the Jewish people probably changed their tongue at least three times in eight centuries. Whenever we deal with long reaches of time, we are compelled to take account of this instability of speech as a cause of apparent race confusions, as a *possible* index of the change that arrests our attention. For the causes of these changes in tongue are almost always violent. As we approach the infant world, the instability of speech increases under the double action of migrations and violence—both of which act in earlier human history with vastly greater force than in our modern and properly historical period. We must know by other tests before language can render us more than hypothetical aid; intimate knowledge it cannot give us.

II. It has been fancied that language asserts for itself a high antiquity. The inquiry necessary to establish this proposition has some difficulties in common with those in other branches of knowledge that face the same question. Whenever we dispassionately consider any problem of time as related to the earth or to human development, we are menaced into diffidence by the want of a time-measure of growth. All that we have are for such small uses that it is like dipping the Atlantic dry with a pint cup to apply them. A measure of time is not a gauge of eternity; and high antiquity is only another name for what is practically eternity. A rate of deposit for mud at

the mouth of a river will be differently calculated by different men. The delta of the Mississippi has been formed in a relatively brief period, or in an eternity of time, accordingly as you credit different scientists.

But throwing out all such cases, and presuming that exact measure is possible in all such cases, how do you apply the unit of measure so obtained to the vaster problem presented by rivers that ceased to flow before man beheld them? In your measure the conditions of the problem, made up by natural selection out of a vast body of possible conditions, are all neatly outlined before your eyes. In the other case you cannot know the actual conditions that played around the event and shaped its progress. And the moment you assert for this unknown movement—of which nothing survives but its result—"a high antiquity," you definitely declare its growth to be beyond the reach of human calculation. But, whatever view be taken of this reasoning, it will remain true that time-measures are not exact enough to render effective service to any theory.

In language this defect is peculiarly striking. We know next to nothing of the conditions of early linguistic growth. What we know exactly on the subject of such growth in general, we know only from our own lingual habits, and those of our contemporaries and immediate predecessors on the earth. This knowledge is not adapted to furnish any time-measure, for the simple reason that we are not making language *ab initio*—we have it and are changing it. We cannot so much as begin an inference as to the rate of progress among men making language. If we add to our exact knowledge of contemporary change the whole body of historical learning in this science, we are still without a time-measure; for our historical knowledge terminates before we reach the original makers of speech.*

It may, perhaps, be affirmed that classification of languages

* Some hold that the power of inventing names still exists. I think the concept under the words is in confusion. When the French people said *plon plon*, they had some imitative notion under it, but it is not agreed what it was. Nonsensical combinations of sounds are not names, and imitative vocalization is not now like original name-giving—it is working a vein long since discovered, not finding gold. The *materials* of nicknames are always old. On the other side of this subject see Farrar, "Origin of Language," p. 70.

enables us to penetrate very far before the historical period. Some have thought so, and there are under classification *theories* that require a "high antiquity." The theories are, however, only hypotheses benevolently treated because they promote work. The genetic classification has called forth some of these theories. But this classification lends but little aid to those who would see far down the ancient abyss. It deals with only a small part of human tongues; it is very incomplete, and uncertainly made out over portions of its best traveled territory, and what it says about time and growth cannot well be translated until the witness has established his own personality. Make out your classification before you marshal its divisions on the plains of eternity.

Other theories are employed hypothetically to explain the perplexing problem presented by a morphological classification which assumes that Chinese is a primary stratification, Turkish a secondary, and English a tertiary. We should be helped to understand a hundred matters that drive us to despair if we only knew the time-gauge of language. How long did men speak with naked roots? How long did they combine without breaking up the separate structure of roots? Why, at the outset, these questions are balked by the fact, assumed in the hypothesis, that some people have been talking in bare roots through all the ages of man. Given as an hypothesis that modern Chinese is the infant prattle of the antique world, how long does it take a language to get into the secondary stage? Given an English language whose ancestors and congeners have been in the tertiary stage from the earliest moment in time when they are known to us, what is the time-measure for the rate of change in human speech?

The amount of time required to change *vak* into *vaks*, to develop an optative, or to form demonstrative roots, is just a shrewd guess—and probably can never be any thing more. Those processes are not now going on, or if they are, *ex-hypothesi* they are proceeding so slowly that we cannot sense the motion. We imagine that we should be greatly helped in tracing these processes of formation if we knew how fast they proceeded; and wherever such an imagination plays there will be time theories. Trying them with the other facts may stimulate observation, as scaffolds help in constructing houses;

but the scaffold will come down if the building is ever finished. Our vision is for time, not for eternity; and to assume an immense antiquity for any thing is to put its growth beyond the domain of exact knowledge. It is the fashion just now to use indefinite time as scaffolding around the temple of the new knowledge; a large number of difficult questions looked to be accessible from that staging. It had to be tried; its philosophy was left for later consideration. Various groups of investigators have tried, with more or less self-satisfaction, the eternity solution. "You cannot affirm that this might not have happened in ten billions of years." No; on that hypothesis you would negative nothing, for all your knowledge only qualifies you the better to anticipate unknown and imponderable conditions in the awful abyss opened under the given theory. But this is not science—this asserting that one or another thing might happen in a billion of years. The other assertion is equally true—you cannot know *that* it would come about as your theory makes it. There are indications that the reaction has begun. It is not a pleasant confession to make, that science is impossible—that we cannot connect our actual knowledge by verifiable general propositions; and it is beginning to be perceived that to send all growth back into the bosom of eternity is to rob us of all means of verifying it, and correctly formulating its laws.

In language enough work remains to be done with the portion of the field that all agree lies in the historical period; and most linguistic students are content to explore these fresher tracts of growth. We may yet find within them some of the treasure we cannot expect to raise from the bottomless gulf of innumerable centuries. If the truth is in that awful well we shall never find it; possibly it may be sparkling in brooks that babble past our own doors. A noticable discontent with the mystery surrounding afar-off growth is one of the most cheerful signs in linguistic writings. We retain a chance of obtaining a full round science of speech so long as this group of scholars reject hypothesis that would vail their science with despair; for when it shall be definitely admitted that every essential principle of growth pushes its roots into an indefinite past, it will be as definitely admitted that linguistic science is impossible. If plurals, optatives, and demonstrative roots are

children of eternity, we shall never know how they were born into human speech.

Every question sought to be solved by a vast antiquity has a humble fellow justly entitled to the same honors. It is said that Aryan and Semitic speech broke away from each other a very long time ago—the unity of human speech cannot be maintained, in the face of the differences in these groups, except on the hypothesis of the very high antiquity of human speech. To this it might be said that unity may not require that Aryan and Semitic speech should be branches of an older speech in such definite mode as Greek and English meet in ancient Aryan. A very early separation—early in development, though it were only five thousand years ago—would probably bequeath no permanent, more common, traits than those which exist. But passing this simple explanation, which is worth more working than it has had, compare the great fact in question with a relatively small one. Our American languages are to be furnished with congeners, and to be traced out on a time-plane. Granting that the congeners are easily found, how long a time did the development of the special characteristics of these languages consume? The question is an inviting one in many aspects; but it is started here only to suggest—if we are so disposed, we may invent eternities at pleasure as explanations of linguistic mysteries.*

There remains in this branch of our subject one important consideration. In language we are dealing with processes in the human mind. All the physical difficulties to be overcome in men are too inconsiderable to be considered. A plural or an optative requires a mental process for its development. Now, how long does it take men to reach this process and go

* Max Müller, "Chips," vol. iv, page 340, says: "Every one of these languages is the growth of thousands *and thousands* of years, [*one thousand* would suffice,] the workmanship of millions and millions of human beings. If they were now preserved they might hereafter *fill the most critical gaps in the history of the human race.* At Rome, at the time of the Scipios, hundreds of people might have written down a grammar and dictionary of the Etruscan language, of Oscan or Umbrian; but there were men then, as there are now, who shrugged their shoulders and said, 'What can be the use of preserving these barbarous, uncouth idioms?'" We make the quotation for a double purpose, to show the value of these American dialects, and to point out the way in which this scholar gets into trouble. The words we have italicised are rhetorical exaggerations; he does not believe what they teach.

through with it? One may guess; but he cannot know that men must have talked ten thousand years first. It is much more probable that it was reached soon than that it remained for ages a far-off event. How long does it take men to invent any thing? A simple theory is that it took them until, in a kind of dumb consciousness, they needed it. Ten thousand years has been assumed for the invention of a bow and arrow. The guesser had to shut off a ready retort by assuming an accelerated rate of speed for ages of invention that found steam and telegraph in a single generation. But the moment one mentions a varying rate of progress, or a principle of increasing velocities, we are at liberty to conjecture anything—especially that the rate of motion may have been swifter up to bows and arrows. In the presence of an imperious need the intellect moves more rapidly than in the languid atmosphere of satisfying abundance.* If it be the first step which costs—and in language this is greatly true—one may infer that the dumb consciousness that works in speech worked out its inventions with great rapidity. It is perfectly possible that all the chief diversities in speech were reached soon as a consequence of separations that occurred early in human time, and the infant recollection lost the common speech habits as it lost the sense of brotherhood. So, on the other hand, the great lines of resemblance were formed by more enduring association, fixing some abiding habits, in fellowship with vast ranges of variation, such as pervade the Turanian family. More permanent associations gave birth to more numerous common habits, having a less numerous company of variations, such as we witness in Aryan languages. Still closer life blossomed into those symmetrical forms which run through the Semitic group.

There is nothing in any of these hypotheses which hints at a longer human speech history than our common chronology authorizes. Some wonderful growths have unfolded into surpassing completeness in brief periods. All the modern Latin

* As we are no longer obliged to create language, we have entirely lost a crowd of processes which tended to its elaboration. But among the early races there was a delicate tact enabling them to seize on those attributes which were capable of supplying them with appellatives. . . . "They saw a thousand things at once, and, indeed, their language-creating faculty mainly consisted in a power of seizing upon relations."—*Farrar:* "*Origin of Language*," 1860, page 68. How long did it require to make a language under such a head of steam?

tongues are examples. Granted that Italian was not made by Dante, or by a preceding generation of poets, a vast development occurred in a relatively simple speech in the space of a single century. It is a barely possible hypothesis that Italian, Provençal, French, and Spanish, were ancient modes of Latin; but if this were granted for truth, it would remain true that they shot into a luxuriant growth with astonishing rapidity. It is cheerfully admitted that Neo-Latin does not help us in matters which these tongues received by inheritance; they do, however, bear witness to a considerable velocity, under a supreme necessity, in the mental machinery which manufactures linguistic inventions.

Intending to treat this problem cautiously and as fully as our space permits, we turn to a question or two involving the time-measure. The one about Aryan and Semitic divergence —a divergence so wide as to have left small traces of unity— is it not as satisfactorily explained by the theory of an early separation as by that of vast ages of growth? If these languages grew apart, they would, more probably, be totally unlike if their infant growth were apart. A hundred years, then, would efface resemblances that thousands of years would not efface after speech-habits had been formed.

The whole range of diversity, and all the questions that arise under that head, are best reserved for further study; but if we must theorize we shall do well to exhaust the theory of varying degrees of association and separation. Intricate questions may be at least helped to settlement by the fact that inhabitants of neighboring valleys of Italy cannot now understand each other, and by the fellow-fact that their speech is essentially one. In low stages of culture, and under separation, men go on speaking substantially alike, and yet are unable to master the differences in each other's speech. Put the same men under culture, under the pressure of multiplying social activities, and they will diverge more rapidly, or one speech will sink into servile relations to the other, according to the nature of their associations, whether near or remote—that of equals, or of master and servant.

In short, let it be clearly said no body of knowledge is of so little direct service to other bodies of knowledge, and none needs so much help from others as linguistics. If history could

give a clear account of human migrations, early and late; of the state of culture among the makers of dialects that died and made no sign; of the actual speech of every group of men from the first, linguistics could soon work out some of its problems. These are questions upon which it has no certain knowledge. If anthropology had reached definite conclusions about savagery and the growth of various social habits, other linguistic questions would be settled. Changeable words are unsafe guides in these wildernesses of knowledge.

III. Another class of historical inquiries, on which language is supposed to throw a calcium light, deserves to be considered. Words, we are told, reveal mental states in far-off men. Take the discussion concerning *θεος* and *deus*.* So prepossessed are a class of students with the theory that the word is the sign of the existence of the thing, that to derive these two words from different roots has been thought to assume an atheistic stage in early Greek thought. They lost their *deva*, and for some time were godless; they recovered God, and invented a new name for him. So the logic runs. It is highly probable that the apparent fact under doubt may be no fact at all—the two words may yet be helped to an understanding of their common parentage. But admitting that they are not the same word, why interpose an atheistic period between the use of *deva* and *θεος*? Both may have existed side by side, and Greek alone of the surviving Aryan dialects may have preserved one of the two. Such a poverty as the atheistic hypothesis implies seems a gratuitous assumption. But the real reason for the hypothesis lies deeper. It is, that theory which undertakes to verify ancient ideas by means of words. Often the antiquity of the word itself is questionable, oftener we know nothing of its ancient meaning, oftenest we have only unsatisfactory evidence that *the people* used the word at all. Certain roots, it may be granted, must have been widely used; other derived

* The general reader will find a long discussion of this subject in Müller's fourth volume of "Chips," Note A, page 227. He concludes, I think, the loss in Greek of the Aryan word for god, and its replacement by another word nearly identical in form, but totally distinct in origin, should be left for the present an open question in "Comparative Philology." The grammatical discussion does not touch the question of a "*loss*;" it is only as to whether *θεος* and *deus* have the same origin. I cannot see why three fourths of a question should be surrendered without argument.

forms may owe their preservation to a small fraction of a people.

Now there are just two roads by which we may find a word in ancient use. One is its preservation in different stocks. The same word in Greek and German witnesses to its use before the separation of these races. The other road is its use in literature. This last is worth nothing as a proof of popular ideas. By neither road—and this is most important—do we reach the ancient popular sense. Now take this word *deva*. It is supposed to prove theism in the Aryan race.

We must begin with remembering that the only tolerably satisfactory evidence for an Aryan race at all is that furnished by the affinities of various dialects grouped under that term.* Pure blood is the most mythical of myths. We must also distinguish between the fact that theistic conceptions have existed among Hindus, Greeks, Romans, and Germans. We know this on other evidence than that of language. We must also discriminate between the ideas of our time and those of the far-off world we are seeking to describe. The word *deva* alone, after these considerations have been weighed, does not prove very much. The admiration for the brightness of the heavens which breaks out in the word must have been mixed with other emotions before it could speak a religious dialect, and these other emotions, coming in by various channels from Jewish sources, may have merely used the nearest or handiest word for a shrine. The word itself witnesses to a time of darkness—before any thing more than the brightness of the heavens was meant by it—and some other evidence must explain how the greater glory of God came to be expressed by the term.

The root *pu* (in *purus*, *purificare*, *pure*, *purify*) has been cited as an example of the light words give us upon early ideas. *Pœna* is thought to be derived from this root, and hence an inference that before the civil ideas about ransom, the notion of a purgation, to be effected by punishment, existed in the Aryan mind, and was the soil out of which the civil conceptions sprang—that, in other words, our Aryan ancestors were religious before they had the civil institution of punish-

* Max Müller says: "It is but too easily forgotten that if we speak of Aryan and Semitic families, the ground of classification is language and language only." —"*Chips from a German Workshop*," vol. iv, p. 211.

ment. Now, we may believe these things on other and better evidence, of which there is a good deal, but the religion of the root *pu* is too small a foundation for such a house. Remembering for what different concepts we even now use the word *purge*, we may get a good hold of caution in reasoning from the most ancient *pu* to the modern religious sense of *pure*, or the most distant association in moral ideas. For is it not a most provokingly neutral root? We speak to-day of pure Alderney, pure lead, pure wine, and pure malignity; and we could easily show that the word has always required help to express religious ideas.* The early history of punishment is beset with some difficulties, and the help of a word is too readily accepted by the despairing student. We must be much wiser in both branches of knowledge—words and early primitive ideas—before the word *pœna* can be of the smallest service. Etymology is a delusion and a snare.

These examples might be multiplied indefinitely. We have not yet reached this subject in linguistic investigation. In lines where unbroken ranks of writers fill the spaces to be investigated, we might proceed with ease if we were always careful enough to question each rank as we pass up. But outside of the Hebrew people and the Bible no line of writers stretches to the flood. The mutations of words, both in form and contents, cannot be traced except painfully and uncertainly. Before we assume meanings in antiquity we must account more satisfactorily for a vast number of phonal variations. The moment a linguistic doctrine is asked to bear the load of an important historical explanation it breaks down under the weight. As in the case of *θεος* and *deus*, we fall through into the glottological discussion which never gets finished. In etymology, things that look most alike are really the most unlike; and until the phonal foundations are laid, the superstructure of meanings and derivations must be mostly fabricated of ingenious conjectures. It must not be forgotten how difficult it is to treat linguistic change as a growth. Ascoli,

* The tendency to fly too high is illustrated in the common practice of assigning the meaning of milkmaid to the original of *daughter*. Ascoli pricks a bubble, assigning to the original root the sense "one that gives milk." It is as innocent of sentiment as the word *heifer*. (See *Glottologia*, note to § 36.) The sentiments we associate with the word may have existed; the point is that this term does not show that they existed.

whose work in the field of phonal derivation commands the admiration of all linguistic students, distinctly recognizes the health and sickness of speech, the physiological and the pathological facts. Changes produced by accidents and violences lie under puzzles of a most perplexing character. To explain them we need to know a tract of history whose records are lost. At a critical point in the investigation of the original *Sk* of the Aryan speech—the pre-Sanskrit *Sk*—Ascoli turns to historical data for a guide, and on the threshold of that investigation writes these scholarly words:—

> We shall see in this investigation how vain . . . are the expectations of those who hope to see all comparative grammar reduced to a series of synoptical tables containing simple and exclusive equations which will enable us to make an easy progress, through a simple mechanism of alphabetic harmonies, across all times and countries, up to the primitive forms. All the pathological phenomena, from the very nature of them and because they imperfectly coincide with the general phases, must be vigorously excluded from this magic picture,* [of alphabetical harmonies.]

In other words, exact linguistic knowledge fails precisely at the point where history asks aid, and the two sister-knowledges mournfully cry for help to each other at the same point in human progress. The problem being to account for pathological facts, for changes suffered by a sound, and thence to draw a safe theory of etymological changes in derivations, we must take account of the fact that the Aryan tongues are mixed in India with Dravidic dialects. First theory: The Dravidic is the aboriginal tongue; Aryan peoples conquered Northern and Central India. This theory is supported by some facts of literature and history; enough to justify us in tentatively accepting it, not enough to found upon with entire certainty—it will not do to forget that the theory is tentative. Second theory: A class of changes in Aryan, not otherwise explicable, must be due to the contact of the two tongues (Dravidic and Aryan) in the region occupied simultaneously by both. Professor Ascoli admits that, despite this theory, the pillars of Hercules are before him. Every thing like chronology is excluded from the examination unless we are willing to work upon Mosaic data. With that we lack precision, but are assigned serviceable

* The translation is not literal, but faithfully preserves the thought of the Milanese scholar. (See *Corsi di Glottologia*, § 41.)

limits within which to search. The theory of indefinite time is unfathomable and yields no ore. We are compelled, in the next place, to compare living Dravidic with dead Aryan forms. Had we the dead Dravidic we could attain some accuracy, perhaps; but the *popular* speech that survives cannot be taken for the popular speech of four thousand years ago. It must be remembered, too, that it is not a case of Ariovistus receiving, not giving, hostages; for Aryan must have modified Dravidic in the process of receiving modifications. What, then, if the very facts of coincidence were the result of Aryan influence upon Dravidic? What is it that authorizes us to assume that the Dravidic sounds stood, before the Aryans came, as they now stand thousands of years later? It is an effort to measure the unseen shadow of one moving cloud by that of another projected from the same skies a thousand years later. One part of the theory is perfectly sound, that which assigns pathological facts to contacts with other tongues, and when history has told us what these tongues were we can *know;* till then we must be content, and the scholars are content, to *search*, following every lead of hypothesis and fainting not, however many may yield no precious ores. Indeed, none can be altogether empty; and the small dust swept together will make ingots of precious gold. The evil is that the scholar's hypothesis is the rhetor's truth; Ascoli guesses, and pursues his guess with a temperate enthusiasm. Some careless rhetor calls the guess a discovery, and boils over with excess of heat. It would be well if rhetors and theorists would leave linguistic scholars to complete their tasks in peace; and we may all take it for granted that discovering the foundations of human history is not the office of this branch of research.

It has been carelessly assumed that the interjectional and imitative theory of the origin of language opens a vast depth of time under the growth of speech. It is pure assumption. If we know any thing about imitative processes in sounds, we know that they defy all theories of a rate of progress. The process is now going on, and has always been going on, in a narrow region of speech. Supposing that from that narrow base all the rest has sprung, we cannot guess how long the distance may be between an imitation of a cry and the loss of all notion of imitation in the modified word. If Tennyson still

writes "clouds did *transe* the sky," and the word *trance* takes hold on Latin uses of *transire* to mean death—the old literal and the more modern refined use subsisting side by side—what law of progress from material to intellectual meanings can we hope to discover? If this movement is so subtle, how can we hope to make a time-space between an imitative sound and a derivative of it that has no hint of imitation? But in point of fact, the imitative theory is only an ingenious hypothesis, incapable of demonstrative proof, or of those rational inferences which are often accepted in place of demonstration. It cannot be said that it accounts for all the facts; it might be stretched to account for a hundredth part of them, but other facts reject the explanation. At some early period men began to use devices in their speech. They distinguished different meanings by variations in musical accent, by graduated vowels, by consonantal change. The slender capacities of imitation would cease to be relied upon when the devices of the intellect began to be used, and all existing non-imitative language probably sprung from these devices. It is only conjecture that imitation ever sufficed one generation of our ancestors; it is as reasonable to believe that imitation is now just what it always has been—that is, one only of the modes in which men convey their impressions. We must go outside of language for a basis of the imitative theory. A theorist draws out upon a time-chart a set of ages of stone, iron, bronze—a scheme of human arts—and infers that the speech of his first men was a meager set of cries because he has arbitrarily endowed them with an imperfect and obstructed intellectual activity. His "ages" are fanciful creations, and his notions about the intellectual caliber of early men are simply gratuitous. If one chooses to believe him, there is no law against such a mighty exercise of faith; but none of the facts lend the least support to the theory. At last it is a question of the "smartness" of Adam and his children. Assuming that they had no experience, how bright, quick, inventive, were they? The primeval man of an immeasurable antiquity is a dreadfully dull and slow fellow, and his antiquity rests upon that assumption about his intellect. Nothing that we know authorizes us to teach that generation after generation passed away before any of the devices of the brain entered into the forma-

tion of words. Just so soon as one device—a vowel variation, for example, (as *ba*, *bo*, *bu*)—had been, however accidentally, invented, it would naturally expand in use. Other devices, when hit upon, would also grow. The vowel device *seems* about as easily formed as the imitative one. Indeed, imitation *would produce vowel change*, and even a dull brain would probably notice it very soon. It should be noticed that a "smart" man at last turns up in these everlasting-growth theories. A Cadmus must be had. Will any one suggest a reason, based on lingual facts, for waiting ten thousand or fifty thousand years for him? There is absolutely nothing in language to suggest an indefinite, but vastly long, age of men too obtuse of ear to notice the variation of natural sounds, and too slow of invention to use vowel variation. We should reject the imitative theory, except as a possible first lesson in sounds; it is not the base under existing human speech—this rises upon a simple set of devices fabricated out of the simplest capacities of the voice.

Much higher up, language is a question of intellectual culture. The speech of Milton never exists among savages—they have no use for it. The law may be reasonably extended to the earliest times—in fact, theorists unconsciously apply this law to primeval life. A miserable, degraded, dull-eyed, and thick-headed autochthon needs only to bawl and screech. But be good enough to admit that even such an autochthon would notice the difference between bawling and screeching, and that when he had, however unconsciously, noted the difference, he would screech for one purpose and bawl for another. His first lesson in imitation would in this process be transformed into the use of a vocal device—the brain of this imaginary autochthon would have taken charge of the speech-making process. Who shall prove that early men were such autochthons? Who shall prove that they could not tell the difference between bawling and screeching? Who shall make us certain that their growth, keeping pace with their needs, did not produce *all* the intellectual devices which lie at the base of simple words?*

* The student may profitably consult "Lessons from Nature," by St. George Mivart, chapter iv, and Mr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture." I am not aware, however, that any writer has made before me the point that imitative language must have been in man a schoolmaster in vocal devices.

Art. II.—RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology. By James C. Southall. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

The Mammoth.

Chapter xx is devoted to a great number of interesting facts about the mammoth, showing its comparatively recent date. Mr. Prestwick, the celebrated English authority, though still desirous to keep up a high antiquity for man, says: "I do not, for my part, see any geological reasons why the extinct mammalia should not have lived down to comparatively recent times, possibly not farther back than eight or ten thousand years." And in another place he remarks, that "the evidence seemed to me as much to necessitate the bringing forward of the great extinct animals toward our time, as the carrying back of man in geological time."

Mr. Southall has gathered in chapter xx a large collection of facts about the relations of extinct animals in general, and the mammoth in particular, to historic times. He copies from the Smithsonian works the sketch of the big Elephant Mound of Grant County, Wis., which seems to show that the mound builders had a knowledge in some way either of the elephant, the mastodon, or the tapir. Some of the discoveries detailed, though appearing in reputable scientific publications, are distrusted or discredited by scientific men. The connection of human and mastodon relics near Charleston, S. C., is one case. The deposits here are so thin and superficial that it is very difficult to be sure that there is no mixture of different ages, the more so, as the bones of the ordinary ox and the domestic hog are found also, neither of which were ever indigenous to this continent, and must, therefore, be specimens introduced by the modern settlers.

Mr. Southall, in common with many others, quotes the alleged discovery of human relics in Missouri, by Dr. Kock, when he exhumed the great mastodon now in the British Museum, and whose account of finding the bones, and the flint arrowhead *under one of them*, is current among European scientists as good authority. It has long been known to western

scientific men that Dr. Kock, through a good collector of specimens, was grossly ignorant of strict science, and, what is worse, utterly reckless of truth in his statements. The ground where he found the skeleton is totally different from what he stated; the thirteen or fourteen feet of different strata described, as overlying the skeleton, have no existence whatever, it being found close to the surface in swamp muck. The men who assisted him in exhuming it say the pit was not drained nor bailed out; but they worked up to their waists in water, groping at the bottom for the bones in such a way as to give no chance to know whether an arrowhead belonged to the time of the bones, or fell in while working.

More recently the "American Journal of Science" has analized Koch's pamphlets, and exposed their recklessness and ignorance. Professor Hoy, of Wisconsin, years ago exposed the falsity of the statements before the Chicago Academy of Science. Mr. Southall seems inclined to think that the mammoth survived later than the Pluvial Period, which may be true in some regions. One of the most singular discoveries bearing on this point is detailed in chapter xxxiv, taken from M. Desor's account of Siberian antiquities in the *Matèriaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, 1873. The relics

> Consist of a number of articles in bronze obtained by a Russian engineer, M. Lapatine, from the Tartars in the neighborhood of Krasnojarsk, on the southern frontier of Siberia. The objects mentioned are two poniards, two hatchets, six knives, a pair of scissors, a file, a bridle bit, and five buckles. Most of these articles are coated with a beautiful brown patina; others are covered with a green patina, similar to that observed on the antiquities found in the ancient European tombs. Their antiquity, we are told, is beyond question. They are far superior to, and entirely different from, the utensils and weapons in use among the Tartars; they have nothing in common with the classic forms, nor with those of the prehistoric epochs of Europe; nor are they Chinese nor Hindu. That they are the product of an indigenous civilization seems to be confirmed by the tombs, which are found in great numbers on the banks of the Yenisei, and which Pallas refers to an ancient people no longer in existence, but whose culture is attested by a funeral *mobilier* quite complete, which is composed in part of the same objects as those under consideration.

After stating that many of these bronzes represent very elegantly various animals, as the fox, eagle, etc., Mr. Southall

gives good engravings of them, and calls attention to one which appears to represent the Siberian mammoth. Mr. Southall is confident of the representation; but M. Desor, apparently staggered by the idea of a mammoth in the Bronze Period, while he acknowledges the resemblance, is disposed to think it accidental, and that the image represents only a freak of the artist's fancy. It certainly looks far more like a real mammoth than the tangled set of scratches found on a fragment of tusk in a European cave, and generally accepted as a contemporary picture of the animal. M. Desor thinks that the civilization shown by these bronzes was too elevated to exist in the present Siberian climate, and brings geological facts to prove that the great lowland regions must have been submerged, in which case "the northern slope of the Altai would enjoy a much more temperate climate." M. Desor puts in the invariable French proviso that this submergence must be "slow," but without adducing any proof of the slowness. Mr. Southall brings the following facts to show the submergence and its rapidity.

M. Dupont, of Belgium, adverting to the strange association in quaternary Europe of species characteristic both of cold and warmer climates, for instance, the reindeer and the hippopotamus, says that the hippopotamus proves the absence of cold winters, and the northern species show equally the absence of hot summers; in other words, the climate was much more equable than now; "but," continues M. Dupont, "it is the north-east wind which brings the cold in winter and the heat in summer, a double effect of a great plain in that direction. It is necessary, then, to seek the explanation of the climate of the quaternary epoch in the absence of those lands, and *the presence of a great sea to the north-east of Europe.*"

Ermann, in his "Travels in Siberia," says:

> The ground in Yakutsk, the internal condition of which was found in sinking M. Shergin's well, consists, to the depth of at least one hundred feet, of strata of loam, fine sand, and magnetic sand. They have been deposited from waters which at one time, *and it may be presumed suddenly*, overflowed the whole country as far as the Polar Sea. In these deepest strata are found twigs, rocks, and leaves of trees of the birch and willow kinds. Everywhere throughout these immense alluvial deposits are now lying the bones of antediluvian quadrupeds along with vegetable

remains. In the lower valley of the Lena . . . and at both sides of the mouth of this river, are found the teeth and bones of mammoths, rhinoceroses, and other quadrupeds, and even whole carcases . . . As we go nearer to the coast the deposits of wood below the earth, and also the deposit of bones which accompany the wood, increase in extent and frequency. Here, beneath the soil of Yakutsk, the trunks of birch-trees lie scattered only singly; but, on the other hand, they form such great and well-stored strata under the tundras, between the Lena and the Indigirka, that the Yukogirs never think of using any other fuel than fossil wood. . . . In the same proportion the search for ivory grows continually more certain and productive from the banks of the lakes in the interior to the hills along the coast of the Icy Sea. Both these kindred phenomena attain the greatest extent and importance at the farthest chain of islands above mentioned, which are separated from the coast by a strait about one hundred and fifty miles wide, of very moderate depth. Thus in New Siberia lie hills two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet high, formed of drift wood. . . . Other hills on the same island, and on Kotélnoi, are heaped up to an equal height with skeletons of pachyderms, bisons, etc., which are cemented together by frozen sand, as well as by strata of ice. It is only in the lower strata of the New Siberian wood-hills that the trunks have that position which they would assume in swimming or sinking undisturbed. On the summit of the hills they lie flung upon one another in the wildest disorder, forced upright in spite of gravitation, and with their tops broken off, or crushed, as if they had been thrown with great violence from the south on a bank and then heaped up. Now a smooth sea, covering the tops of these hills on the islands, would, even with the present form of the interjacent ground, extend to Yakutsk, which is but two hundred and seventy feet above the sea. But before the latest deposits of mud and sand had settled down, and had raised the ground more than one hundred feet, the surface of such a sea as we have supposed would have reached much farther up, even to the cliffs in the valley of the Lena. So it is clear that at the time when the elephants and trunks of trees were heaped up together, one flood extended from the center of the continent to the farthest barrier existing in the sea as it now is.

Recent Changes in Physical Geography.

The discussion of this subject is rendered necessary to Mr. Southall's purpose by the fact that many writers on human antiquity constantly assume that every little physical change on the surface of the globe requires a prodigious time for its accomplishment. Fifty years ago it was the fashion to attribute many geological changes to great and rapid convulsions of nature, or "catastrophes," as they were called. Sir Charles

Lyell fought a successful battle against the "catastrophists," and showed that many of these changes were better accounted for by more moderate forces, acting through long periods of time. From the time of this victory Sir Charles was disposed to carry his idea to excess, and to require enormous periods of time to be accepted in almost all circumstances as a substitute for force. When the claims for a great human antiquity arose, these long periods were found to be magnificent supports to the theories of such antiquity, and accordingly their authors have adopted a set of phrases, which have become almost a scientific cant, to express their opinion. At every recital of a denudation, or submergence, or silting up, or an upheaval, they almost invariably prefix the adjective "slow," or the phrase "inconceivably slow," often without giving a particle of proof of the supposed slowness; and throw in a liberal supply of exclamations, such as "What an enormous antiquity!" in discussions where no great lapse of time has been shown. This unscientific looseness and ready assumption is becoming tiresome, and it is none the less reprehensible because indulged in by some very eminent men. We want more facts and fewer conjectures. As Mr. Southall says:—

> It is assumed that it is unphilosophical to admit any more violent energies than those which existing operations present. It is assumed that the glacial epoch is separated from our days by a vast cycle of time; it is assumed that the physical geography of the earth has not been substantially modified for tens, or hundreds, or thousands of years; it is assumed that it requires long ages to effect the extinction of a fauna; it is assumed that elevations and subsidences of land have occurred at the rate of two and a half feet in a century; it is assumed that the rivers of to-day are the same streams with the same volume of water which existed at the close of the glacial period; it is assumed that it requires the sequence of innumerable centuries to effect a transition from a harsh to a temperate climate; it is assumed that because no great river-horses, or huge proboscisticus, or powerful carnivores, roam in our age through civilized Europe, a long and protracted period must have intervened since the hippopotamus wallowed in the marshes of the Thames, and the cave lion roared on the Mendip Hills.

There is, perhaps, some excuse for the proneness to these and other assumptions among European minds. When a man, inured from birth to the elaborate and refined civilization of

England and France, digs up a flint arrowhead or a rotten canoe, he gets a glimpse of a mode of life so different from any thing in the range of his experience, that he feels as though no figures could exaggerate the greatness of its antiquity. The American is in different circumstances. We have been shot at with flint arrowheads, and have paddled hundreds of miles through the forests in aboriginal canoes. These things are familiar to us, and we can only smile at the assumption that they necessarily belong to the dim ages which vanished a million years ago. In respect to physical geography, a large portion of the changes known to history have been rapid. Mr. Southall says:—

> According to Chinese and Japanese accounts, several volcanoes have risen from the bed of the sea on the coasts of Japan and Corea during the historical period. In the year 1007 a roar of thunder announced the appearance of the volcano of Toinmoura on the south of Corea, and after seven days a mountain four leagues in circumference appeared, towering up to the height of one thousand feet. The Japanese affirm that the celebrated Fusi Yama, the highest mountain in Japan, was upheaved in a single night from the sea twenty-one centuries and a half ago. In the Santorin group of the Ægean Sea quite a number of new islands have been upheaved in the historic period, one of them as lately as 1867.

In 1819 a great earthquake occurred in Hindostan. The village and British part of Sindree were permanently submerged, together with two thousand square miles of territory. At last accounts only some of the highest points of the masonry projected above the waves. Another piece of territory fifty miles long was by the same earthquake elevated some ten feet. The natives at the place, when they observed the elevation, gave it the name of *Ullah Bund*, the Mound of God. Still more recently another, a large area in that region, appears to have sunk, and another to have been elevated, converting Sindree Lake into a salt marsh. (Lyell.) In the year 1812 a tremendous series of earthquakes, continuing for weeks or months, occurred in the region around New Madrid on the Mississippi. A change of level was effected so suddenly that at one place the river for a little while reversed its course, and ran up stream. Lakes twenty miles long were formed in an hour, and a region seventy-five miles long and thirty miles

wide is now known as the Sunk Country. In the years 1826 and 1827 a succession of earthquakes so changed the level of the land along a coast in New Zealand that the sealers could no longer recognize the locality; and a hull of a vessel, supposed to be the "Active," lost some thirty years previously, was found two hundred yards inland, with a tree growing through its bottom. (Lyell.) At another earthquake in the same group, in 1855, a tract of land equal to four thousand square miles is believed to have been raised from one to nine feet.

In 1772 the volcano Papandayang, in the island of Java, had a great eruption, by which its summit sunk, or lost in some way four thousand feet of its height.

The famous earthquake in Lisbon is well known, by which prodigious physical effects were suddenly produced. Sixty thousand persons were destroyed in six minutes, the quay of the city sunk into an almost fathomless abyss, and the shock was felt from North America to Sweden. In Peru, in 1746, a tremendous earthquake destroyed Lima, and sunk a part of the coast of Callas, so as to convert it into a bay. On the Scandinavian coasts raised beaches occur whose history shows that *if the elevation was uniform* it occurred at the rate of two and a half feet in a century.

Sir Charles Lyell assumes that is to be reckoned as uniform; and some distinguished geologists have even taken that as a general measure of continental elevation, by which they might calculate the rates of submergence and emergence of other regions. Now at the time this estimate was made there was no evidence to show whether the rise had been uniform or not; the "uniformitarian" hypothesis was a sheer assumption, the only thing known being that certain points long ago known to be lower are now found higher. More recently a Norwegian geologist, from careful examination of the coast, declares that the elevation took place by comparatively rapid successive movements separated by intervals of rest or of slower action. It is well known, also, that the movement was very much greater at some points than others. Ermann mentions ("Travels in Siberia") that a lake near the Ural sunk two hundred and ninety-one feet between 1795 and 1812. The raised beach on the Frith of Forth, in Scotland, has risen about twenty-six feet since the time of the Romans. If this were

uniform, the motion would be about nineteen inches in a century; but observations since 1810 show elevations which, if uniform, are at the rate of four feet and a half in a century. The Hydrographic Office at Washington publishes a notice that the Gulf Stream islands, discovered in the Arctic seas, near Nova Zembla, in 1872, are on the spot where the Dutch navigators found a sand bank under one hundred and eight feet of water three hundred years ago.

Mr. Southall in this chapter details a great number of other physical changes occurring in the surface of the earth during historical times, but it is not necessary to recapitulate them. Lyell and his followers, in their contest against the "catastrophists," naturally reacted to an opposite extreme, and tried to exclude rapidly-acting forces almost entirely from geology. A candid examination of the facts adduced by Mr. Southall shows that this extreme is as unscientific as the one it superseded. The great problems of geology will never be successfully solved by such easy patent methods. Some changes have been produced by moderate causes acting through long periods of time, but it is now clear that others have resulted from forces acting with unusual energy in much shorter periods. The difficult task is, therefore, imposed on scientific men of distinguishing one from the other, and combining time and force in such a way as to give a true history. We must work patiently through these perplexing investigations, and in the mean time be more careful not to announce crude, ill-digested conclusions.

Relations of Stone, Bronze, and Iron.

Chapter xxiii is devoted to the above topic. Mr. Southall admits that particular tribes have used stone before bronze, and bronze before iron; but he denies that any general division of *past time* into three ages of stone, bronze, and iron can correctly be made. Some tribes are in the Stone Age now, and many others are using stone and iron at the same time. Even in Western Europe, where this distinction is chiefly applied, the Bronze Age is often absent, and, when present, generally the bronze and stone implements were used together, while it is also clear that long after iron was introduced stone implements were still common. In a general way it is true that

stone is earlier than bronze, and bronze than iron; but they are very much mixed, and sometimes inverted, as in the ruins of Troy, where Schliemann found a Stone Age later than bronze and iron both. A similar mixture was found in Mexico and Peru, whose inhabitants used both bronze and stone habitually, and a bronze cell was found in one of the oldest Egyptian pyramids; while flint implements were found in European dlolmens and *tumuli*, dating as late as the fourth and fifth centuries. The Chinese annals show that stone weapons were used in that country at least as late as between A. D. 964 and 1279. Stone axes, (chi-fon,) stone knives, (chi-t'ao,) a stone sword, (chi-kien,) and a stone agricultural implement, (chi-jin,) are also mentioned.

In the ancient monarchies of the valley of the Euphrates the metals were well known. Rawlinson says ("Five Great Monarchies," vol. i, pp. 119, 120) that in the very first age of Babylonia a civilized people used stone and metallic implements together. "In the Chaldean plain the tombs and ruins have yielded knives, hatchets, arrowheads, and other implements both of flint and bronze . . . chains, nails, fish-hooks, etc., of the same metal . . . leaden pipes, and jars, . . . armlets, bracelets, and finger-rings of iron." * Under the great stone bulls of Nineveh, which had never before been disturbed, Mr. Place found knives of black flint, along with "bracelets and necklaces of carnelian, emerald, amethyst, and other hard stones polished and fashioned in the shape of beads, and the heads of animals." †

The Ethiopians of the Upper Nile in the time of Xerxes had attained a high civilization, yet their contingent to Xerxes's army used stone arrow-points and horn javelin-heads, a striking case of flint implements being used while bronze and iron were well known: the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages all together:—

In the magnificent tomb discovered near the ancient Panticapæum, in the Tauric Chersonese, the flint implements again appear. The tomb found under a burial mound (*tumulus*) one hundred and sixty-five feet in diameter belonged to one of the early kings. It contained a shield of gold, a gilded quiver, a

* Smith's "Ancient History of the East," p. 375.

† *Congrès d'Anthropologie et d'Archáol.*, 1867, p. 118.

sword with a curiously embossed hilt, metal knives with carved ivory handles, statuettes, bronze cauldrons, and a hundred and twenty pounds' weight of gold jewelry.

Rosallini, the companion of Champollion and other explorers, stated long ago that knives and other articles of flint have repeatedly been found in the tombs by the side of the Egyptian mummies. At the meeting of the *Institut Egyptian*, May 19, 1870, M. Mariette Bey expressed himself as follows:—

> The fact that there are found (in Egypt) flints worked by the hand of man cannot be contested. . . . The flints in question do not go back to the age of stone. They belong to the historic age of Egypt. . . . In all historic antiquity, even to the time of the Ptolemies, flints were worked on this plateau. . . . With the flints they made knife-blades, which they fixed in handles of wood. One finds them even among the Greeks. These knives are sometimes toothed in the form of a saw. In the third place they made lance-heads.

In Abyssinia the Bogos still use both flint and iron for implements. M. Leemans says that an ancient Buddhist temple in Java, which was erected about A. D. 700, has its walls covered with bass-reliefs. These beautiful sculptures show perforated flint implements with wooden handles, and pile dwellings. Herodotus says that the Scythians east of the Caspian, at the time they defeated Cyrus, used gold and brass freely about their weapons and armor; but "they use neither iron nor silver, which, indeed, their country does not produce." According to this the eastern Scythians were in the Bronze Age, when Cyrus was in the Iron Epoch.

These are specimens of the facts adduced. Mr. Southall has given numerous others, and they show conclusively the extensive use of stone with both bronze and iron, not only down to the Middle Ages, but even to our day.

Possibly some future archæologist will puzzle himself over the millions of gun-flints used and lost by all armies fifty years ago. There has been an inexcusable flippancy and carelessness in assuming too sharp a distinction between the Stone and Metal Ages, and in assigning a locality, often imperfectly explored, to one or the other age, according to whether the excavators happened or not to light on any remaining pieces of

metal. The use of metals probably goes in some regions, back of the great deluge of the *loess* and *Terre a Brique*, into the Palæolithic Period, and has continued ever since. It is inconceivable how nations of prodigious antiquity came to be so firmly attached to the use of stone.

Mr. Southall has done an important service in this chapter in showing that extensive work in hewn stone implies the possession of metallic tools, and that tribes using stone only never execute them. It is possible that he carries the application of the principle too far, however, as it is clear to any one acquainted with the soft coral rocks, and porous, frothy lavas existing in many Pacific islands, where stone works exist, that there would be no insuperable difficulty in splitting and hammer-dressing these friable blocks with wooden wedges and stone hammers. The statement that the coral blocks in Tahiti were "polished" must be inaccurate, as coral rocks are all porous, and do not admit of polish. It is said, however, that an ancient extensive work of great blocks of hewn stone exist near Hilo, on Hawaii, and that the material was a "*dark, vitreous basalt*, faced and polished on every side."

There seems to be reason to doubt these assertions. Basalt is not "vitreous." Professor H. M. Lyman, of Chicago, is a native of Hawaii, and visited the ruins. He says he thinks the blocks are not basaltic, but lavas of other kinds, worked without iron tools, which he thinks quite practicable. Dr. S. L. Andrews, of Romeo, Mich., and for many years a missionary on Hawaii, says that the chiefs of the islands positively had large blocks of lava worked out by the natives with stone tools and an oppressive exaction of labor. The lavas are frequently fissured in such a way as to admit of blocks being got out without iron, and their vesicular friable character allows of hammer-dressing into almost any form.

Ruins of Troy.

Our author calls attention to the fact that Dr. Schliemann's discoveries in ancient Troy show a history completely subversive of the theory that a stone age must be considered always older than one of metal. Down at the lowest stratum was a city believed to be older than the Troy of Homer. Here

were evidences of wealth and civilization, with a mixture of bronze and stone implements. Above this was the Homeric city of classical fame. Here were all the evidences of still greater wealth and power, with abundance of gold, bronze, copper, elegant pottery, etc., together with many stone weapons. It will be remembered also in this connection that the Homeric poems speak of iron. Above this there was a stratum where the relics are ruder and poorer, and the inhabitants, though more modern than the Trojans, left no metal at all, the implements being purely of stone and other non-metallic substances. The next stratum shows stone implements also, and metal again appears. Finally, above all are the modern deposits, where relics of all sorts occur. We see therefore, then, at Troy a stone age succeeded to a luxurious age of gold and bronze.

In chapters xxi and xxii the author discusses the absence of Palæolithic remains from Egypt, as well as from the north of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

There appears to have been no Palæolithic Period among the inhabitants of Egypt. M. Delanoüe, however, thinks he found evidence of such a period in a local river terrace on a hillock at Fatira, thirty meters above the recent floods of the Nile. The fact that there was a beautiful instrument of polished flint among the relics would seem, however, by ordinary rules, to place them in the Neolithic stage of life. The height above the modern waters has led M. Delanoüe to think that an enormous period must have elapsed to cut down the river valley since that day so as to lower the flood level thirty meters. The facts are these: In ancient historic times the rock barrier, which in some places stretched across the valley, obstructed the flow at inundation times sufficiently to make temporary lakes. Pharaoh Amenemes III., and other kings of the twelfth dynasty, left records of the flood levels on the rocks, showing a lowering of twenty-seven feet since their time. It must be remembered that when the barrier was higher, and the rush of water swifter down the slope, the cutting would be more rapid, for the erosive action of rivers, according to engineers, is in proportion to the velocity. At this rate of erosion, the time of the higher level water could never reach back a tenth part of the time supposed necessary by anthropologists to touch the Palæo-

lithic Age. It is well known that streams which, like the Nile, carry a large amount of fine, gritty sediment, rasp away projecting rocks in their course much more rapidly than clear-water streams. Any traveler in the Alps may verify this by comparing the great depth of rock cutting effected by the muddy streams issuing from glaciers, with the shallow depressions made by brooks collected from spring water. Another point is to be considered. Most oriental travelers are of the opinion that the rainfall there, even as late as two or three thousand years ago, was much greater than now. If this was true of the Nile, the fact would account both for the water being higher than now with a given amount of obstruction, and would cause a more rapid rasping down of the barrier itself, for, according to civil engineers, the rapidity of erosion of a river bottom is directly as the depth of the water.

Mr. Southall is, therefore, clearly of the opinion that there was no proper Palæolithic Period among the Egyptians, though they made stone implements, and often rude ones, even down to the Ptolemaic Age. The reason of this absence of a proper Palæolithic stage, Mr. Southall finds in the probability that the very first immigrants into the valley of the lower Nile were civilized men.

The Peat Mosses.

The peat of the Somme was discussed in the chapter on the ethnology of that valley. The other parts of Europe are also very interesting, and have furnished an important series of facts and relics. Among the best studied are the peat beds of Denmark. These occupy hollows in the surface of the Bowlder Drift, and no Palæolithic remains are found in them. They are considered by archæologists to reach nearly or quite back to the beginning of the Neolithic Age. Mr. Hudson Tuttle thinks this peat is twenty two thousand years of age; Sir Charles Lyell thinks that it may be sixteen thousand years; Steenstrup puts it at a *minimum* of four thousand; and Professor Worsade at not less than three thousand. As a matter of fact these calculations were based on no accurate *data*, and show their utter looseness by their contradictory results. The estimates of great antiquity rest on these facts. The lower parts of the peat beds contain trunks of Scotch fir, (*Pinus sylvestris*,) which has fallen in from the margin. This tree no longer grows in

Denmark. With the firs are found polished stone implements. Above the firs the peat contains oak logs, and with them very elegant and elaborate bronze articles occur, such as could hardly precede the Christian era. In the most modern peat beech logs and iron relics occur, and the beech is said to be superseding the oak in the country. The argument is that two changes in the prevailing timber imply great, and very slow, changes of climate. To Americans who have seen the pine swept out of regions equal to half a dozen Denmarks in half a life-time, the argument seems puerile; and even if the climate, and not the demands of the lumber trade, was the cause, we do not know that such a change requires any enormous antiquity. The data are too vague. Danish bronzes, similar to those of the peat bogs, are found in Ireland belonging to the period of the Danish invasion, A. D. 827; and there seems nothing tangible in these bogs to show an antiquity of more than three thousand years.

Marlot says the fir has not grown in Denmark in the Historic Period. This does not seem well proved, but amounts to nothing because the Historic Period in that peninsula does not reach back beyond the tenth century of our era. Cesar said this fir did not grow in England in his day, yet he was mistaken. Logs of it ninety feet long have been found in the peat with Roman remains, cut by the Roman general Ostorius in Vespasiau's, reign. These relics were in Yorkshire. The Scotch fir, then, grew in England after Cesar's day, but is now only found north of the Scottish border. If this change occurred in England in less than eighteen hundred years, why should the same thing require fifteen or twenty thousand years in Den mark?

It is not easy to see why, in defiance of well-known facts, many archæologists so exaggerate the slowness of peat growth. Here are a few of the facts collected by Mr. Southall from various sources:—

There is on the Earl of Arran's estate, in Scotland, a primeval bog and forest, which makes it apparent that the pine, oak, and beech were not successive, but contemporaneous *at different levels;* the bog growing as well as the trees, (thus overtaking the upper species last.) Holes cut in the peat of this estate filled up at the rate of three inches a year.

Professor Worsaae says that woolen cloth was found with the aboriginal relics of the Danish peat. This shows commerce abroad, or the raising of sheep at home, at a time not probably enormously remote.

Where the Roman general Ostorius cut the forest of Scotch firs in Yorkshire, the Hatfield Moss has since grown over an area of ninety thousand acres. At the bottom of the peat, many feet down, Roman axes and knives, with the stumps of Scotch fir, oak, etc., etc., were found. Many of the trunks were hewn, bored, chopped, and split; and rails, wedges, bars, pieces of chain, horses' skulls, axes, and coins of the Roman emperors, were found.

In Kincardine Moss, Scotland, Roman coins, etc., were found, and also a Roman military road-bed of timber, over which eight feet of peat had accumulated. At Gröningen a coin of the Emperor Gordian, A. D. 237, was found under thirty feet of peat. In the Jura Mountains old iron furnaces are found, with Roman and Gallic coins of two thousand years or less of age. Over one of these furnaces twenty feet of peat had accumulated. In Derbyshire a grazier perished on a bog in a snow-storm. Twenty-eight years after his body was found three feet deep in the peat. In the "Natural History of Stafford" it is stated that coins of Edward IV. have been found eighteen feet down in the peat. Sir Charles Lyell states that at Lagore, in Ireland, relics of stone, bronze, and iron are found under fifteen feet of peat.

In the seventeenth century the Earl of Cromarty described to the Royal Society the origination of a new peat bog, which in less than fifty years covered up the trunks of trees fallen on it, and was thick enough to be cut for fuel.

From all these and many other facts, it is evident that the rate of peat growth is not slow enough to be a proof of any enormous period of human antiquity.

The Mud of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi River rolls to the Gulf of Mexico a mass of mud and sand of prodigious volume. General Humphrey, of the United States Army Engineers, while making the survey of the river, had elaborate observations kept up for a year at various points to determine the amount of this sediment. He

makes it equal to a stratum one foot in depth over an area of about two hundred and seventy square miles every year. The river annually cuts away great areas of its banks, and deposits immense tracts of mud and sand in other places.

Such rapid changes produce many interesting phenomena, and have led to various efforts to determine the antiquity of the deposits. In digging for the gas-works in New Orleans, the skeleton of a "Red Indian" was found, according to Dr. Dowler, at the depth of sixteen feet, and beneath four successive layers of cypress forest. Dr. Dowler endeavored to get an estimate of the general rate of mud accretion on the delta where New Orleans stands, and then assuming it to be both correct and uniform, estimated that it would require fifty-seven thousand years to deposit the sixteen feet of material above the skeleton. Lyell partly approves the calculation. Now General Humphrey, in his elaborate survey, came to the conclusion that the whole ground of New Orleans and the surrounding country, down to the depth of about forty feet, was only four thousand four hundred years old.

Mr. Fontaine, Mr. Hurlbut, and others, state that owing to the enormous rapidity with which the river changes its course, articles lost in the life-time of men now living are, in many places, buried one hundred feet deep. Dr. Andrews saw cottonwood saplings on the banks, with only seven rings of annual growth, over whose original roots the inundations had deposited three feet of clay. There are streets in New Orleans now where the water flowed a hundred feet deep sixty years ago. Mr. Fontaine gives an amusing statement that information reached the New Orleans Academy of Sciences that a piece of wood has been found at Port Jackson deeper down than Dr. Dowler's "Red Indian," and at a considerable distance from the river, and, moreover, showing workmanship by a high order of tools. Some members of the academy investigated the relic and found it to be the gunwale of a Kentucky flat-boat. Mr. F. remarks as follows on the action of the Mississippi River:—

> By undermining and engulfing its banks with every thing upon them, logs tangled in vines and bedded in mud, cypress stumps, Indian graves, and modern works of art, are suddenly swallowed up and buried at all depths by its waters, from ten to one hundred

and eighty-seven feet. The deep channel then works its way from them, and leaves them beneath a deep soil of inconceivable fertility, which quickly produces above them a dense forest.

The Mud of the Nile.

The Nile much resembles the Mississippi, both in its magnitude, in its great annual overflows, in its prodigious quantities of sediment, and in its disposition to erode its banks and precipitate into its abysses ancient and modern articles alike. Mr. Horner, indorsed to some extent by Sir John Lubbock, has fallen into Dr. Dowler's New Orleans blunder. That is to say, he assumes that when any article is found below the surface, it is purely because the general level of the valley has risen by that amount, by the gradual accretions of the sediment of the overflows. The calculation was as follows: Nine feet four inches of sediment have accumulated around the obelisk at Heliopolis and the statue of Rameses at Memphis. Now the obelisk "is believed" to be about four thousand one hundred and fifty years of age, and the statue of Rameses is thought to date from his reign, about three thousand two hundred years ago. Dividing the measure of the accretion by the number of years, Mr. Horner concludes that the rate of accretion has been about three and a half inches in a century. He also found a piece of pottery thirty-nine feet below the surface, and applying the three and a half inch century-measure to that depth, he concluded that the pottery "had been buried thirteen thousand years."

Mr. Horner seems to make no account of other monuments, as the temple of Dendereh, for example, where a much greater accretion has occurred in half the time, but falls headlong into the same trap with Dr. Dowler and the "Red Indian." A writer in the "London Quarterly Review" sets the whole thing in its true light, by calling attention to the fact that Sir Robert Stephenson found in the Delta, at Damietta, at a greater depth than was ever reached by Mr. Horner, a brick bearing upon it the stamp of Mehemet Ali. Mr. Saville also states that in the deepest boring at the foot of the statue of Rameses II. there was found pottery fancied to be "Palæolithic," but stamped with the Grecian honeysuckle. Mr. Horner and an Egyptian officer made over ninety excavations in two lines across the valley, and in most of them found frag-

ments of burnt brick at greater depths than the piece of pottery above mentioned. Now, as burnt bricks were rarely used in Egypt until the time of the Romans, it seems probable that most of these fragments do not antedate the beginning of commerce with Rome. The Romans, who possessed unlimited forests, could burn and ship bricks to Egypt, when the latter country, being destitute of timber, could not often afford the immense expense of fuel for the kilns. The "Anthropological Review," which has certainly no prejudice against long periods, pronounces Mr. Horner's evidence "preposterous," and thinks it is to be regretted that Sir Charles Lyell "should have thought it worth while to notice such absurdities."

The Cones of the Tinière.

This locality has been made the basis of another calculation, which, by the approval of Lyell, Lubbock, and the European archæologists generally, has become famous, and is much esteemed as a proof of human antiquity. As the statement is brief, and can scarcely be further condensed, we quote it entire from Mr. Southall:—

> At the eastern extremity of the Lake of Geneva, at the city of Villeneuve, the torrent of the Tinière descends abruptly from the mountains. It brings down annually a certain amount of gravel, which has been deposited in the form of a half-cone upon the plateau on the border of the lake. The apex of the cone rests against the side of the mountain, and the base extends in a semicircle around the mouth from which the torrent descends. A railroad cutting has exposed a section of one of the cones nearly to its base. Four feet from the top were found Roman relics, at ten feet were found bronze implements, and at nineteen feet Professor Marlot found stone implements. The entire depth of the cone is thirty-two feet six inches. Some two or three hundred years ago the increase of the cone was stopped by confining the torrent between stone walls. This leaves about fourteen hundred or fifteen hundred for the Roman period. In this time about four feet of gravel (as the calculation runs) were deposited, or about three and a half inches in a century. From this *datum* Marlot calculates that the antiquity of the bronze relics is about three thousand eight hundred years, that of the stone relics about six thousand four hundred years, and that of the whole cone about ten thousand years.

Dr. Andrews has demolished this calculation. He says, ("American Journal of Science," March, 1868:)—

It is with great hesitation that I question the conclusions of a European *savant*, made respecting his own country; but having twice examined these cones with great care, and followed the torrent a mile into the mountains to study its appearance and actions, I cannot avoid the conclusion that there is a very singular mathematical error in estimating the age of the cones, and an omission of several important geological facts, which vitiate the whole calculation. The nature of the mathematical error will be made obvious by a few facts. The gravel cones of Switzerland are very numerous, and the principle of their formation easily understood.

On the supposition that the torrent brings down about the same amount of gravel every year, it will readily be seen that the first year's deposit will be upon the plateau in a conical heap of no great breadth, but considerable height. The second year's gravel, however, will be spread over the entire surface of the first, and being wider, it must be much thinner. The third year's accretion will be broader and thinner still; and so on to the last. It follows that the superficial annual layers are always the thinnest, because the broadest. Now, if Marlot is correctly quoted, he first derives his scale of from three and three tenths to four inches' increase per century from the superficial layers where they are thinnest, and then applies it without modification to the interior, where the annual accretions are much thicker. His unit of measure is therefore too small, and exaggerates the total age. It is perfectly plain that the true method is to take the cubic contents of the strata, whose age is known, and compare the amount with the cubic contents of the whole cone; or, in plain language, if the annual rainfall and gravel wash has been uniform, then as the quantity of gravel in the layers deposited since the Roman conquest is to the quantity in the whole cone, so is the time required for the deposit of those layers to the time required for the formation of the whole cone.

The revised *data* and calculation would be as follows: Height of apex, 38 feet. Radius of base, 900 feet. Cubic feet in the strata deposited since the Roman conquest, 5,283,205. Time of deposition of the same, 1,300 to 1,500 years. Cubic feet in the whole cone, 16,116,408. Time of deposit of the same, 3,965 to 4,576 years. Adding the three hundred years which have elapsed since the deposit ceased, the present age of the lower cone would be from four thousand two hundred and sixty-five to four thousand eight hundred and seventy-six years. The whole cone is, therefore, at a *maximum*, only four thousand five hundred years old. The whole calculation would be still further changed if the gravel was arrested earlier than two hundred or three hundred years ago, or if the Roman coin found was dropped a couple of centuries later than has been assumed, or if, three thousand years ago, the torrent of the Tinière flowed with a bolder current than it did in the Middle Ages.

MM. de Ferry and Arcelin have made some calculations of the age of relics found in the deposits of the river Saône. From their *data* they obtain these results:—

	M. Arcelin's Calculation.	M. de Ferry's Calculation.
Celtic Iron Age.....	1,800 to 2,700 years.	.....
Bronze "	2,700 to 3,600 "	3,000 years.
Neolithic "	3,600 to 6,700 "	4,000 or 5,000 years.
Palæolithic "	6,700 to 8,000 "	9,000 or 10,000 "

We are not informed as to the faithfulness of these calculations, but they are corroborative of the corrected calculations of the Tinière, and present a striking contrast to the hundreds of thousands and millions of years loosely demanded by many archæologists.

The Recent Date of the Glacial Age.

Chapter xxxiii is devoted to the proof derived from the shores of Lake Michigan, that no enormous period has elapsed since the Glacial Drift of that region was deposited. The investigation sonth is subject are from the "Transactions of the Chicago Academy of Sciences," and were conducted by Professor Andrews. Professor Dawson, of Montreal, remarks of this investigation, that he knows of no calculation of this sort made with equal care either in this country or in Europe.

Lakes Michigan and Huron are hydrographically one sheet of water, being at the same level, and connected by a strait several miles in width. Lake Michigan is three hundred and fifty miles in length, and eighty-five miles in width. Its outlet is at the strait at the north end, the southern extremity being a *cul-de-sac*. Its waves are continually in motion, and rapidly erode the drift clay of its shores. The material washed down by the waves is sorted by the same agency into clay and sand. The clay, floating about, settles whenever it reaches deep water, where the wave-action is too slight to keep it longer suspended; while the sand is carried by certain currents (mapped in the article) along shore southward, and deposited in beaches and dunes on the low sloping plain around the south end of the lake. The beaches thus formed have mapped out on the surrounding country every successive level occupied by the waters, and show by their relative size the length of time during which each one was deposited; while the same periods farther north are indicated by the ancient bluffs from the erosion of which the sands of the beaches were derived. It is by the combined study of the erosion and of the beaches that the total post-glacial time can be deduced.

The elements of the calculation are the following: 1. The average rate of erosion. 2. The width of the subaqueous plateau formed by the erosion since the lake stood at its present level. 3. The amount and direction of the sand movement. 4. The amount of sand in the several beaches.

The lake lies in a basin of bowlder drift, and has existed ever since the close of the Drift Period. Without entering into the dispute between the advocates of the glacier and of the iceberg theories, it appears that in that region a submergence beneath the sea occurred either just at the close of the drift or else continued from the drift itself. This is shown by the fact that the bowlder drift contains a large amount of salt, and its waters are far more saline than either the lake above, or the artesian waters of the rock beneath, and also by the aqueous character of a thin stratum of orange-colored loam covering all the drift hills and valleys. These waters at the close of the period retired abruptly southward, pausing nowhere between the highlands of Wisconsin and the Ohio River long enough to throw up any beach outside of the lake basins. When we reflect that a single storm on the sea will sometimes throw up a beach which no time can obliterate, we see that this retirement which left no beach-lines must have been rapid, and that it marked in a precise and definite manner the close of the Drift Period. The basins of the lakes were left, of course, like huge cups full of water, whose waves from that hour began to erode their shores, and to map out their history on their slopes.

The waters of Lake Michigan have stood at three different levels, which are marked in the north by three bluffs cut at different heights on the shores; and in the region around the southern end of the lake, where the vast amounts of sand brought by the currents shields the shores from wash, the three shore-lines are accurately mapped out by sand beaches, which are on the same level as the bluffs with which they were severally contemporaneous.

Age of the Lower Beach.

The shores of Lake Michigan are nowhere stationary for long periods. The tearing down of the clay bluffs in the north, and the piling up of sand in the south under the tremendous dashing of the waves, goes on with an energy which is astonishing.

In the north, therefore, the shores are continually receding, and the waters encroaching on the land. The waves of the lake cease to have any erosive power upon the bottom at the depth of sixty feet, hence, where the shores have been worn back, there is left under water a sort of shelf, or terrace, the surface of which slopes gently outward to the depth of about sixty feet, when the bottom dips more suddenly downward below the depth of wave action. The outer edge of this terrace marks the place where sixty feet of water was when the erosion commenced, and gives a clue for finding the approximate position of the old shore line, now washed away. From a great number of observations, it appears that the total recession of the bluffs from the old shore line along the west coast amounts on the average to 2.72 miles, or fourteen thousand three hundred and sixty-two feet. Along this same coast a great number of observations and measurements show that the annual recession amounts on the average to about 5.28 feet per annum. Dividing the entire recession by this amount, we find the age of the lower terrace is two thousand seven hundred and twenty years. Taking fifty miles of the east coast of Lake Huron, (from Brewster's Mills to Point Clark,) the erosions have been less carefully studied, but still they corroborate in the main the other figures; for, dividing the width of the adjacent subaqueous terrace by the annual amount, we get for its age three thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine years.

Around the head of Lake Michigan the sand beaches take the place of the bluffs, and are necessarily of the same age. Soundings have shown that no sand passes out into deep water, nor does any come ashore from below sixty feet. It is all carried south, along both shores, by the two southward currents, till arrested in the *cul-de-sac*, where the currents meet. It is piled up in beaches, or blown by the winds into lofty dunes, often one hundred and sixty feet high. The lower beach is, of necessity, of the same antiquity as the lower terrace and bluff. This beach line contains about 1,747,570,000 cubic yards of sand, and, as before shown, is from twenty-seven hundred to thirty-eight hundred years of age. Above this beach, however, are two other lines of beaches and dunes, which represent the age of the upper bluffs, and

contain about 1,659,881,000 cubic yards of sand. It is obvious that we have here the elements of a proportion, and that as the amount of sand in the lower beach is to the total amount of sand, so is the time of accretion of the lower beach to the time of accretion of all the beaches, that is, the whole time from now back to the Drift Period. Carrying out the calculation, Dr. Andrews finds the time indicated to be between five thousand two hundred and ninety years, and seven thousand four hundred and ninety-one years.

The advantages of the shores of the Great Lakes for these estimates is, that they afford opportunities for numbers of independent calculations more or less complete, which can confirm or correct each other. Professor Andrews has introduced two or three such, showing the utter impossibility of allowing any such time as 100,000 years, so often claimed for the Post-glacial Period.

It is remarkable that the deposits on the shores of Lake Michigan show the same sequence of events as in Belgium, namely :—

1. Bowlder Drift. 2. First low-water period, (Palæolithic time,) mastodon and mammoth. 3. Great inundation, (lœss.) 4. Modern, or second low-water period. Thus far there are no relics of men found around Lake Michigan in the deposits of the first low-water period, which corresponds to the Palæolithic age of Europe. The mud of the great inundation, however, is clearly traceable, and covers over great quantities of vegetation and prostrate timber.

The Antiquity of Man in America.

In chapter xxxvi Mr. Southall takes up this subject with the following facts and testimonies: For the Red Indians no great antiquity is claimed by any one. Captain Dupaix, in his *Antiquités Mexicaines*, fancies that the ruined cities of Central America were antediluvian, but on what evidence does not appear. The Aztecs had a definite history, with dates of their arrival in Mexico, and founded their new capital A. D. 1326, beginning it first on piles in the lake, making it in fact a pile village. (Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico.")

The Toltecs entered the valley earlier, and had dates reaching back to A. D. 387. The dates in ancient Peruvian history

are less trustworthy than those found in Mexico. The earliest ones only reach to the twelfth century after Christ. The ancient Mexican histories state that their predecessors in the valley, namely, the Toltecs, came from "Old Tlapalan," an empire situated at a great distance to the north-east, where they were skilled in working stone and metals. They state that the journey was long, and that they settled at two intermediate points before finally arriving in the valley of Mexico. They were driven out of "Old Tlapalan," they state, after a struggle of thirteen years, by a combination of barbarous tribes called Chicmecs. "Old Tlapalan" was inland country, but on their migration they halted several years in a land near the sea. The close resemblance in the religion and civilization of the Mound Builders to that found by Cortes in the valley of Mexico, together with the direction and distance of the migration, leads to a probable conjecture that "Old Tlapalan" was the Mound Builders' country. The documentary dates of the native history fix this migration at about A. D. 700.

The old native chronicler, Ixtlilxochitl, "the best authority," says Prescott, "for the traditions of his country," reports that the new Toltec empire, after flourishing in the valley of Mexico, broke up again about the tenth century after Christ, and the fragments of the nation settled in Guatemala, Tehuantepec, and Central America generally. This corresponds to the location of the ruined cities before mentioned.

The Mound Builders.

In the region apparently called by these native histories "Old Tlapalan," that is, in the valleys of the Mississippi and of the great lakes, and in places lapping over upon the Atlantic slope, flourished the Mound Builders. They habitually buried their dead in mounds of earth. They constructed also mounds for worship, and probably kept up perpetual fires on their summits, like the Aztecs. In fact the Aztec temples were only mounds more developed, and cased in stone or adobe. Dr. Frank Richardson has found in the great mounds opposite St. Louis numerous burnt fragments of human bones, showing that the ancient city which worshiped there kept up the Aztec rites of frequent human sacrifice, and of feasting on the victims.

The Mound Builders were agriculturists, and lived in large settlements. They worked the copper veins of Lake Superior, but generally shaped the metal by hammering, and rarely by melting. Yet bronze chisels have been found, showing that the copper was sometimes melted and alloyed with tin. They had woven cloth, and probably lived in communal houses built of wood, and often elevated on large mounds, but at other times surrounded by a parapet of earth.

Mr. Squier, after investigating the mounds of New York, and comparing them probably with Central American remains, and studying them in connection with the habits and history of the Iroquois, (the Five Nations,) was brought unexpectedly to the conclusion that the New York mounds "were erected by the Iroquois, or their western neighbors, and do not possess any great antiquity."

If this is true, the Iroquois are a remnant of the true Mound Builders. It is commonly said that the modern Indians have no traditions of the mounds. This is not true. The Indians of Michigan, in some instances at least, had accounts of their occupation, and in one instance of a fortification mound being constructed for an emergency only two generations before by the tribe that had the tradition. In the South, the Natchez Indians were apparently living the Mound Builder's life when visited by La Salle in 1681. They also sacrificed human victims to the Sun, and used adobe walls, like the Mexicans. Bartram states that in his day the Choctaws built mounds over the bones of their dead; and Tomochichi pointed out a large conical mound in which he said the Yamacraw chief was interred, who many years before had entertained a great white man with a red beard, who entered the Savannah River in a large vessel. Mr. Charles C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," found in the bottom of a mound twenty feet in diameter and seven feet high an old-fashioned sword, (stated in the Smithsonian publications to be iron,) with an oak hilt. This shows evident communication with Europeans. It is agreed on all hands that no enormous antiquity can be assigned to the Mound Builders.

The aborigines of former days seem to have had communication with Asia. In Tennessee a bronze idol is figured, which, by good judges, is pronounced of Asiatic workmanship. At

twenty feet depth, in a shell-mound on the Pacific coast, a number of skeletons were found, one of which was a body wrapped in a long piece of red silk, which was prevented from decay by a coating of asphaltum.

We have already referred to the untrustworthy character of Dr. Koch's testimony, which renders it necessary to throw his statements entirely out of the account. Mr. Southall also effectually disposes of Dr. Dowler's Red Indian; and Col. Whittlesey's ancient Ohio Hearths, though doubtless honestly reported, are merely in river deposits, and subject to the same uncertainties of antiquity that pertain to the deposits of the Nile and the Mississippi.

The Natchez Pelvis.

Some notoriety has been given to a human pelvis found, along with bones of the mastodon, and megalonyx lying loose in a ravine near Natchez. The bluffs bordering the ravine are loess. The trouble about this specimen is that the Indian graves at the tops of these bluffs are continually caving down, and mingling their relics with objects at the bottom. This class of specimens is notoriously uncertain, and no experienced scientist attaches any significance to them.

Skull from Calaveras County, California.

Some years ago two men took a finely developed Indian skull from a cave in the side of the valley, and placed it in a mining shaft, intending to have it fall into the hands of Professor Whitney as a practical joke. It was successful. A workman took out the skull and afterward gave it to the professor, who was so satisfied with the evidence of its authenticity that he neglected to have the shaft pumped out (it was full of water at the time of his visit) to examine the ground, and see whether the cave-stalagmite adhering to the skull could be accounted for on the supposition of its original lodgment in the gravel of the pit. He was effectually deceived, and believed the skull to be of Pliocene Age. A well-known and thoroughly reliable clergyman in California is brother to one of the men who placed the skull in the shaft, and testifies to the fact of the whole thing being a joke.

Other California Relics.

Although this specimen was not genuine, other human relics have been found, it is said, in the "pay dirt," or gravel, at the depth of one or two hundred feet below the top of Table Mountain. The mass of the "mountain" above the relics is the product of one or more prodigious volcanic eruptions, which filled up the original ravines and water-courses with lava, ashes, etc., so that the subsequent courses of the streams were in entirely new routes, and the old channels became gold mines under the hill, in the excavation of which the relics were found.

The cutting of deep new ravines in the lava and ashes since that day must have taken a considerable period, but there is nothing to show whether it was very long or otherwise. No measure of such action in such material exists by which we could determine, and, if the rainfall there was formerly greater than now, as many investigators think, the time might be very moderate. The volcanic deposit above the relics proves nothing. Existing volcanoes have ejected thicker masses than that in a single eruption. The minor proof of antiquity is this. Professor Whitney thinks that so great a volcanic disturbance in California may naturally be thought contemporaneous with the Bowlder Drift disturbances of the east, and hence reckons the volcanic deposit as the California representative of the Drift Period. Now, as the Pliocene Period was the one next preceding the Bowlder Drift, and as these relics are alleged to come from under the volcanic mass, he thinks they belong to the Pliocene Period, which would make them older than the Bowlder Drift, or any relics of man ever found elsewhere.

This whole argument is a begging of the question. Volcanic eruptions occur in all ages; but even if this is assumed, on account of its magnitude, to have a probable connection with disturbances elsewhere, it is as likely to have been at the time of the lœss as at that of the drift. The fauna found with them ought to have corrected the estimate. The bones of the mastadon and *elephas Americana* are found in the same deposit. Now these are not Pliocene animals, but belong to the period after the drift, and along with Palæolithic man. I should say, also, that torrent deposits present the same obstacles to safe

conclusions that other streams do, because they mix relics of all ages together. The ancient California men may possibly have been contemporary with the Palæolithic men of Belgium.

A fisherman's line-sinker, made of polished syenite, was found by workmen while sinking a well in San Joaquin. The workmen alleged that it came from the same quaternary gravel thirty feet down. If so, it may be Palæolithic in spite of its beautiful polish and finish. The authenticity of its location is not proved, however. No scientific man saw it exhumed, and every experienced naturalist knows how prone workmen are to confound the relics, which tumble into an excavation from the edge of the earth at the top, with those properly belonging to the bottom. The positiveness of their false opinions in these cases is often very amusing, and not unfrequently imposes on scientific men themselves. It is said similar stone sinkers are still used by the western coast Indians.

The work of Mr. Southall is a timely one. The archæologists have been industrious, and accumulated a large array of facts, which different observers, with a singular blundering eagerness, assume to prove all sorts of contradictory antiquities for the human race, varying from five thousand up to eight millions of years. It is time to examine their work, to sift and compare their discoveries, to blow among the dust and smoke of enthusiastic assumptions, and see exactly what the facts prove. Mr. Southall has done this in a masterly manner. As before stated, he has given the most thorough and honest statement of all the important discoveries on this subject which has ever appeared in the English language, and made it so complete that very few important facts have escaped him. At the same time he has brought to the work a keen, and often original, analysis, which greatly increases the value of the treatise. He has given a very great labor to it, and this is what is needed. Facts, and facts alone, settle such questions, and to them all appeals at last must come.

The final result of the whole discussion is clearly this. Up to the present hour there has not been found a fragment of any human bone, nor a single relic of human workmanship, which can be clearly shown to be over five thousand years of age.

Art. III.—THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE AT CHAUTAUQUA.

At the late Sunday-school Assembly at Chautauqua, one of the highest functionaries of our Church declared its creative and controlling spirit, Dr. Vincent, to be the Napoleon of the Sunday-school cause. We are inclined to carry out the figure a step farther, and name him the Danton of the Sunday-school revolution—for in his work he seems to have adopted as his own the motto of the great French revolutionist, "*l'audace! l'audace!! et encore l'audace!!!*" for year after year he seems to increase in boldness and in boldness, and again in boldness, until we are at a loss to know what to expect from him next.

When this generalissimo of his revolution came to us for the first time to unfold his plans for a Scientific Conference at Chautauqua we listened with fear and trembling, and thought within us—this is a bold experiment. But the leader had determined on a forward movement, and only desired of us counsel as to the members of his staff for this aggressive warfare. We advised as best we knew, and could simply wish him Godspeed! And he sped to victory by a judicious choice of workers, and then commanded success to perch upon his banners by deserving it.

The Scientific Conference has ceased to be a doubtful experiment, and has passed into the field of history; and its decided success merits, we think, a chronicler, and as such we propose to enter into no philosophical disquisition as to the conflict between science and religion—with this we have been both saturated and satiated. We prefer to deal with the practical facts brought forward in this new enterprise, and to show how, in our humble judgment, the developments of the wonders revealed by science will lead the popular mind more surely to a firm belief in the existence of a great and good First Cause, and will leave an impression even stronger than the arguments of Bible defenders, and one that will be proof against the attacks of atheistic scientists.

This Scientific Conference fully proves that Christian men have no desire to refuse a hearing to the devotees of science; on the contrary, they are willing to do even more than "heard

the lion in his den;" they bid him come forth and take their platform with all that he has to reveal, that they may use it to demonstrate the goodness, power, and sublime glory of God. "Truth is mighty and will prevail," and no man ought to fear the development of any truth that can clearly be proved to be such; and so long as scientific men will bring us the actual and wonderful facts of science, and will spare us vague theories about matters in which they are as much in the dark as we, and especially will spare us many of their doubtful deductions, we shall willingly listen to them, and accept them as worthy and desirable coadjutors in the noble and praiseworthy effort to understand all that we may of the marvelous attributes of God.

The enigma to be solved was the feasibility and desirability of presenting scientific truths to Christian workers. Can it be done? Is it well to do it? Will they appreciate it and profit by it? We answer these questions in the affirmative, and are sustained, we believe, by the great majority of the persons who enjoyed the rare opportunity of studying scientific truth as it was presented at Chautauqua. And we shall endeavor to strengthen our position by a collateral approach in the first place.

Some years ago the scientific men of England, under the lead of Faraday, undertook to teach popular science to the poor, with the view of elevating and encouraging them to look to nobler things than the many allurements and vices around them. His Christmas lectures to juvenile audiences years ago may be considered as the inauguration of a system which finally grew into a regular preaching of the gospel of science to the poor. Since his death his successor, Professor Tyndall, has regularly continued these Christmas lectures. And the famous Manchester lectures to the workingmen have now grown into a fixed institution. The object was simply to teach the elements of science in plain and popular language, and to prove the truth of the many curious assertions by actual experiments. The system has become a decided success, and the working poor of England now enjoy great advantages in the study of applied science, though it may be imparted by some men who in a higher sphere have acquired no great credit for their frivolous and disrespectful treatment of the influence of a higher

Being in the affairs of man and the control of the world. These men have doubtless unwittingly taught many sublime and holy truths, that have been better appreciated by their lowly hearers than by themselves.

The success of these lectures has led scientific men to renounce the erroneous notion that has too long prevailed among them as to the value of such efforts. What the French call the *vulgarization* of knowledge is now becoming popular among them, and they are beginning to enjoy the pleasure of addressing unlettered and unwashed audiences, many of which seem to vie in intelligence with their better dressed and housed competitors, and to absorb, to their great profit, the sublime truths imparted to them. And we are pleased to say that the same experiment has been tried now for a few winters with very marked success in our own country by one of the Chautauqua workers in the Scientific Conference, Professor S. A. Lattimore, of the University of Rochester.

This gentleman conceived some years ago the idea of establishing in that city a course of free lectures for the workingmen with their wives and children, to present to them the wonders of science in plain and intelligible language, demonstrated by many of the beautiful experiments at his command with the apparatus used in his class lectures. This idea of giving the workingmen college lectures, so to say, was received at first with much distrust. Will these people come? And will it do them any good? Suffice it to say that they have been continued for several years in Rochester, have been extended by urgent request to Buffalo, and just now Detroit is endeavoring to secure the assistance of the same distinguished and philanthropic Christian gentleman for a course of his lectures in that city under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. And he writes to us in a private letter, in reply to a request for his impressions regarding the work, as follows:—

"All I know is the little I have learned during the last few years in my humble efforts to do something for the working people of this city and Buffalo in the way of lectures on popular science. I began with no encouragement, but only discouragement, from my friends. The unexpected success at first might fairly have been attributed to the novelty of the

enterprise, and the fact that tickets were given away to any workingman free of cost, and no tickets were sold. But as the novelty wore off the interest seemed to increase, and I have always been surprised at the intelligent appearance and the wrapt attention of these great audiences. I have never seen any thing so inspiring and helpful to an extempore speaker. I have always insisted on a few conditions, such as these: All the workingmen (with wives and children, say over fourteen) to be admitted without distinction. Tickets to be free of cost, and other classes not admitted. Many workingmen object to receiving a free ticket, fearing they are accepting a charity. Sunday clothes are not necessary."

Now we know that these lectures have been a grand success, and that many of the manufacturers and merchants of the cities named have found it a great pleasure to contribute to the necessary labor and expense attending them—not in paying the lecturer, for he would accept nothing but the pleasure afforded him in doing a good deed to the poor and lowly, but in defraying bills for lecture halls, tickets, announcements, etc. Year after year these lectures have become more and more popular, and the workingmen now look for their annual pleasure with as great eagerness as the most inveterate popular lecture-goers.

Now it seems but one step to transfer such work from the platforms of great cities to the tabernacle of the tented grove. But who other than the "audacious doctor" would have thought of so doing, and would have boldly ventured to introduce scientific lectures as a part of the proceedings of a Sunday-school assembly? We reply, no other than Dr. Vincent, and to him belongs the credit of whatever success may have been reaped in this peculiar endeavor. It seems to have been his opinion that people need to know something about science before they can intelligently consider whether it conflicts with religion or not. The plan, therefore, as finally developed in his mind, was to give Christians at large, and Sunday-school workers in particular, an opportunity which but few of them could otherwise enjoy, of listening to a group of very distinguished men discuss a series of scientific questions, and present a set of lectures demonstrated by the finest and most interesting apparatus in the country. Dr. Doremus, of New York

city, came with the treasures of two very rich laboratories at his command, bringing no less than three tons of apparatus and material. And Professor Lattimore also brought from Rochester a rich selection of his choicest apparatus. To give their delicate experiments in the forest taxed the ingenuity of both of them to the utmost, and nothing but the most generous aid to each other as brothers in the cause of popularizing science could have brought them through successfully. The parts that were *seen*—the experiments—rather than what was *heard*, were the impressive parts. These experimental illustrations were simply magnificent, and in many cases could not be appreciated by the mass of the hearers; they were worthy of an audience of professional scientists. But, nevertheless, an impression was made that in the opinion of the lecturers themselves was worth all the outlay of money and brains that it cost. It was a great venture and a great success; and though much of such teaching must pass over the heads of a popular audience, it at least teaches them all to look *up*, and still up, to nature's God. Many expressed themselves more thrillingly impressed with the marvelous sermons delivered by the scientists than with those from the theologians.

With this simple presentation as a sort of defense, or logical "*raison d'être*," we proceed to a statement of the course of study in the Scientific Conference, in which we propose to be objective rather than subjective, holding, as far as in us lies, the mirror up to nature that she may tell us what was done by science in its effort to be for the time being the practical handmaid of religion.

This Scientific Conference was to last three days, and the proceedings were logically inaugurated by a general discourse on the "Circle of the Sciences," by Rev. Dr. Buckley. The speaker, after a general introduction, drew an outline map of the world of science, with the avowed object of throwing the gates ajar and pointing out the paths by which we may enter. He treated of the difficulties that stand in the way of the popularization — the "*vulgarization*" — of science under three heads: first, the use of the technical terms and the necessity of that use; second, of the necessary subdivision of science into different fields; and, finally, he gave a very exhaustive schedule of all the sciences, and their evolution or logical co-relation to

each other, closing with the following beautiful tribute to science as the Christian's *vade mecum* and defense:—

The value, then, of scientific knowledge to the teacher is immense, whether in the common schools or the Sabbath-schools. It enlarges his vision, trains his powers, prevents monotony, furnishes abundant material for illustration, and gives stimulus to all his communications. To the minister it is still more important. All that it does for the teacher it does for the minister. And more. It is almost a certain protection of his style from degenerating into mere cant, and it enriches it in every respect. It may, indeed, be pedantically exhibited on every occasion as on the wrong occasion. It may be substituted for the Gospel of the Son of God, and modes of reasoning which are not suited to the presentation of the Gospel may be ignored. But this is true of ancient literature. The abuses of scientific knowledge and processes can never be urged against its use. It would at least save some eloquent and spiritually minded men from exciting contempt by their ignorance. As he who, preaching from the text, "The Lord God is a sun," declared that if it were not for the sun we should be obliged to content ourselves with the "pale and insufficient light of the moon;" or as a quite noted and graduated man who recently published a sermon in which he based certain calculations on the supposed distance of the moon from the earth, making an error of such magnitude in the assured distance as to place him beneath duty.

But some timid soul may say, Is there not peril here? Nay, a devout man walks by faith. A man who dares not pray may be prevented from beginning to pray by skeptic persons' jests as he may by riches or honor. But a devout man may follow the facts of science every-where, and find in them all amazing illustrations and confirmations of the wisdom and power and upright hints of the goodness of the personal and merciful God whom he adores. But if he be not religious he can find materials enough to feed his skepticism, and to fatten it into unbelief.

Those, indeed, who would make the Bible a book of natural science and interpret its incidental allusions in harmony with successive phases of scientific research, thus making it an intellectual chameleon, have undertaken an impossible task; for the spiritual truths which they were designed to convey are draped in the thoughts, language, and supposed knowledge of the ages in which they are given. Job xxviii contains the praise of science, and distinguishes the sphere of religion.

Dr. Buckley's lecture proved a very fitting and acceptable introduction to the exercises. Though abstruse in substance, it was witty and wise, learned and still popular, and eminently adapted by its rare commingling of pleasantry, even with an imposing array of Greek and Latin terms, to attract the atten-

tion of his hearers to his logical analysis and comprehensive display of scientific knowledge, not very common in theological scholars.

Chancellor Haven, of Syracuse University, then followed with a lecture on the "Relation of Material Science to Mind and Spirit." After alluding to various philosophical theories of past ages, including those of Plato and Aristotle, he comes down through Bacon and Fichte to Darwin, who, he says,—

> tells us that every thing is developed or comes by a process of evolution, but he fails to tell us how the material arose out of the evolution, or why the evolution began, or what carries it on; and these all alike hover around these infinite mysteries of Nature and Mind. . . . Now, if man is a lie by accident or by creation, then the whole universe is a lie; but, nevertheless, if a lie, it is true to him, for truth is what a man sees; etymologically, truth is what a man thinks, "what a man troweth when he troweth right." Now here you see one connection of science with religion. Science is nothing; science is a mere vagary; science is a kaleidoscope; science is a mere collection of terms, unless there be truth; and all scientific men claim that the profoundest principles are "Love the truth; seek the truth; abide by the truth. Amen." But that is not science—that is religion. We believe that God is truth, and we believe that when man is right, man is truth; consequently, man's honest, clear, sharp, well-defined, accurate views of the universal science are truth.

The doctor then treated of the eternity of matter in all its changes, and found God in it—"God is light." There is in vegetation a mysterious power, and the development, from the highest class of vegetables to the lowest class of animals, teaches us a significant lesson; and there is no objection to development if thereby is meant creation, for development requires a developer. And with this train of reasoning the speaker arrived at the following eloquent and significant conclusion:—

> I say, then, to the scientific men, go on with your work; you are building better than you know, unless you catch the idea of religion and faith with your science, as most scientific men do. Why are modern men of science the noblest poets that utter our language, whether in measured terms or otherwise? Tyndall himself and Darwin are better metaphysical men than they think. Men such as Dawson and Winchell, and other men of this kind, show the real vital connection between philosophy and religion. They show the different departments of the great universe of truth, and that the unfolding of the lower prepares the way for the higher, and when the higher comes the lower is not annihilated

but still remains. Here is the crystal imbedded in the rock; so by its fruits, by the little fibers and threads that go out from it, it anticipates the coming vegetable, as Agassiz has so wonderfully shown; and then the vegetable, when it reaches perfection, pretypifies the coming animal, and the animal in its instincts pretypifies the coming understanding and reason of the man, and the understanding and the reason prepare the way for and pretypifies the coming faith—power—the soul-sight. Look upward as well as downward, aspire as well as grovel. The original scientific work, the laboratory work, the kitchen work, has something of the primal curse upon it. It covers the brow with sweat, it begets no high enthusiasm; but when one of those scientific men, catching the spirit of faith and religion, begins to create or tell how the Creator creates, then his eyes sparkle and his voice takes on ring and rhythm, and the multitude listen, and these scientific men gather their strength, and their eloquence, and their influence from the great primal religious truths which are the pillars of the universe. God has built the universe around spiritual truth. God is a spirit, and this material universe is but the clothing, but the instruments, but the machinery of his spirit, and we are but rethinking the thoughts of God when we study science.

The boldest move made during this Scientific Conference was the presentation of practical lectures, illustrated by delicate and expensive apparatus, in an extensive course of the most curious and instructive experiments, and for this purpose the services of the most capable and interesting scientific lecturer in the country had been obtained, namely, R. Ogden Doremus, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York city. Dr. Doremus was fitly introduced as a high-priest of science, whose name is every-where received with unbounded applause, and his first lecture was on "Heat: Its Sources and Effects." It was a very venturesome and doubtful experiment to undertake to perform in the open forest many of the delicate tests that often fail when surrounded by all the appliances and safeguards of the carefully constructed lecture-room, and the scientists themselves were prepared to submit to some mortifying failures. But these were few and far between, owing, in the first place, to the careful provision that had been made in the supply of instruments and chemical tests, but more especially to the fact that Drs. Doremus and Lattimore, up to that period strangers to each other, and, to a certain extent, rivals on the Chautauqua platform, joined hands as brothers, and, with coats off and sleeves

rolled up, aided each other so heartily and effectively in preparing the apparatus and performing the experiments, that admiring Chautauquans, looking on in surprise, were led to exclaim, "See what religion can do in harmonizing the antagonisms of science!"

This lecture gave unbounded satisfaction, and was a rare treat to many who never had had, and never would elsewhere have, the opportunity of witnessing extensive and delicate experiments illustrative of "heat" in all its various forces and phases. It was a rare sight to many to witness the freezing of mercury and the burning of charcoal in a glass tube at the same time. And nothing could be more wonderful than the illustration showing the formation of the earth from a fluid substance, as well as the solar system and the entire planetary world. In his beautiful experiments, so happily performed and popularly explained, many of the auditors saw so much of the wonders of nature that they were led to exclaim, "Glory to God!" at the culminating marvels of these scientific sermons. Dr. Doremus was ably seconded by his son, who has enjoyed the greatest advantages and the most extensive scientific culture that this country and Europe can afford, and who is ever at his father's side ready to hold up the latter's hands in the performance of their delicate and difficult work, to illustrate which they brought from their home laboratory about three tons of apparatus and a large supply of chemicals in solid and liquid and gaseous form; among the latter, in liquid form, five hundred gallons of laughing-gas and one gallon of liquefied carbonic acid, which, of course, expanded into vast proportions when permitted to assume the gaseous form.

Among the interesting exercises of each day was a "*scientific conversazione*," held at the close of the afternoon lecture, with a view of giving to all scientific scholars and amateurs present an opportunity to exchange views in regard to the particular points presented, or to present any other views of scientific matters that might legitimately pertain to the subject. The special topic of the first *conversazione* was, "The Importance of Science to the Religious Thinker." During the discussion the following positions were maintained: Science, when properly understood, is a true commentary on religion. There is a harmony between the spiritual and the natural. The relig-

ious teacher ought to have a fund of scientific knowledge that he may be able to meet the honest inquiries of Christians and the objections of skeptics. It is not pleasant to hear the assumption that there exists any antagonism between science and religion, for a full proportion—aye, a very large proportion—of scientific men are Christians. Nature is the most instructive illustrator of the truths of revelation. Science is truth systematized, and as such should be regarded as a revelation from God—divine utterance, as much as the written word. If not the infinity, the incomprehensible vastness of God may be seen in the universe around us. And this harmony between geology and revelation may be found in geological deductions of the first chapter of Genesis. In the general subject revelation is the true guide, illustrated by the sciences, for in some instances science greatly enlarges our views of the Scripture record.

Dr. Vincent presented the following summary of the points raised in the *conversazione*. The Christian teacher should study science:—

1. Because true Christianity has always fostered and developed science.

2. Because science is a revelation of the acts, character, and greatness of God.

3. Because science furnishes innumerable illustrations of spiritual truth.

4. Because science furnishes arguments against the conclusions of science falsely so-called.

5. Because scientific studies furnish arguments to satisfy the honest doubts of the young.

6. Because scientific studies promote individual power and a higher range of involuntary thinking.

7. Because it imparts a tone of reality to our habits of thinking and style of expression.

8. Because it creates a taste for a higher style of literature on the part of old and young.

9. Because it is valuable in revealing the works and word of God.

The evening of the first day was devoted to a lecture on "The Physical Forces," by Professor S. A. Lattimore, Ph. D., LL.D., of the University of Rochester, one of the most devoted

and instructive scientific lecturers within the pale of our own Church. His large experience in the matter of popularizing science for the workingmen, alluded to in the introduction to this article, made him a most fitting man to appear on the platform of Chautauqua to popularize science as such to the Christian masses in general and Sunday-school workers in particular. The lecture was given at night, to afford the professor the opportunity of illustrating his teachings by means of the lime light and a stereopticon. He made the physical forces of nature his willing servants, and bade them come forth from their hidden resources and substantiate his assertions as to their power. The beautiful and brilliant illustrations employed in the course of this lecture were received with applause and delight, and the whole effort was pronounced a perfect success, notwithstanding the great difficulty of arranging apparatus and performing such experiments in the open air.

Rev. E. F. Burr, D.D., opened the services of the second scientific day with a lecture on "Celestial Magnitudes." Dr. Burr is now pastor of the First Congregational Church in Lynn, Mass. He is a distinguished lecturer on the scientific evidences of Christianity at Amherst College; and as author he is widely known by his "*Ecce Cœlum*," in which he so beautifully illustrates the truth that "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork." In his "*Pater Mundi*" he has made a strong plea for the truth of Christianity as seen in admitted or self-evident facts; and then he has given us the "Doctrine of Evolution," "*Ad Fidem*," etc., and if he has a weakness, it is a penchant for Latin titles to his books; but this we readily forgive him in view of their contents. His lecture on "Celestial Magnitudes" gave him a fine opportunity, in ornate and poetic style, to treat of the sublimest truths of creation, and creep "from nature up to nature's God." We could gladly ascend each round of the ladder with him as he starts with the nebulæ, rises to the clusters of stars, and witnesses the glory of the Creator in the very midst of those remote wonders of the sky; we would with him follow the comets in their flight, study the planets and their moons, and listen to the mysteries of the solar system; but time bids us simply stop at and give his climax and concluding words:—

This mere cluster of stars in which we have our home, grand as it is, gives us something grander in the Author of such a system as that. I see the very apex of being; I see the loftiest summit to which thought can climb; I see a Being of whom the milky way is but a shadow, the sun itself is but his shadow. Having these views, my hearers, I do not accord completely with the gentleman who addressed you yesterday morning. He was not disposed to admit theology into the grand circle of the sciences. I think he did not define science rightly. What is science? The true definition of science is the one given in the afternoon of yesterday. It is systematized knowledge; and have we no systematized knowledge of God? Certainly we have; and if we have, then I say that this is the grandest of all science. All the other sciences ought to revolve about this, and if this center of gravity be removed they necessarily fly into disorganization, and are worth nothing at all; and so I am very glad indeed of this scheme of services in which, as I understand the pivotal idea, the center of gravity, is theology—religion; and it is proposed to make chemistry and all the other members of the circle of sciences revolve about it. God speed you to the fulfillment of this very laudable scheme!

Professor Alexander Winchell, LL.D., whom it would be a superfluous compliment to introduce to readers of the "Quarterly," took up the train of thought of the preceding speaker, as a fitting introduction to his own discourse on "Words in the Rocks," by commencing in these terms:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Now that we have been led in thought to those magnificent intervals of space in which exist the planets and the stars and the nebulæ, all in the presence of Deity, and all ruled from the throne of the universe, let us inquire how human thought has been enabled to ascend to such lofty and sublime heights. Theology is a science which consists of the grand conclusions of all the sciences. The other sciences are but door-ways to the science of theology. Theology avails itself of them all; it outlines all truth and recognizes all truth as God's truth, and all the activities which manifest themselves in the world around us and the worlds above us as modes of activity of the one supreme power and intelligence. Man has not arisen in a leap to the contemplation of these lofty themes. Man begins with the earth, his home. He studies the pebble, and the rock, and the atmosphere that bathes his skin, and he finds here the alphabet of a system of learning which elevates his thought and imagination by degrees to the heavens, and the heaven of heavens.

Now we have had a glimpse of the magnificent altitudes to which science has exalted human thought; let us come back to study for a brief interval the alphabet which science has had to con before it had mastered these sublime lessons. And I feel that I have a claim upon your patience in view of the grand conclusions to which

we have just listened, for when you have learned that such are the ultimate conclusions of dry science, you certainly will bear with me in bringing your thoughts for a brief time to the facts which constitute the alphabet of this grand system of learning.

The learned geologist then went on to prove how emphatically he had read sermons in the stones, and found stories in the running brooks. He took his hearers on a tour in the immediate vicinity of Chautauqua, and unfolded to them the mysteries of the cliffs at Panama, not far distant, and read to them in the bowlders and pebbles a history far more ancient than that of man himself. He proved that rocks have a language, and traced their words with consummate skill, making the whole earth seem like a divine word to the man who reads it in a Christian and not in a cynical or skeptical spirit, and concluded as follows:—

If I had time, and if it were my appointed theme, I could show you more clearly still that the life-time of the system of worlds, or of the universe of suns, is but a finite span in boundless eternity; that there is no series of events in progress that is not destined to come to a natural and necessary conclusion, unless an outside Power intervenes to perpetuate and renew and restore some past condition of things again. So, finally, there is no self-supporting existence in all the realm of matter about us. The worlds and systems of worlds are passing through their several histories with their destinies as plainly inscribed on the pages of nature as is the limit of a man's life-time; and by and by this earth must cease to exist, not only as a habitable place for man, but as an abode suitable to any form of recognized existence—a changed, worn-out, senescent body, like the moon hanging uninhabited and uninhabitable in the heavens. And so do we find every thing within the material universe in a changing condition; and it must cease to act and move and be what it is, unless some power independent of matter, and higher than nature, shall be outstretched to renew the cycle of changes; and this is the revelation of God.

In the afternoon Professor Lattimore again stepped before an appreciative and applauding audience to treat of "The Wonders of the Sun." He first told of the Ptolemaic theory of our solar system, which made the earth the center, around which all revolve, and graphically delineated the long course of history which finally opened up to men's minds the wonderful truths of the theory of Copernicus, according to which the sun is the great center of them all. The long and groping

struggle of astronomers to get at and get out the great truth that would settle so many intricate problems in astronomy was related with great beauty while interviewing the story of Galileo, Kepler, and Tycho Brahe. Then came the maledictions and persecutions from the papal throne against those who revealed the truth; but the latter was too powerful to be obscured by pope or cardinal, and soon burst forth to a world that, in its turn, was too tardy in accepting it. For a long time the mechanical powers of the sun, so to speak, were the only ones that men dared to investigate, but at last they became curious about its real nature, and longed to know what the great luminary is made of. Thirty years ago this seemed a bold and silly question; but Dr. Doremus would now settle it to their satisfaction by means of the solar spectrum, which enables scientists to analyze the sun into its chemical constituents. Then came the marvelous data of solar forces in raising water, and supplying heat and light that had been bottled up for ages. Think of "bottled sunlight!" But this it is that gives to the coal its force, and after having lain for long ages concealed in the tissues of plants, comes forth to expand the water into steam and lend it the force that propels the locomotive and drives the machinery of countless manufactories of the industrial world. And we will reach the climax of the "Wonders of the Sun" in the lecturer's own words, leading him up to the God that created it:—

I say it was no extravaganza. A lump of coal may be considered as solidified sunlight. The power it is capable of giving you is not manufactured in it; it is not generated by its combustion; it is only evolved from it, as a spring may long be held down and yet when released exert its power, but you know perfectly well that some man first compressed that spring. So of all the forces we use for economic purposes, they may be traced directly back to the sun itself. These beautiful green leaves are woven by the golden fingers of the sun's rays; every atom is placed here through the agency of actinic force; every movement of these leaves by the wind is due to the sun acting on the atmosphere. The lash of these waves upon the shore all whisper to us in the language of that voice that has its utterance in yonder glorious orb. These are the views, ladies and gentlemen—not as the ancient views were, but the views of science demonstrative, and demonstrable science, that are opening before us, that show us in this new and wonderful light this beautiful universe of God. If, therefore, that is the great fountain of life and of light, how beautiful was the

poetic fancy of the ancient fire-worshipers who, in their ignorance, nevertheless recognized the great truth when they called themselves the children of the sun, when they worshiped his rising beams, and indeed the glorious light as the chosen emblem of God himself. These are thoughts, I think, that should find a lodgment in our hearts as well as in our minds; and as we look up to the glorious orb above, when as we think of his magnitude, as we think of his distance, and yet of his intimate nearness, as we think of our utter dependence day by day upon its light, we may find in this a still more glorious symbol than we have ever seen before of the vastness, the distance, and yet the nearness of Him who is the life of life.

And again, after the labors of this day, assembled another large audience to engage in a *conversazione* as to "The Best Means of Diffusing Scientific Knowledge among the Masses." We give the prominent thoughts that were brought forward: The God of nature and of revelation being the same, all theology that is true and all real science must be in perfect harmony. Truth was writ. Science should be examined in the light of religion, and religion in the light of science. Familiarity with both will enable us to see more clearly their harmony and the beauty of each. . . . All science should be stripped of its abstruseness and technicalities and brought down into the language of the common people. . . . Scientific subjects should, in a religious way, more fully engage the attention of the pulpit. . . . We should organize scientific clubs, institute scientific readings, and introduce more fully scientific works into our higher schools. . . . Special attention should be given to those sciences which lie nearest to Christianity. The religious element in man's nature is recognized by such philosophers as Tyndall, Ewald, and others, and really is the basis of Christianity. Man's religious nature is, then, a scientific principle, and as such it should be fully developed. If it were made to take its proper place in the broad field of science many a problem would be solved in both science and religion, and the harmony of both more clearly seen. . . . Public lectures, such as have been delivered here, should be published and scattered freely throughout the country.

In the evening of this day Dr. Doremus again took the stand to treat of "Heat Converted into Light." His subject was largely illustrated with experiments of the most interesting and valuable character. The Davy Safety Lamp was shown and

explained, metals and chemicals were burned, conductors and non-conductors of heat were explained, many interesting experiments were performed with phosphorus in combustion, the Gulf Stream was treated of, and the rise of balloons from heated air. And, finally, a beautiful allusion was made, in closing, to the great source of heat and light, in the following terms:—

With regard to the sun, philosophers have attempted to determine somewhat the amount of heat received from it, and how, and have constructed instruments to measure it. Careful experiments have been made by great physicists, and it is claimed we know approximately how much heat we receive from that brilliant orb, and attempts have been made to express it by the amount of coal which would be consumed in making a like amount of heat, or the amount of ice that would be melted by it.

It is the great Architect that builds up the great forest; it is the great Chemist that distills those acids and those sweets in the flowers of the world; it is the great Artist that paints the green tints of summer, and causes nature to put on the pantomime garb of autumn, like the hectic flush in the cheek of the consumptive.

It was once thought that these stellar hosts were like many friends, merely to give a glimmering light, but no warmth of heart; but it is claimed now that if each should be expressed numerically as we receive it from the sun, by the number of one hundredths, the number eighty would express the heat received from these stellar masses. Without their warmth plant life, animal life, human life, would be impossible upon this sphere. In the words of the poet Young:—

> "One sun by day, ten thousand suns by night,
> That lead us upward to the Deity;
> How glorious in magnificence and might."

But we have another great source of heat, and that is within our own globe. Yonder chart faintly expresses to us how we are incrusted with a series of layers, and how we receive warmth from within. Our earth is not cold at heart; it is a throbbing, pulsating organ within, which at times bursts forth, causing the rock-ribs to quake and man to tremble.

The Scientific Conference was appointed to last three days, and the morning exercises of the third and last day were opened by Rev. A. A. Hodge, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. His subject was "The Relation of Bible Miracles to Modern Science," which he thus introduced:—

I wish to say, in commencing, that science itself never has assumed an attitude antagonistic to religion; that men of science have not—and that only a few men, not properly the exponents of science, who have advanced the philosophical speculation, have—declared, have proved not that science was antagonistic to religion, but that that philosophy was antagonistic. I think the most important thing now for us to do is to define what science is, and limit it in its scope. There is just as much difference between science and philosophy as there is between science and religion. Science has been defined as knowledge well grounded and well ordered. If knowledge be not well grounded it cannot constitute science, and if knowledge is not well ordered it cannot constitute science. Now, obviously, science does not include the whole mass of human knowledge. There is a necessary sphere of philosophy which is fundamental to science. It has never been pretended that there is one single property or matter, or a single law of nature ever discovered that was necessarily inconsistent with the idea of a supernatural power. Science justifies the conclusion that there is no case of spontaneous cause in external nature; that all phenomena are to be traced and adequately explained by invariable and self-executing laws; that every physical phenomenon that has been hitherto explained is subject to the operation of this law. The inference is that every phenomenon can be ultimately traced to an explanation by such law. When men in past ages have attributed these things to voluntary action they were mistaken. The inference is that the domain of the supernatural—that is, the operation of voluntary causes—will be proven backward, and if there be a supernatural, it is not only unknown and unproven, but from the very limits of our faculties it is unknowable and not to be proved. We say the supernatural is impossible and therefore unhistorical. In all the great works on the subject you will find the argument is a constructive one, based upon this assumption: the supernatural is impossible, therefore the supernatural is unhistorical, and, therefore, the supernatural element of all these writings which claim to contain a supernatural revelation is to be eliminated from them, and the residuum is to be explained by natural causes.

With this introduction the speaker passed on to the definition of a miracle, speaking of it as something not impossible, but rather as highly probable, and then treating of its relation to human testimony. The word miracle is the most unfortunate one that could be found in the language to express the thought, for it conveys the idea of the wonderful and the marvelous, and, therefore, leads the unthinking and untutored to regard all miracles as such events, whereas God violated no laws in the performance of miracles—he simply interpolated a new cause; and this new condition is the Divine overcoming

the merely natural. Having finished his defense of the logical truth of miracles, he thus paid his respects, in closing, to some of the skeptical scientists of the day:—

I believe the great German physicists are right in the fundamental philosophy at the bottom of the theory of Darwin. I do not assume that the theory of evolution is true, but I mean Darwinism as held by Darwin and his disciples.

The confession that Professor Tyndall is bound to make is, that he sees in matter the promise and potency of every quality of life. In doing so he should have us believe, instead of degrading life down to matter, he would raise matter up to life. He seeks to explain the phenomenon of the mechanical parts, and he begins with the molecule. Each atom is capable in the lowest analysis only of mechanical actions, and these generate force. Heat is a mode of motion, and is simply an expression of mechanical force. So you rise up through all this physical force, and all claim to be equivalent and capable to be transformed one into the other, and then mechanical to vital force, and then vital to mental force. What does this mean? It means when you explain all the physical world by molecular motion that it is mechanical in its very scope and nature, and cannot go beyond it. And then as light and heat and electricity explain life, and life explains thought, then heat is thought, and feeling but a molecular motion at the last. If a man is capable of thinking this, then I acknowledge that for such a man for all time the supernatural is impossible, and so is all religion, and all hope in God, and all hope of immortality. If the soul has power of originating action, and power of discerning immutable truths and coming face to face with infinity; if it has power of moral determination, then I say the whole ground of this mechanical, materialistic objection is swept from under their feet now and forever.

Rev. L. T. Townsend, D.D., of the Boston Theological Seminary, then took the stand to discourse on "The Latest Results of Scientific Investigations, and the Bearings of the Bible Idea of Heaven." Dr. Townsend is well known to our own Church and beyond its pale as the author of "Credo," "Sword and Garment," "God-man," and other works of great interest to the Christian scholar.

His lecture was rather the apex and fitting conclusion to the series of admirable addresses pertaining to the relations between science and religion, and the whole drift of his argument was an endeavor to demonstrate that there is no antagonism between the two; they are all parts of one great truth, chapters of one great volume, and only seem antagonistic

because our eyes are too dim to see all the connecting lines and fill up all the chasms.

Darwin worked twenty years in the discovery of facts upon which to base his development theory; but his facts, so far as they are facts, and not theories, furnish data upon which to build religious as well as physical facts. To Darwin, therefore, as a gatherer of facts, the metaphysician and the theologian are under heavy obligations.

Herbert Spencer employed a still greater number of years in collecting facts to support his theory of the normal and the abnormal; but his facts have their bearing not only upon the theories of social conduct, but also upon all our views of moral and religious life and character. To him, therefore, as a fact gatherer, the naturalist and the religionist are likewise under no trifling indebtedness. To other men no less eminent in England, France, Germany, and America, we are all under profound obligations for their untiring and unwavering search and research; and we may add that it is only when these men become self-opinionist, when they acknowledge nothing beyond the range of their own observations—just as, when the man delving in the earth denies that there are stars, or when the star-gazer denies that there are earth caverns, or when the physicist denies the facts of the metaphysician, or when together they deny the facts of physical life and experience—that we are forced to stand aloof somewhat. Especially is this the case when these investigators, men of science, who are apt to forget that they are not scientific universalists but only specialists, confining their observations and experiments within the limits of their favorite pursuits, deduce those conclusions which they take to apply to the universe at large. But while their facts are invaluable, their conclusions, or rather the application of their conclusions, may be utterly erroneous. It must, therefore, also be evident that the man who stands aloof, and on a plane above all observations and experimenters, and yet friendly to all, and receiving the facts of all, is the only man of all who is qualified to make universal deductions, who holds the entire volume in his hand, instead of a volume or page; he is a universal scientist. When he considers these matters in the school of all arts and sciences, and draws these conclusions from the accumulation of facts furnished by the scientists of every school, he becomes the philosopher of philosophers, he is the prince of philosophers; and when this philosopher seeks to apply such deductions to the human race for its guidance and elevation, then he becomes the prince of philanthropists also. And it is on this ground that the philosophers and scientists of the day stand universally above the skeptic and the disbeliever. That is to say, when, for instance, Darwin insists on remaining with the earth-digger, his conclusions were applied to earth-works and to comparative physiology, but not necessarily to the within and the beyond. He will see development and order according to physical law, but will not see,

cannot see, God and the human soul When Herbert Spencer allows himself to see nothing but animal man, his conclusions will apply to man and society, but not necessarily to God and the invisible. Now, if these eminent scientists would add to their present accumulation of facts the facts gleaned by other observers and experimenters, the facts, for instance, of religious experience and Christian consciousness, they would modify their conclusion and become princes of science and philosophy.

From this introduction we may truly say that Dr. Townsend evolved an address of singular beauty and thrilling power. It was a splendid defense of Bible truth, and with a master hand laid bare the limping fallacies and gaping arguments of those who would hound on science to question, sneer at, and attack Bible truths. It certainly gave unbounded satisfaction to many that were groping for light in the confusing labyrinth that skeptical scientists had prepared for them, and raised many an ardent Christian's soul from a state of fear and anxiety to a condition of perfect confidence that all is right and safe in the hands of God, whose works and words are destined to outlive and overwhelm the sneers and doubts of those who, knowing but *little* of this great scheme of creation, assume to know *all*, and put limits to God's own power. We would gladly quote more of the lecturer's own words were there time and space, but yield to the warning that we must now sum up the general results of this unique conference, and give an epitome of some of the most patent convictions that it seemed to make on the mind of those who took part in or listened to the proceedings.

In the first place we utter the convictions of all, perhaps, and certainly the loudly uttered assertions of many, that the programme was too full and the matter overdone. It was simply impossible for any one to listen to all the exercises with profit; the physical and the mental powers break down under such a continuous strain; it was like cramming for college examinations, and the moment one exercise was over it was not so much digested as crowded out to make room for a new occupant. And it is not a valid reply to this complaint that one need only take what he wants and leave the rest. Most of the visitors desired to have the whole, but found the strain too great for their capacities. One of the most efficient workers in the conference gives it as his opinion that it would have

been much better every way had the scientific lectures been distributed through the whole time of the assembly rather than crammed into three days. And we coincide in his views, for these reasons, among others: the attendance on these lectures was very excellent when we consider that they occurred during the opening days. But they were, or ought to have been, mainly for the great body of Sunday-school workers, many of whom could not be present so long before the assembly proper commenced, and who, therefore, missed much that would have been new, interesting, and valuable to them. Had the scientific and the religious features of the assembly been blended there would have been more logical harmony in the effort to unite and harmonize the two.

It is quite certain, we think, that the idea of a scientific course of investigation in connection with Sunday-school study worked its way into popularity, and that its influence will be widely felt and not forgotten by Christian workers. The time has come when the liberty of thought and investigation granted to men in religious matters leaves them free to find their pleasures and their profit in studying the higher and more abstruse sciences, if abstruse is a proper term in these days of "vulgarization" of science, by means of practical experiments and plain talks quite comprehensible to the uninitiated. These need some one to point out the way and describe to them the regions yet unexplored. The bold attacks of a few leading scientists of the world on the prominent positions of the Christian religion have led too many to believe that this feeling is quite general among scientific men. Now it is well to have some very effective means of curing this error, for it is not true. All through the course of history nearly all the leaders in scientific investigation have been Christian men. Now and then only some noted scientist has gained an unenviable reputation by boldness rather than by a display of scientific acumen, and the opposition that he has thus evolved has induced him to go still farther in his dangerous path, because it is so gratifying to his vanity to see his name in every journal and hear it pronounced by many lips.

But there is a host of noble names in the fore front of scientific investigation for ages whose voices all spoke praise to the Deity. If there are now Tyndalls and Huxleys, and Spencers

and Darwins, have there not been Newtons, and Galileos, and Davys, and hosts of others of firm religious faith? And were there not on the grounds of Chautauqua some of the most noted scientific men of our land, all using their knowledge and their power to show their belief in God and illustrate the beauty and harmony of his works? The very presence of these men, and the confidence with which they grappled with the augury, filled many a Christian breast with courage and secret satisfaction that God's works and words are still defended by the wisest and noblest of his children. And the crowds that gathered around the scientists and with thoughtful face and eager eye watched their every movement and listened to every word, emphatically answered the question as to the desirability and success of such teachings, and repaid the anxious heart that was to bear all the contingencies of failure.

But the Conference of Science was a success, and was voted so by the hearty thanks of the closing assembly to the man and men who made it so, and by the devoutly-sung doxology, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," to Him who gave the incense from the planting of the germ. And no sooner had the benediction of the great Teacher been invoked on the work of the past than the word went forth, "What of the future?" And the reply came, "It shall be an improvement of the past." The groves of Chautauqua shall be like those of ancient Greece, rich in the teachings of the wisest men of the land. The leaders in scientific thought shall again come here, when the year rolls around and brings to us a return of this pleasant season, to mingle their scientific knowledge and love of God with the accents of those who proclaim and teach his word as revealed through his prophets to his children. And then the very rocks and stones shall continue to testify of his marvelous works in making this earth a habitation for the children of men, and a probationary school to prepare them for the better land.

ART. IV.—CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM AS PATRONS OF CHRISTIAN ART.

THE pernicious effects of the Reformation of the sixteenth century have been a favorite subject for comment by the Catholic historians, and been deeply deplored even by some of the Church of England. The assertion is reiterated that this great intellectual and religious convulsion was the fruitful cause of the spirit of modern rationalism, which sets aside a traditional faith and boldly challenges every thing which is urged upon its acceptance. Romanism holds Protestantism directly responsible for destroying the unity of the Church, and for shivering it into a multitude of unseemly fragments. It also charges that Protestantism was greatly wanting in æsthetic susceptibility—indeed, that it was essentially iconoclastic in spirit; that it caused a fearful destruction of works of art in the times immediately following the great schism, and that it ushered in a period of fearful art decadence. To examine the truth of these charges in so far as they concern art susceptibility and art inspiration, it will be necessary first to glance at the history of sacred art from the thirteenth century, that the condition of the public taste and the tendencies of art at the beginning of the sixteenth century may be understood.

The dawn of the revival is usually traced from the thirteenth century. The influences that had been powerful in developing that marvel of Christian art—gothic architecture—were multiplying in numbers and intensity. Before the close of this century chivalry and tournaments had been introduced even into Sweden. In Spain literature and science had awakened to a new life. The English Parliament had already been instituted. The Latins had conquered and sacked Constantinople. The weary despotism of ten centuries was yielding. Men were beginning to think and act as individuals. The occupation of Constantinople had re-established the intercourse between the East and West, and several Byzantine painters had emigrated to Germany and Italy. These were employed in the decoration of churches, chapels, and convents, and they naturally continued that traditional style that had ruled in the Orient for more than seven centuries. Few who have not

made these art-works a special study are aware how meager in treatment, how rigid in form, how repulsive in expression, and how limited in range, are the works of this period. At Pisa and Sienna these Byzantine artists had established schools, but none of their pupils yet ventured further than to copy and reproduce what was already at hand.

Nicholas Pisano (1231) first broke away from this bondage, marked out new paths, and attempted a new treatment. Feeling this inspiration, and touched with a measure of that warmth that had begun to thaw the frigidity of the centuries, Cimabue threw over his celebrated Madonna the radiance of hope, and gave to the divine Infant an expression of benignant invitation. The terrible severity that had caused the worshiper to tremble in the presence of Christ and the saints was now relaxed. "It was Cimabue's greatest glory, however, that he was the master of Giotto." The pupil carried the study of form and coloring far beyond his master's teachings. Nature had been the first instructor of this great genius while as a shepherd-boy he tended his father's flocks in the quiet valley of Vespignano. His poetical nature had, doubtless, been greatly stimulated by the companionship and writings of those immortal men—Coryphæi of their own, and towering in every age, Petrarch and Dante. His characteristic independence of thought, his exceptional freedom from the superstitions of his day, and his broad common sense, led him to adopt the best means to realize his ideals. Thus he not only greatly modified and improved the old, but did that characteristic work of true genius—gave to the world new art creations. Cimabue and Giotto were the fair dawn of that mid-day splendor of art that burst upon the world three centuries later in the matchless works of Da Vinci, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

From the extant works of these artists it is evident that the hard, tyrannical dogmatism of the Byzantine school was then broken. In sacred art the thought had passed from a *theological* to a *religious* type. During the following century the imitators of Giotto, while yet restrained by the prevailing opinions in theology, reveal in their mode of treating religious subjects an increasing freedom. While Mariolatry is well-nigh supreme, and the Virgin is the central figure, yet the treatment now is more chaste and spiritual. The aim of the

artist is now the representation of *spiritual* beauty. The portrait of this period has been declared to be "an abounding religiousness struggling between a subjection to the traditions of the Church and the leadings of its own conscious powers." Notwithstanding the imperfection of drawing, the harshness of outline, and the strong tendencies to exaggeration, the religious artists of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries display a fervency of feeling, an unfeigned humility, an earnestness of soul, and a genuine reverence for the forms of the Church, that render their works a deserving study to every lover of the spiritual.

From the early revival to the first quarter of the fifteenth century art had been almost exclusively employed upon religious subjects. Take, for example, the life of John the Baptist, wrought out in 1330 by Andrea Pisano on the bronze doors of the Baptistry of St. John at Florence. The treatment is pure and simple, and intensely Christian. Likewise Ghiberti, in the next century, on the other two doors of the same baptistry, has represented the scenes from the Old Testament and from the life of Christ in a manner full of chasteness and spirit. Yet in Ghiberti's work there are clear indications of a growing naturalism.

During the fifteenth century two opposite tendencies are observed: One proposed attainment of beauty as an end; it interrogates nature, studies the effect of light and shade, and uses all possible appliances to secure this result. The other values physical beauty not as an end but as a means. With the latter school physical beauty is only desirable as it reveals spiritual loveliness. The feelings of these schools must have been very different as they attempted a subject of sacred art. One would seek a model in nature. If a Madonna is to be portrayed, the voluptuous beauty of a favorite is transferred to the canvas. Mere surface qualities are the result. No genuine religiousness pervades this school. The name only is preserved; yet even this is too often a glaring offense, a solemn mockery. The other school, called not inappropriately the Mystical, is best represented by that wonderful monk, Fra Angelico. in whose character true modesty, genuine sanctity, and matchless genius, so beautifully blended. With him art was a kind of religion. To paint a sacred subject was an act

of devoted piety. His biographer tells us with long-continued fasting and earnest prayer he prepared himself for his work—with what a feeling of conscious inspiration he executed it. Baptized, as he believed, with the Holy Ghost, his soul illuminated by celestial wisdom, his imagination kindled by a live coal from off the altar of sacrifice, Angelico expressed in his paintings a beauty, a spiritual loveliness, a depth of religious feeling, an ecstasy of hope and joy, and a heavenly sweetness, that have never been equaled. As we study the "Singing Angels" and the various other figures in his inimitable "Coronation of the Virgin," we feel assured that these are his own spiritual creations—entirely above mere copies—so varied, and yet so like in earnestness and purity, that they must be regarded as the products of his own deep religious contemplation. The expressions of the enthusiastic traveler, Holtzman, after he had studied his works at Florence, are just and true: "Here in Florence he seems to me like a faithful gardener, who understands how to transplant with tenderest care the beauty, blooming in Paradise, all fresh with life and health, into the soil of this poor earth. What pure reflection of divine rapture falls upon these faces! Here in the created is the echo of the Creator."

Bold investigators had already questioned the assumed prerogatives of the Church. Jerome of Prague and Huss had spoken and suffered; their ashes had proved good seed, and had fallen on receptive soil. The spirit of daring adventure had thrust men out into all lands; mind was stimulated for higher and still bolder flights. Art shared this impulse. It, too, was already loosing itself from the trammels of the Church. Invention was now rife. Already was the love of the antique greatly strengthened. The taste for the classical was reviving. Characters from sacred and profane history were now grouped together in the same painting. Perugino now associated in the same fresco, at Perugia, Moses, David, Isaiah, Daniel, John the Baptist, with Pythagoras, Socrates, Pericles, and Fabius Maximus. By the middle of the fifteenth century, Art, that had originally been a profession in the interest of the Church, was becoming rapidly secularized. But the scathing invectives and matchless eloquence of Savonarola were powerless to arrest the insetting tide of æsthetic and religious degeneracy. For a brief season

only did the sentiments of this great reformer impress the public heart. In vain did he utter his stern protest against the increasing superficiality and irreligiousness of art. His words of warning should sound in the ears of every age: "Only in a *formal* sense can beauty be represented as symmetry and harmony; in its vital essence it is the reflection of the godlike in the creature. Mark that man as he prays, as the divine effulgence illuminates his soul! When such a one returns from prayer, his face beams with the beauty of God, and his expression is that of an angel."

The papal court contributed largely to this degeneracy. No throne was ever disgraced by greater monsters of cruelty and lust than are found among the Borgia. Art, as prostitute as in the age of the Cesars, and artists, now degraded to basest sycophants, attempted the apotheosis of these bloody despots. Think of a Borgia as savior crowning his mistress queen of men and of angels! Little improvement in morals was witnessed under the Medici. Yet the brilliant galaxy of artists of this period has ever since been the marvel of the world. The works of Da Vinci, Angelo, Raphael, (each emphatically his own,) are incomparable. As a portraiture of character, probably Da Vinci's "Last Supper" has never been equaled. The "Christ" of this painting has never been excelled. Michael Angelo's "Prophets and Sibyls," in the Sistine Chapel, and his "Moses," are marvels of grandeur and power. Raphael's "Sistine Madonna," "Transfiguration," "St. Cecilia," etc., are wonderful revelations and interpretations of truth. With the most enthusiastic admirers we gladly recognize Leonardo as "a most profound and original thinker, the greatest mathematician and most ingenious mechanic of his time; architect, chemist, engineer, musician, poet, painter!—the miracle of that age of miracles!" we grant all that has been claimed for Michael Angelo; we indorse the statement that to a rare union of grace and versatility as an artist Raphael added "a bright, generous, genial, gentle spirit, the most attractive manners, and the most winning modesty."

Indeed, the opinion of the half-crazed Fuseli might be accepted as approximate truth:—

Michael Angelo planned for painting what Homer had planned for poetry, namely, the epic part, which, with the utmost simplic-

ity of the whole, should unite magnificence of plan and endless variety of subordinate parts. . . . That character and beauty were admitted only so far as they could be made subservient to grandeur. . . . Hence a beggar rose from his hand the patriarch of poverty, the hump of his dwarf is impressed with dignity; his women are molds of generation, his infants teem with the man, his men are a race of giants. . . . While Michael Angelo had no infancy, Raphael Sangio we see in his cradle, we hear him stammer; but *propriety* rocked the cradle, and *character* formed his lips.

Indeed, no one can deny that, under the hands of Da Vinci, M. Angelo, and Raphael, typical forms reached their highest development, and perfection of *composition* was closely approximated. But that these great artists received their inspiration from the spirit of the Catholic Church of the sixteenth century cannot be honestly pretended. Rather were the influences inspiring these great works absolutely foreign to the principles then recognized by this Church. The character of Michael Angelo was as essentially Protestant as that of Savonarola, whose early friend and admirer he was, and whose fiery discourses were his favorite study. Buonarotti lived in a world of thought totally different from that of the great mass of even the ecclesiastical princes of his day. The garden of Grecian statuary at Florence reveals the chief source of the inspiration of his genius.

So much for painting and sculpture. The study of architecture is equally instructive. From the period just prior to the Reformation, church building in Italy received a wonderful impulse. South of the Alps the Gothic style had never been a favorite; indeed, it was hardly practiced in the Italian peninsula prior to the thirteenth century, and then not in its purest form. The spirit of trust and of aspiring devotion, so well typified by the Gothic architecture, seemed little at home where a spiritual despotism had been so long predominant. Vain dreams of a holy Roman empire had been indulged by temporal princes, but all the essential elements of this absolutism were found in the Roman hierarchy. So that the representative building of the Catholicism of this period—Saint Peter's at Rome—stands as a monument of the idea of Roman imperialism. Its spirit is Roman, not Christian. When Michael Angelo said of its dome, "I will hang up the Pantheon in mid-

air," he insensibly revealed the inspiration of the building. It stands as a monument of genius; but it is a genius inspired with the spirit of pagan antiquity, and not by the spirit of trusting, aspiring Christianity. It stands more as a gratification of selfish ambition than as an offering of humble hearts to the Lord Christ. The very means by which funds for its erection were obtained form the most eloquent commentary on the condition of the Church, and on the spirit of the projectors and patrons of this work. Money from those damnable indulgences, which were peddled throughout Europe as cheap merchandise, went into its walls. Lying to men, robbing God, profaning the holy offices of Christ, periling eternal interests—these contributed its materials. Not a stone laid in this monumental Church that did not imperil an immortal soul. Taine is perhaps too caustic in saying, "The builders of St. Peter's were simply pagans in fear of damnation, and nothing more. All that is sublime in religion, such as tender effusions in the presence of a compassionate Saviour, the fear of conscience before a just Judge, the strong lyric enthusiasm of the Hebrew before an avenging God, the expressiveness of a free Greek genius before natural and joyous beauty—all these sentiments were wanting in them." Yet it is true that the spirit of St. Peter's is not Christian. So with many of the churches of the Jesuits, the most legitimate offspring of Rome. These are usually beautiful, often charming, not infrequently gorgeous in adornings and incomparably rich in furnishings; yet they are usually Roman in spirit, and the life and liberty of the Gospel find in these no congenial representative home.

Contrariwise in Germany and in all the continental lands that embraced the reformed doctrines, ecclesiastical building almost entirely ceased during the last half of the sixteenth century. But the causes of this are far other than a hatred of art, or a spirit of indifference. All reactions are excessive; this one of the Reformation was most violent. The struggle was for life. All merely artistic or æsthetic questions were now swallowed up in the pressing necessities of the desperate contest. Then followed the desolating thirty years' war, from whose awful ruin Germany can never recover. Remembering that a degree of leisure and a surplus of wealth are the almost indispensable conditions of extensive art patronage and cultivation,

we should not be surprised at the fewness of imposing ecclesiastical structures which arose in northern Europe. Nevertheless, Protestantism has not infrequently been more careful to preserve the medieval beauty and simplicity and the purity of architectural style than the Catholic Church itself. Let the visitor to the city of Nürnberg compare the Church of St. Lawrence with that of Notre Dame. The former, which was founded by a pious artistic feeling truly original and charming, has been preserved unchanged, as the Reformation found it; while the latter, which has been given over to Catholic worship, has been largely modernized and ornamented in such tawdry and mannered style as to offend and disgust. Likewise, when we compare the most noted modern church of Catholic lands (St. Paul's in Ostia, at Rome) with the completion of the Cologne Cathedral by Protestant gifts, and largely by the aid of Protestant princes, we are loth to believe that the spirit of Protestantism can be hostile to architectural beauty. The interior of the immensely costly St. Paul's in Ostia professes to be an imitation of the early Christian basilica. While this is immense and simple, yet it is cold in effect, and its exterior, in tower and façade, is a conglomeration of varied styles jumbled together in such inextricable confusion as to remind the visitor of the crazy freaks of a drunken man. On the contrary, the Cologne Cathedral is being finished in the same purity and beauty of style in which it was conceived five hundred years ago. (See HASE, *Protestantische Polemik*, p. 601.)

When we examine the history of the Phonetic arts—music, poetry, and oratory—we find that the record of Protestantism is especially honorable; indeed, she has here achieved very marked triumphs. Brendel (*Geschichte der Musik*, Band I, sec. 8) has remarked that while music was carefully cultivated among the Greeks, the results attained were comparatively meager. This came from no lack of talent, but rather because music found there no truly congenial soil. Music is eminently the art of the emotions. As such it expresses the innermost feelings of the soul. But this inner world could not be moved by the cold and cheerless system of heathenism, it could first be reached and stirred by the warmer and more genial influence of Christianity. Just as far, then, as the distinctive spirit of Christianity is preserved in any system will it fulfill the con-

ditions of the production and patronage of a superior sacred music; contrariwise, in so far as there is a return to the spirit of heathenism by any nominally Christian Church, to that extent will the conditions of high musical creation be wanting. That the Romish Church imbibed much of this spirit was pointed out by Zuinglius in his controversy with the hierarchy when he charged that it was a heathenish corruption of pure Christianity. And many able writers on Christian doctrine have boldly reiterated this change. (De Valenti, Neander, Hase, etc.) The music used in the Church service prior to the middle of the sixteenth century was mostly indifferent, and poorly adapted to the sacredness of worship. The rude beginnings of the Oratorio, in the attempts of St. Philip Neri to draw away the crowd from the influence of the Roman theater, are most instructive. The spirit of Romanism was revealed in seizing upon whatever was striking and dramatic to arrest the attention of the populace. Secular melodies had been freely accepted by this Church, and were the suggestion of the music for the most sacred festivals. The names of masses were sometimes derived from the initial words of these secular songs that were accustomed to be used in most indecent relations. "The Armed Man," "the Jolly Red Nose," "Kiss me, dear," as names of sacred music suggest their origin. So wide-spread had become this degeneracy that the Council of Trent deemed it important to give the subject a thorough and protracted discussion. Yet the suggestions made during its twenty-second sitting were too little heeded. Even in our time, some of the musical performances even of St. Peter's and the Sistine Chapel provoked the remark of Felix Mendelssohn, that to him their singing sounded like the efforts of a lot of men who are maliciously squabbling to drown each other by their brawling.

In this connection is suggested the name of Palestrina, the prince of Italian composers of sacred music, the pride of Catholicism. But it must be remarked that Palestrina is as distinctly Protestant in the spirit of his music as was Michael Angelo in his art creations. Palestrina was the pupil of Goudimel, who set to music the Psalms of Clement Marot, and afterward suffered martyrdom as a Huguenot on St. Bartholomew's day. Moreover, Palestrina's wonderful service to music was only one result of the strong reactionary influence of Protestantism upon

the Catholic Church in reforming its morals and its forms of worship. Goudimel's music has continued prominent in the worship of the Reformed Church to the present day, and the long line of able writers of sacred music, as Tallis, Hans Walter, Rumpf, Schütz, Bach, Handel, Hiller, Bennett, Rinck, Mason, and others, illustrates the liberal cultivation and patronage of sacred music on the part of Protestant Christianity. Equal musical genius is found in the Catholic Church. Hayden, Mozart, and Beethoven were all in this communion. Yet not one of these incomparable masters is influenced to any considerable extent by the spirit of the Romish Church. Hayden was outwardly a Catholic, adhering to the forms of antiquity; inwardly and in his works he lives and moves in a totally different world. Mozart leaps all the barriers of Church authority, and in his methods contradicts many of the fundamental principles of his communion; while with Beethoven this lack of harmony of profession and life is most manifest and outspoken. With all these musical Coryphæi is the spirit of the Church of the mediæval centuries entirely without authority. Both in secular and sacred music they entirely break away from all these restraints, and created their immortal works in accordance with that peculiar and darling principal of Protestantism—the unrestrained freedom of individual genius.*

The comparative examination of the poetry and oratory of these two branches of Christendom constitutes an interesting and instructive study, but the limits of this paper will allow us to glance only at the sacred lyrics of the two communions. The history of hymnology, since the sixteenth century, will show the great superiority in number, in earnest devotion, glowing fervor, and deep spiritual insight of the hymns of the lands which accepted the Reformation. In the Lutheran Church alone are found more than 80,000 of these hymns. It is difficult to estimate the wealth of spiritual treasure bequeathed to the Church by the long line of Protestant writers of sacred lyrics. Luther, almost the prince of them all, Paul Fleming, Schirmer, Zinzendorf, the Wesleys, Watts, Toplady, Lavater, Novalis, Arndt, Knapp, and a host of others, have comforted repentant souls, have stimulated religious life, and have lifted trusting hearts toward heaven on

* See Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik.*

the wings of rapturous praise. It has been the especial bequest of Protestantism to the Church of believers to give to the congregation sacred lyric wedded to sacred music, and to realize the exhortation of the psalmist: "Let all the people praise Thee."

Nor is the statement (so frequently reiterated) that the Romish service is more æsthetic than that of Protestantism, the result of the careful study of the central principles of the two systems. We hear much of the baldness of the Protestant service, of the lack of artistic accompaniment, and much is said by tourists to the old world of the grandeur of the Catholic ritual. We believe that this view is radically erroneous. It comes from confounding semi-barbaric pomp with the genuinely and intrinsically beautiful and sublime. Years ago Hengstenberg wrote:—

> The opinion that the Romish worship is more poetic than the Protestant has widely obtained, and even now controls many weak natures. Yes, if poetry consists in mere mechanical forms and surface ornamentation for delighting the sensuous nature, then this opinion might be just. But poetry is soul, which speaks to soul again; and the simple singing the hymns of a Luther, or Paul Gerhard, out of the heart of a living communion, is more poetical than all the sensual gratification of the eye and ear afforded by the most pompous Catholic ceremony.*

It is somewhat remarkable that a Protestant of an entirely different school, in an estimate of the relative effect of Romish and Protestant ritual, entirely agrees in spirit with this remark of the high Lutheran, Hengstenberg.†

2. During the latter half of the sixteenth century Christian art rapidly declined, and at the close of this century it had reached a stage of great degeneracy. Not only the number of superior *works*, but also of superior *artists*, had greatly diminished. Grüneisen has well said: "When a great genius departs this life he may and must impress his own powers, unconquered by death, on his surviving works; but very rarely does he bequeath these powers to his followers."‡ The excellence of Raphael and his contemporaries being well-nigh absolute, a decadence might be expected. But we have indicated

* Hengstenberg, in *Ev. Zeitung.*

† See E. E. Hale in *Ch. Union*, August 13, 1873.

‡ *De Protestantisme*, p. 4.

that the prime cause of the decline in pure spirituality in art lay far back of the Reformation; indeed, it was the legitimate fruit of that degeneracy which was the occasion of rousing the spirit of protest in the bosom of the Church, and of leading the Reformers to assume an attitude of opposition and independence. The circumstances attending the beginnings of Protestantism were confessedly very unfavorable to the encouragement of the fine arts. Attention was absorbed in the solution of other and more pressing questions. Violent agitation is generally unpropitious to art encouragement. A degree of leisure and accumulated wealth are the usual conditions of æsthetic culture and art patronage. For one hundred and fifty years after the beginning of the great Reformation these conditions were almost totally wanting to Northern Europe. Human history scarcely presents a period of more profound and universal agitation. The fierce conflicts of temporal princes on the battle-field were surpassed by the struggles of intellectual and theological athletes. The picture presented is not that of the overpowering mastery of one sovereign, or of one party, and the consequent accumulations of the wealth of subject provinces in the capital of the conqueror. We witness no grand triumphal processions, no wars of permanent settlement, no final solution of religious problems; but continental Europe presented, down to the peace of Westphalia, a picture of evenly-balanced, destructive, and exhaustive warfare. However this question of adverse influences may be answered by different schools of history, all thoughtful persons must feel a common regret at the wanton destruction of rarest works of art during these years of convulsion. The fiercest spirit of iconoclasm seemed rampant. The French Huguenots burned indiscriminately the altars and statues, wherever found. During three days of popular frenzy the inhabitants of Brabante and Flanders laid waste more than four hundred churches. The same spirit involved nearly all Belgium in the most calamitous loss of sacred relics, and prevailed very widely throughout Scotland, Switzerland, Bohemia, and some parts of Germany.

It is a noteworthy fact that with the mad zeal which manifested itself in this indiscriminate ruin the leaders of the Reformed Churches had no sympathy. This destruction was

largely the work of the lawless rabble under the leadership of frenzied fanatics. Even John Knox earnestly exerted himself to check this spirit in Scotland, and in the Netherlands no prominent leader of the Protestant party was guilty of this vandalism.

In Zürich still stands the church in which Zuinglius preached a purer faith. In the interior the visitor finds no trace of ornamentation, not a statue, or picture, or any such thing; but the walls are as plain and white, and the seats as simple, as in the Moravian church at Herrnhut. The unthinking traveler is ready to conclude that here, surely, are the footprints of the stern reformer, who is wanting in all æsthetic sensibility, and whose warrior hand would sweep away without one soul-twinge even the masterpieces of art. Yet we find him in the retirement of home relieving his severer studies and his racked brain by the practice of music, changing from harp to flute, and giving his buoyant nature free vent in light fantastic strains. We hear his cheerful, and even mirthful, conversations with bosom friends; at times we note even an exuberance of joy. Zuinglius was no harsh, fanatical hater of sacred art; his was no stolid soul, insensible to æsthetic charms. He was only an honest Christian, zealous for the true welfare of the people and for the glory of God. Turning from his private life to his own utterances, made under the most solemn and trying circumstances, we are further confirmed in this opinion. Hear him:—

> No one is so foolish as to believe that statues and paintings ought to be destroyed, if the people manifest for them no reverence. Only those images ought to be removed that cause piety to stumble, or that threaten our faith in God. Of this class are such as bear the human countenance, which are placed in front of altars or churches, even though they have not been reckoned among things devoted to God, because age itself renders an image sacred. In like manner we do not think that those figures that are inserted for the purpose of ornamenting the windows should be disturbed, provided they represent nothing base, because no one is in danger of worshiping these. . . . We will not speak at all of feelings and preferences in this matter; *for none have greater admiration for paintings, statues, and portraits than we; but whatever thus offends piety ought not to be tolerated, but should be destroyed by the firm authority of the magistrates.*

Calvin, a man of more culture, and, in some respects, of sterner type than Zuinglius, has recorded similar opinions of art. He writes:—

Nor yet am I affected with that degree of superstition as to suppose that no images at all ought to be tolerated. But inasmuch as painting and sculpture are God's gifts, I only demand that the use of each shall be pure and legitimate. For why should that which God has conferred upon us for his glory and our own welfare be not only degraded by absurd use, but even turned to our own ruin? It follows, therefore, that only those things ought to be sculptured and painted which are designed to appeal to the eye. The majesty of God, which so far transcends the power of vision, should not be marred by unworthy images. To this class [of legitimate subjects] belong historic personages and events; to some extent, also, images and representations of forms that have no regard to historic truthfulness. The former class have a certain value for purposes of teaching and admonition; what the latter class can impart, aside from pleasurable amusement, I do not see. Yet it is certain that the images that have been set up in the churches belong for the most part to this latter class. Hence it is just to conclude that these have been placed there not with judgment and discretion, but through a vain and thoughtless spirit. I decline to point out how defective, and, for the most part, indelicate are these portrayals, how without restraint the painters and sculptors here wanton: I only say that even if no vice inheres in these works, they are nevertheless valueless for purposes of edification and instruction.

Calvin here expresses an opinion more extreme than would have been accepted by Zuinglius; nevertheless, he appears to be more appreciative of art than his friends or his enemies are wont to suppose. We are not interested to criticize the æsthetic propriety of the opinions expressed in these quotations; we believe that they find sympathy with a very considerable class of tourists as they come into the presence of some of the nude and shameless paintings and statues of European galleries. This one thing is certainly clear, namely: that the object of Calvin's hostility is not art *per se* but rather its prostitution to base and unworthy ends.

Beza, the companion of Calvin, one of the most noted religious poets of his age, discourses in very similar spirit, and makes like careful discriminations, thus vindicating the Reformation from the charge of hostility to art. He says:—

We recognize that painting and sculpture have great utility in civil affairs; of this there can be no question whatever. . . . We

do not condemn, but, on the contrary, approve, these arts, and aver that they ought to be cultivated because useful to the State. But while we do not deny the utility of art, either pictured or sculptured, by which events in sacred history may be represented, we do not readily admit them to places consecrated to worship, since we think it especially unsafe to place sculptured images in the churches. This is not because we suppose this is unlawful or impious *per se*, but on account of the mournful appearance presented by congregations in Romish churches; which sad spectacle seems to date its origin from the use of images and pictures.

All are familiar with the love which Luther cherished for art. Less thorough in breaking away from the Romish ritual than his fellows, he inclined to retain in the forms of service much that the Reformed Church regarded dangerous to the edification and purity of worship. He that could find relief from the vexatious and overwhelming burdens of life in the production of poetry and music, often had his great soul tried by the rude, unfeeling iconoclasts of his day. He says:—

I am by no means of the opinion that the Gospel teaches that all art should be destroyed and should disappear, as some fanatics hold; but I would gladly see all the fine arts, especially music, pressed into the service of Him who has created and given them to us.

He sternly rebuked Carlstadt for his false notions of reform:—

Since the evil disposition in Carlstadt is so stubborn, I can less than ever yield to his obstinacy and insult. I will first speak of images under the law of Moses; next according to the spirit of the Gospel. I affirm that, according to the law of Moses, no other image than that of God was interdicted. But a crucifix or the image of a saint is not forbidden to us.

Again he writes:—

I have seen and heard the iconoclasts themselves read out of my German Bible; I also know that they have this Bible in their possession. Now there are many pictures in these books of God, of angels, of men, and of beasts; especially in the Apocalypse of John, and in the books of Moses and Joshua. So that we earnestly request them to permit us to do what they themselves practice, namely: that we may paint such pictures on the walls for their better remembrance and understanding, since they are as harmless when on walls as when in books. It is better to paint on the walls representations of the creation of the world, the building of the ark by Noah, and other events in sacred history than some shameless profane subject. Indeed, God willing, I

would persuade the noble and the wealthy that it would be a Christian work to paint the scenes of the entire Bible on the walls of houses, within and without, before the eyes of every one. If it is not only not sinful but blessed to bear the image of Christ in the heart, why should it be regarded a sin to bear it in the eye. Surely the heart is of more consequence than the eyes, and it should be less defiled by sin; since in the heart is the proper residence and dwelling-place of God.

So much for the opinions of the chief reformers. They all go to show that with these earnest men there is a real appreciation of the beautiful—indeed, a true love of art. The whole force of their protest is directed against the shameful prostitution of sacred art to vulgar and unworthy ends, and against supplanting, by the adoration of images, the pure thoughts of God and Christ from the soul of the worshiper. The seeds of degeneracy had long before been sown. These men were struggling to cast into the oven the baneful harvest. The Reformation, so far from being the *cause* of the decadence of sacred art, was a protest against that spirit which was destroying the very capacity for high art—a spirit that had already produced a wide-spread moral degeneracy; had brought corruption into high places; had quenched the ardor of piety; had insinuated itself into the religious houses of every order; and had thoroughly relaxed the sinews of monastic discipline. It is believed that a like vindication of the reformers and the Reformation would appear on a careful comparison of the religious art of the lands that embraced the Reformed doctrines with that of nations that were little influenced by its spirit. This would form a suggestive chapter in the history of sacred art. It must suffice here to mention such men as Albert Dürer, in his latest works, Hans Holbein, and Lucas Cranach, as compared with Titian and Correggio; or later, Van Dyck and others, as contrasted with the brothers Carracci. Who can hesitate to accord to the north the greater depth, earnestness, religious fervor, and spirituality?

3. Some diversities of Catholicism and Protestantism, which would affect, to a degree, the respective attitudes of these confessions toward religious art, and determine how far the two systems furnish the necessary conditions of art stimulus and encouragement, need next to be examined. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter the field of religious polemics;

but it seems necessary to glance at the nature of these diversities in order to see clearly their effect not on questions of theology, Church life, ethics, etc., only, but also on questions of an æsthetic character. It should be distinctly understood that Catholicism and Protestantism have vastly more than merely formal or surface differences. They are radical and fundamental; they affect the foundations of faith and life. Möhler, one of the profoundest Catholic dogmatic writers of the present century, has most justly said: "The great rupture of the sixteenth century took its departure from the innermost and deepest profound of human history, since it had reference to the mode and means by which fallen man must come into fellowship with Christ and become partaker of the fruits of redemption." Indeed, it can be truly affirmed that no more distinct are the great oceanic currents that run side by side for a thousand miles without once commingling, than are these two tides of theologic thought. From the fundamental differences of opinion respecting the nature of the original, unfallen man, and the effects of transgression upon this nature, would also arise very diverse systems of soteriology. Catholic anthropology holds that the unfallen man was righteous by virtue of a supernatural working of divine grace upon him, and not by virtue of the action of the natural powers of the human soul. A true, life-giving knowledge was, therefore, in itself impossible; but a power must be superadded to raise this finite to a saving relationship to the infinite Creator. Luther says: The pure nature of man, proceeding from the word of power of the Creator, possessed absolutely *in itself* all the necessary capabilities for pleasing God. Specially the religious capabilities of the original man flourished under the favor of God by virtue of their own increated fullness of power. Catholicism says: The fallen man has experienced a *weakening* (*in deterius commutatum fuisse*) of his natural powers for good. Evangelical Protestantism says: By the loss of original righteousness the fallen man has experienced a *total depravity* of his spiritual nature, whereby he has become alienated from God and inclined to evil. This diversity of opinion respecting the nature of the unfallen man and the nature and effects of sin would occasion corresponding divergencies with respect to the ground and nature of justification, the nature and efficacy

of the sacraments, the whole theory of worship, and the nature, constitution, duties, and prerogatives of the Church. Without stopping here to compare these systems, we only remark that there appears in the Catholic theology more of superficiality; in that of Evangelical Protestantism more thorough radicalism. The original man of Catholicism was holy by virtue of an *added* power, (*dona supernaturalia;*) that of Protestantism was holy by *nature*, (*vere naturalem.*) The fallen man of Catholicism has lost only the *added* power; that of Protestantism lies in hopeless ruin.* The restored man of Catholicism can do something and merit something by this doing; that of Protestantism knows no possible merit of works. The trinne God is equally the sole object of true worship in both these systems. Yet, while the Catholic worshiper finds Christ not the only Mediator, but invokes and adores the virgin and the saints, the Protestant worshiper sees in Christ Jesus the *one* Mediator between God and man. While the Catholic worshiper is looking outward toward the virgin, and saints, and images, and relics, and shrines, and works of supererogation, and the cleansing fires of purgatory for means of salvation, the Protestant worshiper turns his thought inward to discover the attitude of the will, and to note and cherish a growing faith in the Son of God, and in the Holy Spirit, who is the promised sanctifier.

4. Another most important difference of these systems has reference to the grounds of authority and the right of private judgment; in other words, it respects the great question of freedom of thought and action.

As ground of authority in religious questions Catholicism says: Scripture, tradition, and the Church. "Tradition" has too often been the shibboleth of Rome. Its practice has been too much like that of Pharisaism in the Saviour's day—hiding the spirit and letter of the law under the traditions of men. Protestantism cries: "The Bible the word of God; this is the sole ground of authority, the source of religious enlightenment." Catholicism is ever looking to the past, and trying to press modern thought into the molds of bygone centuries. The genius of Protestantism does not propose to study the ancient Church and its pristine glory only, but to push forward the cause

* See Winer, *Comparative Symbolik*, ch. iv, v.

of God with all the appliances which the unfolding history of the race has placed at her command. Catholicism, like heathen art in its decrepitude from the time of Mark Aurelius, turns its weary eyes backward to find its golden age. Protestantism, like the earliest Christian art, is full of hope, and joy, and promise—projecting the grandest triumph of its Christ on the sky of the future. Theoretically Romanism binds the consciences of men, individual and collective, by the will of one man, and cries, "Here alone is the oracle of God; here immolate your personality; passive obedience is a means of salvation." Protestantism proposes to bring the individual soul into the conscious presence of the King Eternal, and says, "Here pay your *active, willing* obedience." Romanism has too often brought outward compulsion upon human mind as upon inert matter, to drive it hither and thither at pleasure. It has too often anathematized; it has hurled thunderbolts to frighten men to outward submission; it has abridged liberty; it has maimed, and shackled, and palsied the soul. Protestantism, like the Bible, and the God of its Bible, has come with reason, persuasion, and entreaty. It has come with threatening and with promise, with invitation and denunciation. It proffers illumination, guidance, and powerful incentive to lead the soul godward; but "it exhorts to an uncompelled, undamaged service of the man to God."* The wall of protection which the Almighty has thrown around every man's personality, and within whose sacred precincts he himself does not come unbidden, Romanism seeks to break down; Protestantism respects and guards. Romanism, like Jesuitism, its most powerful ally, treats man individual too much as a thing, a tool, a corpse, to be acted upon by external force, to be urged hither and thither at the will of another. Protestantism recognizes man individual as a spiritual force; he belongs to the realm of *powers*. Romanism dictates, excommunicates, and forces its dogmas upon its votaries. Protestantism proposes systems, expresses opinions, urges arguments, and gives a reason for the hope within it. It is not now claimed that the invariable *practices* of these rival systems are here described. That there have been instances of generous toleration within the Romish communion a L'Hopital and Lord Baltimore

* Isaac Taylor: "Loyola and Jesuitism."

abundantly witness; that bitterest intolerance has at times disgraced Protestantism, the Servetus affair must ever attest. Both communions have been at times unrelenting persecutors; both have invoked the aid of the civil power to suppress heresy; both have piled and lighted fagots to consume the unrecanting offender. Universal history utters its solemn warning against the danger of intrusting irresponsible power to *any party whatsoever*. Yet the conclusions of a writer who cannot be accused of concealing the short-comings of Evangelical Protestantism are forced upon us. "It can surely be no exaggeration to say that the Church of Rome has inflicted a greater amount of unmerited suffering than any other religion that has ever existed among mankind."* It is equally certain that in the indulgence of the spirit of persecution Protestantism has appeared more offensive than her rival, because it was in glaring contradiction to one of her dearest fundamental principles; while the violent suppression of heresy is not inconsistent with the teachings of the approved standards of the Catholic Church. Indeed, Romanism has manifested this spirit in a thousand ways, by cramping thought, by stifling investigation, and by putting shackles upon genius. The study of the literary policy of Rome, as found in her damnatory indexes and in the decisions of the Council of Trent, compels the conviction that the spirit of this Church toward literature and art is in the last extreme arbitrary and repressing.†

The application of these principles to our discussion is simple and manifest. All agree that freedom is the indispensable condition of art development and progress. Religious art, especially, languishes in the absence of liberty. The fixedness of type, and the centuries of stagnation while art was under the ecclesiastical control of the East, is an instructive example of this truth. We have already mentioned that this authority bound religious art in fetters for nearly a thousand years. This does not imply that the artist is not to consult tradition. To him, as well as to the religionist, is tradition invaluable, since by this means there is noted an historic progress and development. For this very reason, however, must the artist equally with the religionist and the scientist, the individual as well as the

* Leckey: "History of Rationalism," vol. ii, p. 46.

† See Mendham: "The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome Exhibited."

Church, remain unshackled by tradition. "To ascribe to tradition, or to any, even a classical rule, an absolutely binding value, would be as senseless as to prevent a tree from further growth because it *had hitherto been vigorous.* On the contrary, because growth is the very law of the tree, it must continue to grow if it would not wither and rot." * Just so because artists *have* created art forms, must they continue to create them under the largest freedom if they would avoid falling into a stiff, cold, and fatal mannerism. We do not mean by freedom any wild, unrestrained, or arbitrary exercise of power; this is *license*, not liberty. In political and social life liberty does not mean lawlessness; but living in accordance with the laws of our nature, modified only by the necessary limitations of society. So the artist must ever work under law in order to the exercise of his highest freedom, but this law cannot be imposed from without; it must be an impulse springing from his own native and distinct individualism. This law must not be to him an external, written canon, which he feels bound to observe, but a part of his own untrammeled, undamaged self. Since art, then, is an essentially organic process in the development of human civilization, it must have a freedom of adjustment to the shifting circumstances; and there only can it be a factor and true index of civilization where, unrestrained by external authority, it can embody in its works the changing spirit of the centuries. This is the peculiar doctrine of Protestantism; and by so much does this form of Christianity promote and stimulate the highest art culture.

5. In the examination of the opinion that Protestantism has been lacking in æsthetic susceptibility and has been indifferent to the patronage and encouragement of religious art, it has been seen that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was in the bosom of the Catholic Church a fearful moral degeneracy which tended to destroy all capacity for high art; that the wonderful revival in art which was then witnessed was not due to the fostering spirit of the Romish Church, but depended on influences foreign to this Church; that the comparative sparseness of art works, especially architectural monuments, in Northern Europe was not owing to an indifference to, or hatred of, art, but to extreme poverty, to

* See Horwicz, *Æsthetik*, p. 210.

wasting wars, and to the seething agitation of more absorbing questions; that the leading Reformers, so far from being rudely iconoclastic, were themselves warm lovers of art, and were only striving to save the worshiper from temptation to idolatry; that in some respects, as in architecture, sacred lyric, and sacred music, Protestantism has demonstrated an equal, if not superior, creative power; that while both systems stand almost equally closely related by history and practice to the encouragement of Christian art, their diverse views of anthropology and soteriology have caused them to assume different attitudes—Catholicism inclining more to the real and the objective, Protestantism to the ideal and the subjective; and, finally, that Protestantism, by its declaration and defense of the doctrine of individual responsibility and individual freedom, has thus recognized the only true conditions of a high and progressive Christian art.

ART. V.—MOHAMMEDANISM AND THE NEGRO RACE.*

THE following article was originally written by its author for the "Methodist Quarterly Review," but was intercepted in England, published in "Frazer's Magazine," and then sent in a copy of the Magazine to us for republication. We had a right to object to the discourtesy of thus reducing us to a second-hand position. But as Professor Blyden was himself innocent of this discourtesy, and his article furnishes matter which our readers would unquestionably desire to have before them, we present it in our pages. We may here add that Mr. Blyden's articles formerly published in our Quarterly have attracted attention by the richness of their scholarship and their grace of style. One of the notes appended to this article indicates the fact that he claims a purity of Negro blood, and insists that the word Negro, which he proudly claims to be legitimate, honorable, and needing no euphemistic substitute, is entitled to an initial capital N. We fully agree with W. H. Seward, that "no man is fit to be President who spells [or pronounces] Negro with two g's."—ED. METH. QUAR. REVIEW.

To students of general literature in Europe and the United States, until within the last few years, the Orientals most celebrated in religion or politics, in literature or learning, were known only by name. The Oriental world, to the student

* The author of this article, a Negro of the purest African blood, is Mr. Edward W. Blyden, Principal of the Presbyterian High School, Liberia, West Africa.—*Ed. Fraser's Mag.*

aiming at practical achievements, presented a field of so little promise that he scarcely ever ventured beyond a distant survey of what seemed to him a boundless and impracticable area. But, thanks to the exigencies of commerce, to philanthropic zeal, and to the scientific impulse, the East is daily getting to be "nearer seen and better known," not only in its outward life, but in those special aspects which, in religion and government, in war and policy, differentiate Eastern from Western races. It has been recently stated by a distinguished authority that "the intimate acquaintance with the languages, thoughts, history, and monuments of Eastern nations is no longer a luxury, but a necessity." And the visit, within the last ten years, of Oriental rulers to Europe—the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, and the Seyyid of Zanzibar—has stimulated in the popular mind a livelier curiosity as to the character, condition, and influence of Mohammedan countries.

Drawn away from the beaten track of Roman and Greek antiquity by considerations for the most part of a material nature, and wandering into paths which heretofore were trodden only by such enthusiastic pioneers as Sir William Jones, the Western student finds rewards far rarer and richer than he had anticipated. And even those who have not the opportunity of familiarizing themselves with Oriental languages find enough in translations—inadequate and unsatisfactory as they often are—to inspire them with a desire not only to increase their acquaintance with Eastern subjects, but to impart the knowledge they glean to others.

To the latter class belongs Mr. R. Bosworth Smith, the author of the work before us.* He informs us at the outset that "the only qualification he would venture to claim for himself," as a writer on Islam, "is that of a sympathetic interest in his subject," his work having been "derived in the main from the study of books in the European languages."

Mr. Bosworth Smith, who is a graduate of one of the English universities of only twelve years' standing, and, therefore,

* "Mohammed and Mohammedanism."—Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March, 1874. By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

we gather, a comparatively young man, may be regarded as one of the earliest collateral results of that increased activity in Oriental research which Dr. Birch has told us "marks the advance of civilization." And if he does stand upon the shoulders of Caussin de Perceval, Sprenger, Muir, and Deutsch, he may, without immodesty, claim to be taller than they; for we are very much mistaken if his book does not form an important starting point on the road to a more tolerant—if not sympathetic—view among popular readers of the chief religion of the Oriental world. The works of the writers just mentioned were designedly not popular, but written by scholars for scholars, maintaining or opposing theories for the most part of merely literary or historical significance. Mr. Bosworth Smith has brought to his work not only a thorough appreciation of the literary and historical questions involved, but an earnest respect "for the deeper problems of the human soul," cherishing the sound and fruitful conviction, which he strives to impart to his readers, "that Mohammedans may learn much from Christians, and yet remain Mohammedans; that Christians have something at least to learn from Mohammedans, which will make them not less but more Christian than they were before."

Mr. Bosworth Smith pursues the discussion of this important subject, which, as a labor of love, he entered upon with a degree of earnestness, perspicuity, catholicity, and force of reasoning that renders his work not only most instructive, but highly interesting as an indication of the tendency and direction of cultivated thought in England. He has entered into the spirit of Islam in a manner which, but for the antecedent labors of Lane, Sprenger, Deutsch, and Weil, would be astounding in a Western scholar and an Englishman.

Dean Stanley's lecture on the same subject, though marked by the breadth of view, generous impartiality, and geniality of spirit which so honorably distinguish all the writings of that scholarly and Christian divine, is fragmentary—necessarily limited in its range by the nature and scope of the work. To Mr. Bosworth Smith, then, must be awarded the credit not only of having fully, fairly, and freely investigated the practical features of Islam, but of having rendered a clear, unbiased, and unambiguous verdict, the influence of which, whether

acknowledged or not, must be felt throughout the literary world. Such works as those of Maracci, Prideaux, and White, are hereafter impossible in polemico-religious literature. No cultivated man, however inquisitorial his temperament, will ever, in the future, be tempted—or at least yield to the temptation — to subject any religious system to the Procrustean ordeal.

And, so far as Islam is concerned, scholars are arising within its ranks imbued with Western learning, and taking the part not only of defenders of their faith, but of interpreters between the Eastern and Western world. It has recently occasioned some surprise and comment that a Mohammedan writer should have written an able work in the English tongue, "challenging European and Christian thinkers on their own ground."* Since the appearance of Syed Ahmed's essays, another work has appeared in the English language, written by a young Mohammedan, in which he has briefly, temperately, and ably discussed the various subjects in relation to which Islam is usually assailed.†

But it is not only in recent days, as the writer in the "British Quarterly Review" would seem to imply, that Mohammedans have availed themselves of the power of the pen in defense of their faith. There have always been, and there are now, able controversialists among them altogether unknown to Western fame. The celebrated work of Dr. Pfander, the Mizan-al-Hakk, attacking the Mohammedan system, has been reviewed in the Arabic language by a Mohammedan scholar, Rahmat Allah, in a learned and incisive reply, in which he reveals a marvelous acquaintance with European literature. We have heard of no attempt at a rejoinder to the work of Rahmat Allah. We saw a copy of this book in the hands of a West African Mohammedan at Sierra Leone, who was reading and commenting upon it to a number of his co-religionists.

We are glad to notice that Mr. Bosworth Smith's book has been republished in the United States, and that the able article

* "British Quarterly Review" for January, 1872, in a Review of "A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed," etc. By Syed Ahmed Khan Bahador, C.S.I. Vol. i. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

† "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed." By Syed Ameer Ali Moulvi, M.A., LL.B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, etc. London: Williams & Norgate. 1873.

of Deutsch on Islam has been reproduced in the same volume as an appendix. They are fit companions—*par nobile fratrum.* The traveler, contemplating a visit to Mohammedan countries, or the theologian wishing to get a clear view of a religious system which is shaping the destiny of millions of the race, may now carry in his pocket a complete compendium of Mohammedan literature. If we except the very remarkable article on the "Historical Statements in the Koran," written in 1832 by the then stripling reviewer, Mr. J. Addison Alexander, of Princeton, and the able "Review of the Koran," by Professor Draper, of the New York University, in his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," American scholarship has as yet, as far as we are aware, produced nothing of importance in this branch of literature.

The portion of the interesting work now before us, which we propose more particularly to notice, is that part of the first lecture which refers to the character and influence of Islam in Western and Central Africa. Dean Stanley says:—

> It cannot be forgotten that Mohammedanism is the only higher religion which has hitherto made progress in the vast continent of Africa. Whatever may be the future fortunes of African Christianity, there can be no doubt that they will be long affected by its relations with the most fanatical and the most proselytizing portion of the Mussulman world in its Negro converts.*

If this view be correct, then the Christian world cannot be indifferent to the discussion of a subject so full of importance affecting one branch of the philanthropic interests into which the Christian Church, more than ever before, is now pouring its most eager life.†

Three streams of influence have always penetrated into Negroland: one from Egypt through Nubia to Bornou and Hausa; another from Abyssinia to Yoruba and Ashantee; the third from the Barbary States across the Desert to Timbuctoo. By the first two Egypt and Arabia exchanged their produc-

* "Eastern Church," p. 259.

† Mr. Monier Williams, the Boden Professor of Sanscrit at Oxford, has recently expressed the opinion, in a paper read at the Conference on Foreign Missions held at the Cannon-street Hotel in London, (June 22, 1875.) that, unless a fresh and powerful impulse is given to Christian missionary effort, Mohammedanism will speedily overrun the whole African continent.

tions for the raw materials of Soudan. By the third the ports of the Mediterranean, through the Great Desert, having Timbuctoo as a center, became outlets for the wealth of Nigritia. Even in the days of Herodotus there appears to have been intercourse between the region of the Tsad and the Mediterranean, and the valuable products collected at various centers by the itinerant traffic, which still flourishes in the interior, shared by numerous caravans, found their way by means of Phenician ships to different countries of Europe and the Levant.

Central Africa has never been cut off commercially from European and Asiatic intercourse. But it was not until the ninth century of the Christian era that any knowledge of the true God began to penetrate into Negroland. To Akbah, a distinguished Moslem general, belongs the credit or discredit of having subdued North Africa to Islam. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand enthusiastic followers, and in a short time spread his conquests along the shores of North Africa, advancing to the very verge of the Atlantic, whose billows alone checked his westward career.* But the energy which could not proceed westward turned northward and southward. In its southern progress it crossed the formidable wastes of the Sahara, penetrated into Soudan, and established the center of its influence at Timbuctoo. In less than a century from that time several large Nigritian tribes had yielded to the influence of Islam; and it shaped so rapidly the ideas, the manners, and the history of those tribes, that when in the Middle Ages Ibn Batoutah, an Arab traveler, visited those regions, he found that Islam had taken firm root among several powerful peoples, had mastered their life and habits, and dominated their whole social and religious policy. Among the praiseworthy qualities which attracted his attention as a result of their conversion, he mentions their devotion to the study of the Koran, and relates the following illustrative incidents, which we give in the French version now before us:—

Ils ont un grand zèle pour apprendre par cœur le sublime Coran. Dans le cas où leurs enfants font preuve de négligence à cet égard, ils leur mettent des entraves aux pieds et ne les leur ôtent pas qu'ils ne le sachent réciter de mémoire. Le jour de la fête, étant entré chez le juge, et ayant vu ses enfants enchaînés, je lui dis:

* Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," etc., chap. li.

"Est-ce que tu ne les mettras pas en liberté?" Il repondit: "Je ne le ferai que lorsqu'ils sauront par cœur le Coran." Un autre jour, je passai devant un jeune nègre, beau de figure, revêtu d'habits superbes, et portant aux pieds une lourde chaîne. Je dis à la personne qui m'accompagnait: "Qu'a fait ce garçon? Est-ce qu'il a assassiné quelqu'un?" Le jeune nègre entendit mon propos et se mit à rire. On me dit: "Il a été enchaîné uniquement pour le forcer à apprendre le Coran de mémoire." *

Mohammedanism in Africa counts in its ranks the most energetic and enterprising tribes. It claims as adherents the only people who have any form of civil polity or bond of social organization. It has built and occupies the largest cities in the heart of the continent. Its laws regulate the most powerful kingdoms—Futah, Masina, Hausa, Bornou, Waday, Darfur, Kordofan, Senaar, etc. It produces and controls the most valuable commerce between Africa and foreign countries; it is daily gathering converts from the ranks of paganism; and it commands respect among all Africans wherever it is known, even where the people have not submitted to the sway of the Koran.

No one can travel any distance in the interior of West Africa without being struck by the different aspects of society in different localities, according as the population is pagan or Mohammedan. Not only is there a difference in the methods of government, but in the general regulations of society, and even in the amusements of the people. The love of noisy terpsichorean performances, so noticeable in pagan communities, disappears as the people come under the influence of Mohammedanism. It is not a fact that "when the sun goes down all Africa dances;" but it might be a fact if it were not for the influence of Islam. Those who would once have sought pleasure in the excitement of the tom-tom, now repair five times a day to the mosque, where they spend a quarter of an hour each time in devotional exercises. After the labors of the day they assemble in groups near the mosque to hear the Koran recited, or the Traditions or some other book read. In traversing the region of country between Sierra Leone and Futah Jallo in 1873, we passed through populous pagan towns, but the transition from these to Mohammedan districts was

* *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, texte et traduction. Par Defremery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, vol. iv, pp. 422, 423.

striking. When we left a pagan and entered a Mohammedan community, we at once noticed that we had entered a moral atmosphere widely separated from, and loftier far than, the one we had left. We discovered that the character, feelings, and conditions of the people were profoundly altered and improved.

It is evident that, whatever may be said of the Koran, as long as it is in advance of the Shamanism or Fetichism of the African tribes who accept it—and no one will doubt that Islam as a creed is an enormous advance not only on all idolatries, but on all systems of purely human origin—those tribes must advance beyond their primitive condition.

The Koran is, in its measure, an important educator. It exerts among a primitive people a wonderful influence. It has furnished to the adherents of its teachings in Africa a ground of union which has contributed vastly to their progress. Hausas, Foulahs, Mandingoes, Soosoos, Akus, can all read the same books and mingle in worship together, and there is to all one common authority and one ultimate umpirage. They are united by a common religious sentiment, by a common antagonism to paganism. Not only the sentiments, but the language, the words of the sacred book are held in the greatest reverence and esteem. And even where the ideas are not fully understood, the words seem to possess for them a nameless beauty and music, a subtle and indefinable charm, incomprehensible to those acquainted only with European languages. It is easy for those not acquainted with the language in which the Koran was written, and, therefore, judging altogether as outsiders, to indulge in depreciation of its merits.* Such critics lose sight of the fact that the Koran is a poetical composition, and a poetical composition of the earliest and most primitive kind, and that therefore its ideas and the language in which they are conveyed cannot well be separated. The genuine poet not only creates the conception, but the word which is its vehicle. The word becomes the inseparable drapery of the idea. Hence the highest poetry cannot be translated.

* The case cited by Dr. Mühleisen Arnold, in his work on Islam, of an Arab philosopher and unbeliever in Mohammed, who lived in the eighth century, depreciating the literary merits of the Koran, is no more in point as an argument against the book, it appears to us, than if a Mohammedan controversialist were to quote from Voltaire or Tom Paine against the Bible.

We see this in the numerous versions by which it has been sought in every age to reach the sense of the poetical portions of the Bible. No words yet furnished by Greek, Roman, or Teutonic literature have been fully adequate to bring out the subtle beauties of the Semitic original. Among Mohammedans written or printed translations of the Koran are discouraged. The Chinese, Hindoos, Persians, Turks, Mandingoes, Foulahs, etc., who have embraced Islam, speak in their "own tongues wherein they were born," but read the Koran in Arabic.

Mr. Bosworth Smith was right to commence his preparations for the valuable work he has written by a careful study of the Koran. But it is to be regretted that he had not access to the force and beauty of the original, which neither Sale, Kasimirsky, Lane, nor Rodwell have been able—though they labored hard to do so—to retain in their excellent translations. A distinguished Oriental scholar and critic says:—

> There can be no doubt that to understand thoroughly this wonderful book, the aid of those learned men, Arabs and others, who have devoted themselves to the careful study of it, is not only desirable, but necessary. . . . The subject is of sufficient importance to men of research to render it advisable that it should be examined from all points of view, for by no other means can we hope to obtain as clear an insight into the origin of Islam as by a careful study of the book which contain sits fundamental principles.*

To the outside world, easily swayed by superficial impressions, and carried away by matters of mere dramatic interest, there may be nothing attractive in the progress of Islam in Africa, because, as far as known to Western readers, the history of African Mohammedanism is deficient in great characters and in remarkable episodes. There has been, it is supposed, no controlling mind developed which has moved great masses of men. But the words of Horace are applicable here:—

> Omnes illacrimabiles
> Urgentur, ignotique longa
> Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

It is not, however, that no bard has written, but they have had very few readers in Christian countries. To those acquainted with the interior of Africa—to the Mohammedan world of North

* W. Nassau Lees, in the preface to his edition of the "Commentary of Zamakhshari."

Africa and Arabia—it is well known that numerous characters have arisen in Africa—Negro Moslems—who have exerted no little influence in the military, political, and ecclesiastical affairs of Islam, not only in Africa but in the lands of their teachers. In the biographies of Ibn Khallikan are frequent notices of distinguished Negro Mohammedans. Koelle, in his *Polyglotta Africana*, gives a graphic account of the proceedings of the great Fodie, whose zeal, enthusiasm, and bravery spread Islam over a large portion of Nigritia.

One of the most remarkable characters who have influenced the history of the region of country between Timbuctoo and the West Coast was a native of Futah Toro, known as the Sheikh Omaru Al-Hajj. He is said to have been a Waleen,* a man of extraordinary endowments, of commanding presence, and great personal influence. He was educated by the Sheikh Tijani, a Moslem missionary from Arabia. Having spent several years under the instruction of this distinguished teacher, visiting Mecca in the meanwhile, he became profoundly learned in the Arabic language. After the death of his master he went twice to Mecca on pilgrimage. On his return to his country the second time, he undertook a series of proselytizing expeditions against the powerful pagan tribes on the east and south-east of Futah Toro. He conquered several powerful chiefs, and reduced their people to the faith of Islam. He banished paganism from Sego, and purified the practices of several Mohammedan districts which had become imbued with heathenish notions. He thus restored Jenne, and Hamd-Allahi, and was on his way to Timbuctoo, about ten years ago, when, through the treachery of the Arabs of that region, he was circumvented and killed at a town in Masina. One of his sons is now king of Sego, another rules over Hamd-Allahi, two of the largest cities in Central Africa.

Al-Hajj Omaru wrote many Arabic works in prose and poetry. His poems are recited and sung in every Mohammedan town and village, from Futah-town, in Sierra Leone, to Kano. His

* This word is used by the Mohammedans of Negroland in a peculiar sense. It means one called of God, and endowed with special gifts to exercise authority in ecclesiastical and sometimes political matters, inferior in official rank, according to their estimation, only to a prophet. Such men have, from time to time, arisen among African Mohammedans, and have carried out important reforms in Church and State.

memory is held in the greatest respect by all native students, and they attribute to him many extraordinary deeds, and see in his successful enterprises, literary and military, proofs of divine guidance.*

We have heard of numerous instances of these "half military, half religious geniuses," as Mr. Bosworth Smith calls them, "which Islam always seems capable of producing."

To the Mohammedans of Negro-land, far away from the complex civilization of European life, with its multifarious interests, the struggle for the ascendency of Islam is the one great object which should engage the attention of a rational being. It is a struggle between light and darkness, between knowledge and ignorance, between good and evil. The traditional enthusiasm of their faith makes them utterly indifferent to the sufferings of any who stand in the way of the dissemination of the truth, and patient of any evils they may have to endure in order to insure the triumph of their cause. "Paradise is under the shadow of swords," is one of their stimulating proverbs.

There is one passage in Mr. Bosworth Smith's book of which we do not think that the author, who it seems has not himself been in Africa, understood the full import, but which the Christian world, it appears to us, would do well to ponder. It is as follows:—

> Christian travelers, with every wish to think otherwise, have remarked that the Negro,† who accepts Mohammedanism, acquires at once a sense of the dignity of human nature not commonly found even among those who have been brought to accept Christianity.‡

Having enjoyed exceptional advantages for observation and comparison in the United States, the West Indies, South Amer-

* Report on the Expedition to Timbo made to the Governor of Sierra Leone, 1873. See also the "African Sketch-Book," by Winwood Reade, vol. i, p. 317.

† Mr. Bosworth Smith writes this word with a small *n;* but we do not see why, if it is used to designate one of the great families of man, it should not be entitled to the same distinction as such words as Indian, Hindoo, Chinaman, etc. Why give more dignity to the specific than to the general? Why write Ashantee, Congo, Mandingo, with capitals, and Negro, the generic appellation, with a small *n?* Is not this in deference to the sort of prejudice against which Mr. Smith himself protests?

‡ Lecture i, p. 32.

ica, Egypt, Syria, West and Central Africa,* we are compelled, however reluctantly, to indorse the statement made by Mr. Smith. And we are not surprised at his seizing hold in his researches of this most important fact and giving it such prominence—a prominence it richly deserves—in the discussion. Wherever the Negro is found in Christian lands, his leading trait is not docility, as has been often alleged, but servility. He is slow and unprogressive. Individuals here and there may be found of extraordinary intelligence, enterprise, and energy, but there is no Christian community of Negroes anywhere which is self-reliant and independent. Haïti and Liberia, so-called Negro Republics, are merely struggling for existence, and hold their own by the tolerance of the civilized powers.† On the other hand, there are numerous Negro Mohammedan communities and states in Africa which are self-reliant, productive, independent, and dominant, supporting, without the countenance or patronage of the parent country, Arabia, whence they derived them, their political, literary, and ecclesiastical institutions. In Sierra Leone, the Mohammedans, without any aid from government—imperial or local—or any contributions from Mecca or Constantinople, erect their mosques, keep up their religious services, conduct their schools, and contribute to the support of missionaries from Arabia, Morocco, or Futah, when they visit them. The same compliment cannot be paid to the Negro Christians of that settlement. The most enlightened native Christians there look forward with serious apprehension—and, perhaps, not without good grounds—to the time when, if ever, the instructions and influence from London will be withheld. An able paper on the "Condition and Wants of Liberia," by an intelligent and candid Liberian, has the following:—

We want, as a people, the spirit of liberality. We have learned to depend upon foreign institutions to support our Churches. This should not be so. If, indeed, we have not enough of the Christian religion to induce us to contribute liberally to the cause of the

* The writer, of pure African extraction, was born in the West Indies, but received his educational training in Liberia, West Africa, where he has lived for twenty-five years.

† The "Official Journal," dated May 1, 1875, contained intelligence of a conspiracy which had just been suppressed, and a presidential decree banishing forty of the conspirators.

Gospel; if we have not enough zeal for the cause of Christ to make us willing to sacrifice time and money for its good, etc., we had as well give up Churches and religion. . . . I have known some persons to change a two cent piece so as to get one cent for the Church. Alas for such religion! alas for the Churches thus supported!*

In the recent Ashantee war the most trustworthy Negro troops were the Haussas, who are rigid Mohammedans. The West India Christian Negro troops were not relied on to the same extent.

Now, what has produced this difference in the effects of the two systems upon the Negro race? In reply, we remark generally that the difference must be attributed to the difference in the conditions under which the systems came to those of the Negro race who embraced the one or the other. Mohammedanism found its Negro converts at home in a state of freedom and independence of the teachers who brought it to them. When it was offered to them they were at liberty to choose for themselves. The Arab missionaries, whom we have met in the interior, go about without "purse or scrip," and disseminate their religion by quietly teaching the Koran. The native missionaries—Mandingoes and Foulahs—unite with the propagation of their faith active trading. Wherever they go they produce the impression that they are not preachers only, but traders; but, on the other hand, that they are not traders merely, but preachers. And in this way, silently and almost unobtrusively, they are causing princes to become obedient disciples and zealous propagators of Islam. Their converts, as a general thing, become Moslems from choice and conviction, and bring all the manliness of their former condition to the maintenance and support of their new creed.

When the religion was first introduced it found the people possessing all the elements and enjoying all the privileges of an untrammeled manhood. They received it as giving them additional power to exert an influence in the world. It sent them forth as the guides and instructors of their less favored neighbors, and endowed them with the self-respect which men feel who acknowledge no superior. While it brought them a

* The Annual Address delivered before the City Council and Citizens of Monrovia, July 27, 1874, by Jehu T. Dimery.

great deal that was absolutely new, and inspired them with spiritual feelings to which they had before been utter strangers, it strengthened and hastened certain tendencies to independence and self-reliance which were already at work. Their local institutions were not destroyed by the Arab influence introduced. They only assumed new forms, and adapted themselves to the new teachings. In all thriving Mohammedan communities, in West and Central Africa, it may be noticed that the Arab superstructure has been superimposed on a permanent indigenous substructure; so that what really took place, when the Arab met the Negro in his own home, was a healthy amalgamation, and not an absorption or an undue repression.

The Oriental aspect of Islam has become largely modified in Negroland, not, as is too generally supposed, by a degrading compromise with the pagan superstitions, but by shaping many of its traditional customs to suit the milder and more conciliatory disposition of the Negro. As long as Timbuctoo, which was but a continuation of Morocco, retained its ascendency, Islam kept up its strictly Arabian aspect; but since the seat of literary activity and ecclesiastical influence has been transferred to Kuka, and since Kano has become the commercial center—two purely Negro cities grown up under Moslem influence—and since the religion has taken root among the large indigenous communities near the source of the Niger, it has been largely affected by the geographical and racial influences to which it has been exposed. The absence of political pressure has permitted native peculiarities to manifest themselves, and to take an effective part in the work of assimilating the new elements.

Christianity, on the other hand, came to the Negro as a slave, or at least as a subject race in a foreign land. Along with the Christian teaching, he and his children received lessons of their utter and permanent inferiority and subordination to their instructors, to whom they stood in the relation of chattels. Christianity took them fresh from the barbarism of ages, and forced them to embrace its tenets. The religion of Jesus was embraced by them as the only source of consolation in their deep disasters. In their abject miseries, keen anguish, and hopeless suffering, they seized upon it as promising a country where, after the unexampled sorrows of this life, "the wicked

cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." It found them down-trodden, oppressed, scorned; it soothed their sufferings, subdued their hearts, and pointed them, in its exhaustless sympathy, to the "Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with grief." In their condition of outcasts and pariahs, it directed their aspirations to a heavenly and eternal citizenship; it put new songs in their mouths—those melodies inimitable to the rest of the world—which, from the lips of emancipated slaves, have recently charmed the ears and captivated the hearts of royalty and nobles in Europe by a tenderness, a sweetness, an earnestness, and a solemnity born of adversity in the house of bondage. A popular London preacher says:—

> The Negro is more really musical than the Englishman. . . . Singing very often merrily with the tears wet upon his ebony cheek, no record of his joy or sorrow passed unaccompanied by a cry of melody, or a wail of plaintive and harmonious melancholy. If we could divest ourselves of prejudice, the songs that float down the Ohio River are one in feeling and character with the songs of the Hebrew captives by the waters of Babylon. We find in them the same tale of bereavement and separation, the same irreparable sorrow, the same wild tenderness and passionate sweetness, like music in the night.*

These are great and precious advantages; but, nevertheless, owing to the physical, mental, and social pressure under which the Africans received these influences of Christianity, their development was necessarily partial and one-sided, cramped and abnormal. All tendencies to independent individuality were repressed and destroyed. Their ideas and aspirations could be expressed only in conformity with the views and tastes of those who held rule over them. All avenues to intellectual improvement were closed against them, and they were doomed to perpetual ignorance.

Mohammedanism and learning to the Moslem Negro were coeval. No sooner was he converted than he was taught to read, and the importance of knowledge was impressed upon him. The Christian Negro came in contact with mental and physical proscription and the religion of Christ contemporaneously. If the Mohammedan Negro had at any time to choose between the Koran and the sword, when he chose the former he was allowed to wield the latter as the equal of any

* Rev. H. R. Haweis in "Music and Morals," p. 500. London, 1874.

other Moslem; but no amount of allegiance to the Gospel relieved the Christian Negro from the degradation of wearing the chain which he received with it, or rescued him from the political and, in a measure, ecclesiastical proscription which he still undergoes in all the countries of his exile.* Everywhere in Christian lands he plays, at the present moment, the part of the slave, ape, or puppet. Only a few here and there rise above the general degradation, and these become targets to their unappreciative brethren—

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

Is it any wonder, then, that "Christian travelers, with every wish to think otherwise," in commenting upon the diffference between Christian and Mohammedan Negroes, with respect to true manliness, must do so to the disadvantage of the former?

Another reason for the superior manliness and *amour propre* of Negro Mohammedans may be found in the fact that, unlike their Christian brethren, they have not been trained under the depressing influence of Aryan art. Deutsch says:—

The Shemites from some strange idiosyncrasy, perpetuated by religious ordinances, abhorred, all of them, at certain stages, the making visible pictures of things they revered, loved, or worshiped.†

The Second Commandment, with Mussulmans as with Jews, is construed literally into the prohibition of all representations of living creatures of all kinds; not merely in sacred places, but every-where.‡ Josephus tells us that the Jews would not even suffer the image of the emperor, which was represented on the eagles of the soldiers.§ The early Christian Fathers believed that painting and sculpture were forbidden by the Scriptures, and that they were therefore wicked arts. Among the Mohammedans of Negroland it is considered a sin to make even the rudest representation of any living thing on the ground or on the side of a house. We shall never forget the disgust with which a Mandingo from Kankan, who was for the first time visiting the seaboard at Monrovia, turned from a marble figure

* For an interesting discussion on this subject from the pen of a Negro, see Tanner's "Apology for African Methodism" in the United States.

† "Literary Remains," p. 161.

‡ "Mischat ul-Masabih," vol. ii, p. 368. § "Antiquities, xviii-iii, 1, etc.

in the cemetery, through which we were showing him, exclaiming, *Amâl Shaitân! amâl Shâitan!*—the work of Satan.*

No one can deny the great esthetic and moral advantages which have accrued to the Caucasian race from Christian art, through all its stages of development, from the Good Shepherd of the Catacombs to the Transfiguration of Raphael, from rough mosaics to the inexpressible delicacy and beauty of Giotto and Fra Angelico.† But to the Negro all these exquisite representations exhibited only the physical characteristics of a foreign race; and, while they tended to quicken the tastes and refine the sensibilities of that race, they had only a depressing influence upon the Negro, who felt that he had neither part nor lot, so far as his physical character was concerned, in those splendid representations. A strict adherence to the letter of the second commandment would have been no drawback to the Negro. To him the painting and sculpture of Europe, as instruments of education, have been worse than failures. They have really raised barriers in the way of his normal development. They have set before him models for imitation; and his very effort to conform to the canons of taste thus practically suggested, has impaired, if not destroyed, his self-respect, and made him the weakling and creeper which he appears in Christian lands. It was our lot not long since to hear an illiterate Negro in a prayer-meeting in New York entreat the Deity to extend his "lily white hands" and bless the waiting congregation. Another,‡ with no greater amount of culture, preaching from 1 John iii, 2, "We shall be like him," etc., etc., exclaimed, "Brethren, imagine a beautiful white man with blue eyes, rosy cheeks, and flaxen hair, and we shall be like him." The conceptions of these worshipers were what they had gathered from plastic and pictorial representations, as well as from the characteristics of the dominant race around them. The Mohammedan Negro, who is not familiar with such representations, sees God in the great men of his own country. The saying is attributed to an

* See Koran, v. 92.

† See a paper on the Roman Catacombs, etc., read by Dean Stanley before the Royal Institution, May 29, 1874.

‡ The putting forward of thoroughly illiterate men to expound the Scriptures among Negro Christians has been another great drawback to their proper development.

ancient philosopher,* that if horses, oxen, and lions could paint they would certainly make gods in their own image:—

> If oxen or lions had hands, and could work in man's fashion,
> And trace out with chisel and brush their conception of Godhead,
> Then would horses depict gods like horses, and oxen like oxen,
> Each kind the divine with its own form and nature endowing.

This is no doubt true, and the Negro who grew up normally would certainly not be inferior to lions, horses, and oxen. The Christian Negro, abnormal in his development, pictures God and all beings great in moral and intellectual qualities with the physical characteristics of Europeans, and deems it an honor if he can approximate by a mixture of his blood, however irregularly achieved, in outward appearance, at least, to the ideal thus forced upon him of the physical accompaniments of all excellence. In this way he loses that "sense of the dignity of human nature" observable in his Mohammedan brother.

A third very important influence which has retarded the development of the Christian Negro may be found in the social and literary pressure which he has undergone. It is not too much to say that the popular literature of the Christian world, since the discovery of America, or at least for the last two hundred years, has been anti-Negro. The Mohammedan Negro has felt nothing of the withering power of caste. There is nothing in his color or race to debar him from the highest privileges, social or political, to which any other Moslem can attain. The slave who becomes a Mohammedan is free.† Mohammedan history abounds with examples of distinguished Negroes. The eloquent Adzân, or Call to Prayer, which to this day summons at the same hours millions of the human race to their devotions, was first uttered by a Negro, Bilâl by name, whom Mohammed, in obedience to a dream, appointed the first Muezzin or Crier.‡ And it has been remarked that even Alexander the Great is in Asia an unknown personage by the side of this honored Negro. Mr. Muir notices the inflexible constancy of Bilâl to the faith of Islam under the severest trials.§ Ibn Khallikan mentions a celebrated Negro khalif,

* Xenophanes of Colophon, (six centuries, B. C.)

† Ockley's "History of the Saracens," sixth edition, London, 1871, p. 14.

‡ Muir's "Life of Mohammed," vol. iii, p. 54.

§ Ibid, vol. ii, p. 129.

who reigned at Bagdad in the ninth century.* He describes him as a man of great merit, and a perfect scholar. None of the sons of khalifs spoke with greater propriety and elegance, or composed verses with greater ability. The following lines were addressed to him by a contemporary poet:—

Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenious mind, or lessen the worth of the scholar or the wit. Let blackness claim the color of your body; I claim as mine your fair and candid soul.

The poet Abu Ishak Assabi, who lived in the tenth century, had a black slave named Yumna, to whom he was greatly attached, and on whom he made some remarkable verses which are much quoted by Moslems. Notice the following:—

The dark-skinned Yumna said to one whose color equals the whiteness of the eye, "Why should your face boast its white complexion? Do you think that by so clear a tint it gains additional merit? Were a mole of my color on that face it would adorn it; but one of your color on my cheek would disfigure me."

Here is another:—

Black misbecomes you not; by it you are increased in beauty: black is the only color princes wear. Were you not mine, I should purchase you with all my wealth. Did I not possess you, I should give my life to obtain you.†

Ibn Muslimeh, an enthusiastic lover, exclaims, "If a mole be set in an ugly cheek it endows it with beauty and grace; how then should the heart-stricken be blamed for looking upon his mistress as a mole all over?‡

Mr. Gifford Palgrave, whose travels in Eastern countries have no doubt diminished the sensitiveness of his Western prejudices, concludes his brilliant "Essays on Eastern Questions" with a poem composed by a Negress in memory of her celebrated semi-Arab son, who had perished in one of his daring adventures.

Now, it must be evident that Negroes trained under the influence of such a social and literary atmosphere must have a deeper self-respect and higher views of the dignity of human nature than those trained under the blighting influence of

* "Biographies of Ibn Khallikan," translated by Baron de Slane, vol. i, p. 18.

† Ibn Khallikan, vol. i, p. 32.

‡ Chenery's Translation of the "Assemblies of Hariri," vol. i, p. 345.

caste, and under the guidance of a literature in which it has been the fashion for more than two hundred years to caricature the African, to ridicule his personal peculiarities, and to impress him with a sense of perpetual and hopeless inferiority. Christian literature has nothing to show on behalf of the Negro comparable to Mohammedan literature; and there is nothing in Mohammedan literature corresponding to the Negro—or "nigger," as even a liberal clergyman like Mr. Haweis will call him *—of Christian caricaturists. A distinguished American scholar and thinker has noticed this. He says:—

> The black man in literature is either a weakling or caricature. The comic side of him alone comes into view. The single sonnet of Wordsworth upon the chieftain Toussaint, and the "sparkles dire of fierce, vindictive song" from the American Whittier, are almost the only literary allusions to the sublime and tragic elements in the Negro's nature and condition; certainly the only allusions that, without any abatement and introduction of ludicrous traits, ally him *solely* with human
>
> . . . Exultations, agonies,
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind.†

No one will charge the Negro Mohammedans with giving ground for the notion, put forward recently from a very distinguished source, that the African entertains "a superstitious awe and dread of the white man." Ibn Batoutah, cited above, though a Mohammedan, experienced no greater respect among the Moslems of Negroland on account of his color than a Negro in the same position would have received. He complains of the cool and haughty bearing of a certain Negro prince toward himself and a number of European or Arab traders who appeared in the royal presence. "It was then," he says, "that I regretted having entered the country of the Negroes on account of their bad education, and the little regard they have for white men." And what was the evidence of this "bad education and little regard for white men?" The chief chose to speak to them through a third party, "although they were

* "Music and Morals," p. 550.

† Professor W. G. T. Shedd, in an Address delivered before the Massachusetts Colonization Society, Boston, May 27, 1857. The remarkable address of Wendell Phillips on Toussaint L'Overture must not be forgotten. Mr. Phillips is the only American orator who has had the temerity to lavish flowers of a brilliant rhetoric in adorning the memory of a Negro.

very near him." "This was done," observes the sensitive traveler, "solely on account of his contempt" for them. Réné Caillié, the French traveler, who made the journey from West Africa to Morocco, *via* Timbuctoo, was compelled to travel in strict disguise as a poor Moslem. His sojourn in Timbuctoo was of only fourteen days; and, as he was in constant danger of being discovered, he could neither move about freely nor note down all that he wished. Even Barth was obliged, for a short time, to adopt the character of a Moslem. Of course these things occurred before the days of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who, in a grave official document, thought it necessary to reassure his troops in the following terms:—

> It must never be forgotten by our soldiers that Providence has implanted in the heart of every native of Africa a superstitious awe and dread of the white man that prevents the Negro from daring to meet us face to face in combat.*

But Sir Garnet also deemed it important to bring to bear against these awe-struck Negroes armed with cheap flint muskets all the appliances of modern warfare, and no doubt bore in mind the Roman poet's advice—*Ne crede colori.* As *a ruse de guerre*—a military expedient—the statement served its purpose, and is one among the many evidences of Sir Garnet's skill and readiness in not only availing himself of advantageous elements in the situation, but of creating them if they do not exist. In this case he adroitly played upon the "superstition" of white men:—

> An dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

A cool and discriminating critic at home, however, at the close of the war assured us that, "without arms of precision, guns and rockets, and English skill and discipline, no invader could have made his way to Coomassie."

Had Sir Garnet, even before his practical experience, read the history of the great Civil War in America, he would have found in the thrilling records of many a desperate encounter, in which the Negro proved himself no mean antagonist when he met the white man "face to face in combat," materials for imposing a check upon that exuberance of imagination which

* Notes issued for use of the troops by order of Sir Garnet Wolseley, dated Cape Coast Castle, December 20, 1873.

tempted him to the sweeping assertion that the Negro in Christian lands, and all along the coast where he has been under the training of the white man, exhibits a cringing and servile spirit; but this, as we have endeavored to show, is the natural result of that habit of mind which it was the interest of his masters to impress upon him. Sir Garnet's dogma is only one of the innumerable lessons which the Negro is constantly made to imbibe, even at times from his religious guides and teachers,* the tendency to which is to blunt his "sense of the dignity of human nature."

Another very important element which has given the Mohammedan Negro the advantage over his Christian brother is, the more complete sympathy which has always existed between him and his foreign teacher. Mr. Bosworth Smith says:—

> The Mussulman missionaries exhibit a forbearance, a sympathy, and a respect for native customs and prejudices, and even for their more harmless beliefs, which is no doubt one reason of their success, and which our own missionaries and schoolmasters would do well to imitate.—Page 34.

Long prior to the rise of Islam, as we have seen above, the Arab merchant had been in communication with the interior of Africa, and had opened the way for the Arab missionary. When, therefore, the Moslem missionary came as the propagator of a higher religion than any that had been known, he did not enter the country as a stranger. The political and social institutions of the Arabs had already been tried and found suitable to the wants and tastes of the Negro tribes; indeed, the two peoples, if not of cognate origin, have by protracted intercommunication, and by the similarity of the physical influences which have for ages operated upon them, become similar in tastes; and it was not difficult for the Arabs to conform to a great extent to the social and domestic customs of the Africans. The Moslem missionary often brought to the aid of his preaching the influence of social and domestic relationships—an influence which in all efforts to convert a people is not to be entirely

* See an article on the "Negro" in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for August, 1873. The special correspondent of the "Daily News" at Cape Coast, under date of Oct. 2, 1873, speaks of the native chiefs as follows: "There is nothing that seems to signify power about their dignity; and knowing, as we did, that it has been our policy on the Coast for years to deprive these chiefs of all real influence, their very solemnity of manner left on me an impression of the theatrical."

ignored. "The conversion of the Russian nation," we are told by Dean Stanley, "was effected, not by the preaching of the Byzantine clergy, but by the marriage of a Byzantine princess." * So the Arab missionaries often entered into the bonds of wedlock with the daughters of Negroland; † and by their teaching, by their intelligence, by their intermarriages with the natives, by the trade and generosity of their merchants, they enlisted so many interests and such deep sympathies, that they rapidly took abiding root in the country. Some of the brightest names in the annals not only of Islamitic but of pre-Islamitic literature, are those of the descendants of Arabs and Africans. One of the authors of the "*Muallakat*," for instance, was half Arab and half Negro.

The sympathy, therefore, between the Arab missionary and the African is more complete than that between the European and the Negro. With every wish, no doubt, to the contrary, the European seldom or never gets over the feeling of distance, if not of repulsion, which he experiences on first seeing the Negro. ‡ While he joyfully admits the Negro to be his brother, having the same nature in all its essential attributes, still, owing to the diversity in type and color, he naturally concludes that the inferiority which to him appears on the surface must extend deeper than the skin, and affect the soul. Therefore, very often in spite of himself, he stands off from his African convert, even when, under his training, he has made considerable advance in civilization and the arts. And especially is this the case in West Africa, where, living among large masses of his countrymen, the African Christian, who, from the pressure of circumstances has been forced into European customs,

* "Eastern Church," p. 34.

† Mr. Palgrave tells us that intermarriages between Arabs and Negroes have been at no period rare or abnormal; to such admixtures, indeed, the East owes not a few of her best celebrities.—*Essays on Eastern Questions*, p. 337.

‡ Bishop Heber, in one of his letters written on his first arrival in India, says: "There is, indeed, something in a Negro which requires long habit to reconcile the eye to him, but for this the features and hair, far more than the color, are responsible.—*Life of Heber*, by Taylor, second edition, p. 147. And what this distinguished prelate experienced and so candidly avowed, must be experienced in a still greater degree by minds of less caliber and less culture than his. "The more ignorant the whites are," says Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, New Jersey, "the more violent and unreasonable are their prejudices on this subject."—*Hodge's Essays and Reviews*, p. 519.

presents very often to the foreign observer, in contrast with his native brethren, an artificial and absurd appearance. And the missionary, looking from a comfortable social distance, surveys the Europeanized native, sometimes with pity, sometimes with dismay, seldom with thorough sympathy. He

> "Back recoils, he knows not why
> Even at the sound himself has made."

Or like the stream in Racine, at the sight of the monster it had washed to the shore:—

> Le flot qui l'apportat recule épouvanté. *

The African convert, under such practical teaching, looking upon his instructor as superior to himself—or at least *apart* from himself, not only in spiritual and temporal knowledge, but in every other respect—acquires a very low opinion of himself, learns to depreciate and deprecate his own personal characteristics, and loses that "sense of the dignity of human nature" which observant travelers have noticed in the Mohammedan Negro.

The Arab missionary, on the other hand, often of the very complexion of his hearer, does not "require any long habit to reconcile the eye to him." He takes up his abode in Negroland often for life, and, mingling his blood with that of the inhabitants, succeeds, in the most natural manner, in ingrafting Mohammedan religion and learning upon the ignorance and simplicity of the people. Innocent of the scientific attainments of the day, and with no other apparatus than his portable bed and dingy manuscripts, he may be inferior to the theological and classical scholar just from college in Europe or America, but he has the advantage of speaking to the people in a sympathetic and perfectly intelligible language.

We will conclude with one more extract from Mr. Bosworth Smith:—

> That Mohammedanism may, when mutual misunderstandings are removed, be elevated, chastened, purified by Christian influences and a Christian spirit, and that evils such as the slave-trade, which are really foreign to its nature, can be put down by the heroic efforts of Christian philanthropists, I do not doubt; and I can, therefore, look forward, if with something of anxiety, with

* Racine: "*Phèdre*," Acte V, Scène 6.

still more of hope, to what seems the destiny of Africa, that Paganism and Devil-worship will die out, and that the main part of the continent, if it cannot become Christian, will become, what is next best to it, Mohammedan.—P. 40.

West Africa has been in contact with Christianity for three hundred years, and not one single tribe, *as a tribe*, has become Christian. Nor has any influential chief yet adopted the religion brought by the European missionary. From Gambia to Gaboon, the native rulers, in constant intercourse with Christians, and in the vicinity of Christian settlements, still conduct their government according to the customs of their fathers, where those customs have not been altered or modified by Mohammedan influence. The Alkali of Port Loko, and the chief of Bullom, under the shadow of Sierra Leone, are *quasi* Mohammedan. The native chiefs of Cape Coast and Lagos are pagans.* So in the territory ruled by Liberia the native chiefs in the four counties—Mesurado, Bassa, Sinou, and Cape Palmas—are pagans. There is not a single spot along the whole coast, except, perhaps, the little island of Corisco, where Christianity has taken any hold among large numbers of the indigenous tribes.

But we do not believe that these tribes are hopelessly inaccessible to the influence of the religion of the Gospel. We believe that "when mutual misunderstandings are removed;" when the race is better understood; when the effort at indiscriminate Europeanizing ceases; when the missionary keeps before his mind—if he knows, or learns if he does not know—that "the idiosyncrasy of a people is a sacred gift, given, for some Divine purpose, to be sacredly cherished and patiently unfolded;"† there will be nothing to prevent Christianity from spreading among the pagan tribes, and from eventually uprooting the imperfect Mohammedanism which so extensively prevails. In the meantime, we ought not to grudge the Africans the glimpses of truth which they catch from the Koran; for "a knowledge of a part is better than ignorance of the whole."‡

* See Governor Pope Hennessy's Blue Book Report. Papers relating to her Majesty's Colonial Possessions. Part II, 1873, 2d division.

† Compare the views of Stopford Brooke in Sermons on "Christ in Modern Life," p. 58.

‡ Abu-l-Fida.

A singular anxiety seems to prevail in certain quarters to disparage and depress the character of Mohammedan influence, especially in Africa, by endeavoring to show that wherever it prevails it erects an insurmountable barrier to our further progress—that it produces a far greater than Chinese immobility. We are surprised that a writer, apparently so well informed as the author of the article on Mohammed, in the *British Quarterly Review* for January, 1872, should have put forward the following:—

> Islam is a reform which has stifled all other reforms. It is a reform which has chained down every nation which has accepted it at a certain stage of moral and political growth.

In keeping with this is a remarkable statement of Mr. Freeman's in his "History and Conquest of the Saracens," a work described by a recent subtle and eloquent writer as "more equitable and conscientious than Gibbon's!" Mr. Freeman says that Mohammedanism has "consecrated despotism; it has consecrated polygamy; it has consecrated slavery;" and Dean Church, to whom we are indebted for the quotation, not only indorses it, but adds, "it has done this directly, in virtue of its being a religion, a religious reform." *

A Mohammedan writer, taking the same superficial view of the effects of Christianity, and with the same love for epigrammatic terseness, might say, "Christianity has consecrated drunkenness; it has consecrated Negro slavery; it has consecrated war;" and he might gather ample materials for sustaining his position from the history of Christianity during the last three hundred years, especially in the Western hemisphere. When we see so many evils known to be antagonistic to the Christian religion still, after eighteen hundred years, prevalent in Christian lands, why should Mahommedanism be so assailed because, during twelve hundred years of its existence, it has not extirpated from the countries in which it prevails all social evils? Must we not suppose, that as with other creeds, so with Islam, its theology is capable of being made subservient to worldly interests? May we not believe that many of the evils in lands under its sway are due, not to its teachings, but

* Lectures on the "Influences of Christianity," etc. By R. W. Church, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's, p. 8.

to human passions? "As late as the fifteenth century," we are told by Mr. Maclear, "the Church in Europe was engaged in eradicating the remains of Sclavonic heathenism, and protesting against a rude Fetishism and serpent worship." *

It is to be regretted that statements such as those referred to above continue to be made by men whose character, position, and literary ability make them the guides of thousands. They tend to perpetuate in the Christian Church the feeling of distrust in any effort to evangelize the Mohammedan—to keep alive the suspicion that "the successes of the Mohammedan missionary condemn beforehand the labors of the Christian missionary to be in vain"—feelings with a closer acquaintance with the facts—we speak especially for Africa—does not justify. We are satisfied, however, that with the light which, increasing every day, is now being thrown upon the religion of Mohammed, writings based more upon the opinions and theories of the Middle Ages—as Mr. Bosworth Smith has so well shown—than upon the demonstrated facts of to-day, are almost sure, in proportion to the growth of a more accurate knowledge and a more thoroughly discriminating and literary appreciation of Islam, to be riddled out into oblivion as inappropriate platitudes and barren superfluities.†

We entertain the deliberate conviction—gathered not from reading at home, but from travels among the people—that, whatever it may be in other lands, in Africa the work of Islam is preliminary and preparatory. Just as Ishmael came before Isaac in the history of the great Semitic families, so here the descendant of Ishmael has come before the illustrious descendants of Isaac. The African Mohammedans, as far as we have observed, are tolerant and accessible, anxious for light and improvement from any quarter. They are willing to have Christian schools in their towns, to have the Christian Scriptures circulated among them, and to share with Christians the work of reclaiming the pagans. ‡

* "Apostles of Mediæval Europe," p. 32.

† See an able discussion of this subject in Syed Ameer Ali's "Life and Teachings of Mohammed," chap. xv.

‡ Bishop Crowther, in his report for 1874, says: "I have not met with a stern opposer of Christianity, as far as I had conversation with Mohammedans up the Niger.... The reception of an Arabic Bible, which was presented to the Emir of Nupe from the Church Missionary Society, with a childlike glee, in the presence of his court-

In view, then, of the work which Islam has already accomplished for Africa and the Negro race, and the work which it may yet accomplish, we may express the belief of Möhler, quoted by the *Guardian*, (Nov. 4, 1874,) that "one day the true laborers may find (in Africa) a harvest ready for their reaping, and the Gospel speed thither on its way rejoicing, and Mohamed prove a servant of Christ." Till then, all earnest Christians may consistently join in the prayer of Abraham, adopted in the liturgy of the Moravian Church: "O, that Ishmael may live before Thee!" EDWARD W. BLYDEN.

ART. VI.—THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS AND MODERN GENESIS.*

SINCE the speculations of the evolutionists have been advanced with such boldness and plausibility, the nebular hypothesis has assumed an importance which it did not possess in the time of Herschell and Laplace. It is, in fact, the first link in the development theory by which it is attempted to bind together all nature in a rigid system of materialism, forever excluding the interposition of mind and the idea of a divine cosmos. Final cause is pronounced a chimera, and the first great cause is remanded to the sphere of the unknown.

The heavens no longer declare the "glory of God," but the transcendent genius of Newton and Laplace. The responsive cry of the angels in the vision of Isaiah, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory," is

iers, was a proof that this people desire to hear and search after the truth. Another copy was sent through him to Alihu, the king of Ilorin, who is also an Arabic scholar. . . . In all our religious conversations with these Mohammedans we never met with an obstinate disputer, or a bigoted denial of what we read or said to them."—"*Monthly Reporter*" *of Church Missionary Society, February*, 1875.

* *Mécanique Céleste* and *Systeme du Monde.* Laplace.——The Modern Genesis. Rev. W. B. Slaughter. Methodist Book Concern.——Poisson's Mechanics.——Climate and Time. Professor Cerall.——Correlation and Conservation of Force. Youmans.——Lectures on Some Recent Advances in Physical Science. Professor Tait.——Sketches of Creation and Geology of the Stars. Winchell.——Schellen's Spectrum Analysis.——Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, vol. xviii. Stockwell.——American Journal of Science, 1860, 1874, vol. ix.——Natural Science Review, 1875. ——Popular Science Monthly.——Proctor's Lectures in America.

drowned by the vociferous chorus of the scientific world celebrating the *wonderful* observations of Darwin, the *hasty* generalizations of Huxley, and the hazy speculations of Spencer. In his "System of the World," Laplace, or at least his translator, writes the word "Geometer" with a capital "G;" while "nature," as the grand source of all things, is spelled with a small "n." In the same irreverent spirit the great Geometer responded to Napoleon, who asked him how he could write such a work as *Mécanique Céleste* without a recognition of God, "Monsieur, I have no need of such a hypothesis."

It is not improbable that the nebular hypothesis suggested to Herbert Spencer his wonderful definition of evolution. "It is," says he, "a change from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity into a definite coherent heterogeneity through continuous differentiation and integration." The principles on which the marvelous transformations are accomplished, are the "instability of the homogeneous," the "multiplication of effects," and the "integration of correspondences." According to the nebular hypothesis, we have first an extended cloud-mass, incoherent, indefinite, and homogeneous, out of which the cosmos is to be evolved by the multiplication of effects and the integration of correspondences. The earlier theorists assumed the existence of rotary motion, while modern speculation attempts to account for this motion on the principle of the "inherent gravitative force of matter." Motion being initiated in the nebula, it will be accelerated on account of the particles drawing nearer to its center by condensation resulting from cooling, on the same principle that the uncompensated balance-wheel of a watch will vibrate faster in winter than in summer. As this motion increases the particles of matter at all latitudes press from both hemispheres toward the equator, forming an oblate spheroid. When the centrifugal force, or tendency to fly off, becomes greater than the centripetal force, or the attraction toward the center of the mass, a ring is separated at the equator, and eventually broken into fragments. This is what Spencer calls "differentiation." These fragments, obeying the law of gravity, unite in most cases to form a planet or satellite. This is "integration." The outer part of the ring having a greater motion than the inner part, the differentiated body will revolve about an axis. This body passes through the same

stages of development as the original mass, hence the satellites. This process is not carried on *ad infinitum*, resulting in tribes, households, and families, in the planetary realm, because, after a while, the affection of the parent becomes stronger than the prodigal tendencies of the child. Thus out of a single homogeneous mass we have the heterogeneous solar system, with its sun as the residuum of the original nebula, together with the planets, the asteroids, and satellites.

The Origin of the Nebular Hypothesis.—Laplace, a celebrated French astronomer and mathematician, already mentioned, advanced this theory of planetary genesis in its definite form, though the speculative views of Lambert and Kant led them to the adoption of a nebular hypothesis, and the idea of a perpetual development in the regions of space. Sir William Herschell embraced similar views in relation to the existence of a self-luminous substance, of a highly attenuated nature, distributed through the celestial regions. But he made no attempt to extend his hypothesis to a cosmogony of our solar system. If, therefore, this hypothesis is restricted to the view which professes to explain the genesis of our solar system, it is only analogically related to the loftier speculations of Herschell in regard to the processes of star-formation going on in the stellar spaces.

With a modesty becoming true philosophy, which distinguishes speculation from scientific facts, Laplace suggested his hypothesis, "which," he says, "I present with that diffidence which ought always to attach to whatever is not the result of observation and computation." In harmony with this spirit he did not give this theory place in the body of his system of philosophy, but added it in the form of a note in his "System of the World"—a work comprising the *results* of celestial mechanics and adapted to the popular mind. That he never regarded this theory as any thing more than a plausible supposition, unsupported by mathematical reasoning, is manifest from the following phraseology: "If the *conjectures*, which I have proposed on the origin of the planetary system, have any foundation," etc Among the principles of his philosophy may be found a very different theory of planetary motions. He says, in accounting for planetary motions, "Thus to explain the double motion of rotation and translation of the earth,

it is sufficient to suppose that at the beginning it received an impulse of which the direction was at a small distance from its center of gravity."

What were the chief considerations which recommended this hypothesis to the mind of Laplace, and what is its relation to the facts of science at the present time? He says:—

> We have the five following phenomena to assist us in investigating the cause of the primitive motions of the planetary system: (1.) The motions of the planets in the same direction, and very nearly in the same plane; (2.) The motions of the satellites in the same direction as the motions of the planets; (3.) The motions of rotation of these different bodies, and also of the sun in the same direction as the motion of projection, and in planes very little inclined to each other; (4.) The small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets and satellites; (5.) Finally, the *great eccentricity* of the orbits of the comets, their *inclinations* being at the same time entirely *indeterminate.*

Among all the different phases in which this theory is presented by modern scientists, we have been unable to discover a single instance in which the last phenomenon mentioned above has come under consideration. The nearest approach to a recognition of the important bearing of the cometary system on the nebular hypothesis is made by Le Conte in an article on this subject in the "Popular Science Monthly." He observes: "That they (the first four phenomena) are not consequences of the law of gravitation, is evident from the fact that comets *transgress* every one of these laws which could be applied to them."

The Cometary System.—In view of the important relation of cometary orbits to the nebular hypothesis, as set forth by its illustrious author, it is certainly remarkable that the author of the "Modern Genesis" should use the following language: "One other class of objects demands our attention. The comets revolve around the sun, and must be recognized as erratic members of the cosmical system, and our inquiry is incomplete if it do not ask, How did they originate? How were they cast off from the cosmical sphere?" To these questions the nebular hypothesis replies: "The comets *do not* belong to the solar system," neither were they derived from it, but are foreigners, wandering through space from sun to sun, and occasionally becoming fellow-citizens of the solar family.

After "a somewhat careful study of the subject for thirty

years," Mr. Slaughter should not have chosen the phenomenon regarded by Laplace as the chief support of his hypothesis, as one of his grounds of objection to that hypothesis.

In view of the importance of this point, and the fact that it is generally overlooked by writers on this subject, let us try to understand the bearing of cometary motions on the nebular hypothesis. We shall seek the interpretation of Laplace himself. He remarks:—

> Another phenomenon of the solar system equally remarkable is the small eccentricities of the orbits of the planets and satellites, while those of the comets are *very large;* and we find that the mean inclination of the orbits of all the observed comets approach near 90 degrees. The orbits of this system present no *intermediate shades* between great and small eccentricities. *Chance* alone could not have given a form nearly circular to the orbits of all the planets.

The great work of Laplace had been to reduce all the phenomena of the heavens to the single principle of gravitation. He is now trying to account for the genesis of the solar system by the operation of the "primordial laws of nature." As a natural philosopher dealing with second causes only, he felt bound to admit no other consideration. The comets, having been drawn in by solar influence, appear from all points of space, and with every degree of velocity, giving rise to the greatest diversity in their orbits. But, on the contrary, the planets have *uniformities* in their orbital motions inconsistent with the hypothesis of chance. Newton had proved that the law of gravitation allows bodies to move in orbits of every degree of eccentricity, from a circle to a hyperbola. Laplace had demonstrated "that the planetary ellipses always have been, and always will be, nearly circular; from whence it follows that no planet has ever been a comet—at least, *if we only take into account the mutual action of the bodies of the planetary system.*" He holds that the same cause which rendered the planetary orbits nearly circular must also have influenced the great eccentricities of the orbits of the comets and their motion in every direction, which would be the case if the bodies had been "projected at *random.*"

In order that effects so diverse might be attributed to the same cause, Laplace considered the conditions of its operation very dissimilar. The comets, having been projected at random

from the spaces beyond, possess great *diversities* in their elements. Since the planets possess "marvelous uniformities" in their elements, they must have been evolved from a revolving nebula. Since the orbits of the planetary and cometary system present no "intermediate shades between great and small eccentricities," he was prevented from adopting an hypothesis applicable to both classes of bodies. He concedes the possibility of cometary orbits becoming planetary orbits under influences *other than* "the mutual action of the bodies of the system." A resisting medium might change a "parabolic or hyperbolic cometary orbit into an ellipse." The same cause would eventually change an elongated ellipse into one of small eccentricity. If it can be shown that later discoveries have filled up the "intermediate shades" of planetary and cometary orbits, wanting in the time of Laplace, the hypothesis will be deprived of its chief support; for in the system of Laplace the hypothesis rests not so much on the "*marvelous uniformities*" observed by later theorists, as on the *dis*-uniformities of the solar system. Within a few years this gap between the *circular orbits* of the planets and *very eccentric* orbits of the comets has been filled up by the discovery of 159 planets and planetoids, besides many comets.

The following table will present to the eye the gradation by which planetary orbits pass into cometary orbits, thus proving that the genesis of all the bodies of the system should have a *single hypothesis.* We give the average of the elements of the planets, asteroids, and comets, placing the planetoid of greatest eccentricity next to the comet of smallest eccentricity:—

	Eccentricity.	Inclination. Degrees.	Direction of Motion.
The average for seven primary planets	0.0602	1¾	direct.
The eccentricity and inclination of 21 of the earliest asteroids (average)	0.1637	8¾	direct.
The eccentricity and inclination of Mercury	0.2056	7	direct.
" " of Polyhymnia	0.3397	..	direct.
" " of Aethra	0.3819	..	direct.
" " of second comet, 1867	0.5075	..	direct.
" " and inclination of Fay's comet	0.5560	11½	direct.
The average of twelve comets, whose aphelia are nearly equal to Jupiter's mean distance	0.7446	11½	direct.
The average of the comets whose orbits extend to orbit of Saturn	0.7567	..	direct.
Those whose perehelia extend to the orbit of the planet Uranus	0.9005	..	direct.
The average of six comets whose orbits extend to the orbit of Neptune	0.9508	49	one retrograde.

Of twenty-one comets, whose mean distance exceeds the limits of the solar system, the eccentricity approaches unity, and their orbits are very eccentric. With this shading off of the characteristics of planetary orbits into those of the comets, it is impossible to say which orbits belong to the planetary system, and which to the cometary; which bodies were evolved from a central nebula, and which were drawn in from the celestial spaces.

Are the phenomena which are made the basis of the nebular hypothesis explicable according to the "theory of accretion," which seems to be the only alternative *physical* theory of the genesis of the solar system? We apply Laplace's hypothesis of the cometary system to the motions of *all the bodies* of the solar system, not because it is specially superior to his hypothesis to account for the motions of the planetary system, or is more in harmony with the teachings of natural theology, but in order to show how far we are, after all, from a correct theory of the universe. Directing our attention to the cause which Laplace admits is sufficient to transform a parabolic or hyperbolic orbit into an ellipse, we shall indicate the effect of this cause on the motions of all celestial bodies. Poisson, in his Mechanics, demonstrates the effect produced on the orbit of a celestial body, by a "resistance supposed, as in the motion of projectiles in the air, to be proportional to the square of the velocity." In addition to diminishing the mean distance, and accelerating the velocity, it is apparent from his formula that the effect of the resisting medium is much greater in aphelion when the motion is slower, than it is in perihelion. Consequently the aphelion distanced iminishes more rapidly, and the orbit becomes less eccentric. For instance the comet of 1843, whose aphelion distance is 112 times the mean distance of the earth, has a motion 400,000,000 times greater in perihelion than in aphelion. This position agrees with a conclusion, in *Mécanique Céleste*, in the case of orbits of small eccentricity. "Therefore, at the same time that the planet approaches toward the sun by the effect of the resistance of the medium, the *orbit will become more circular.*"

The problem by which the stability of the solar system is established seems clearly to indicate that one of the indispensable conditions of stable equilibrium, is that all the bodies

shall revolve in the *same direction*. If a body should come into the system in the opposite direction from the prevailing motions, the perturbations would eventually bring it into collision with some heavier body, by which it would be absorbed and borne along in the common direction. This, perhaps, accounts for the fact that so few of the known elliptical comets have a retrograde motion. The planet Jupiter exerts a controlling influence in the solar system, especially over the inclinations of the orbits of all other bodies. His action has a tendency to bring all other orbits to coincide with his own. The influence of Jupiter, and the major planets generally, over the cometary orbits, is seen in the fact that the aphelion of the comets whose orbits are included within the limits of the solar system very nearly coincide with the orbits of the larger planets. There are twelve comets whose mean aphelion distance is 5.6, the mean distance of Jupiter being 5.2, and his aphelion being 5.5 times the mean distance of the earth from the sun. There are two comets and a meteor ring whose mean aphelion distance is 19.62, the mean distance of Uranus being 19.18. There are six comets whose mean aphelion is 34.03, the mean distance of Neptune being 29.77. These coincidences clearly prove a physical connection between the planets and comets. With this position agrees the observation of Laplace: "The attraction of the planets ought to change several cometary orbits into ellipses."

It may also be shown that the rotary motion of the planets, in consequence of a resisting medium, should be in the direction of the orbital motion, and in a plane nearly coincident with that of the orbit. The solar attraction on a body, with free vapors or liquids on its surface, converts it into an ellipsoidal figure with the longer axis directed to the sun. But in consequence of the greater attraction on the particles nearest the sun, the bulge will be slightly greater within the orbit than on the opposite side of the body. The center of gravity through which the axis passes will be farther from the particles on the side toward the sun than from those on the opposite side. Consequently the resistance will be greater at that point, causing it to move in a direction opposite to that of the motion of projection, and the whole body to rotate in the direction of the orbital motion, which is the case of the planets and satellites.

It may be objected, that the luminiferous ether, notwithstanding its supposed effect on the motion of Encke's comet, is too hypothetical to be made the basis of a bolder hypothesis. Admitting this to be so, observation has demonstrated the existence of an abundance of cosmical matter distributed throughout space, which must present a real resistance to all bodies moving against it. This matter becomes manifest as it is encountered by the earth, in its motion through space, in shooting stars, fire-balls, and aerolites. This matter is not uniformly diffused, but seems to cluster about certain points, or fall into rings, which, in some cases, have a close connection with cometary orbits. These shooting stars may be the remains of cometary disintegration resulting from the powerful action of the sun on the comets, in their perihelion passage. Seven principal streams of meteors have been detected and very well located, through which the earth passes at certain seasons of the year. Besides these, Schiaparelli, and others, have located the "radients," or points of emanation, of more than fifty sparsely strewn meteor-systems encountered by the earth in its annual revolution. No doubt the comets and all other bodies meet with cosmical matter, which is "diffused profusely throughout the universe," according to the observation of Laplace. In the course of ages this diffused matter must present a sensible resistance to the motion of bodies through the universe.

Professor Newton, of Yale College, estimates the number of shooting stars encountered by the earth during each year at about 400,000,000. Calculations based on their apparent magnitude, as viewed from different points of the earth's surface, give them a diameter ranging from 80 to 120 feet. Supposing their density to be the same as hydrogen, the lightest known substance, the earth during the past 100,000,000 years has encountered and absorbed into itself a mass of matter equal to $\frac{1}{13\,134}$ of its own mass. Such an amount of resistance would be sufficient to change the earth's orbit from an extreme oval into its present shape.

This is essentially the "theory of accretion," advocated by Proctor and some other astronomers. We have seen no attempt to bring this theory into harmony with the phenomena of the solar system. Mr. Proctor attempts to account for the

distribution of planetary masses on this hypothesis. The nebular hypothesis has never succeeded in its attempt to account for the anomalous collocation of the planets. According to the view of Proctor: "The solar system had its origin in the gathering together of matter toward a great center of aggregation. The nebulous masses would be thrown into the great center. There would be one center of aggregation. That center would grow continually in size and power—gradually drawing in more and more matter to it. How, then, does the secondary aggregation take its origin? I suppose that would arise not in one direction only, but some in one, some in another, with a superabundance in one direction; great subordinate masses would be formed, perhaps, not continuing separate for any length of time."

The Satellites and "Kirkwood's Analogies."—"One of the most remarkable phenomena of the Solar System," observes Laplace, "is the rigorous equality which is observed to subsist between the angular *motions of rotation* and *revolution* of each satellite. It is infinity to unity that this is not the effect of hazard." He attempts to account for this phenomenon in the case of the moon on the assumption that, being originally in a state of vapor, it would assume the form of an elongated spheroid. The terrestrial attraction ought at length, by making the two motions of the satellite to approach each other, to cause their difference to fall within the limits at which their rigorous equality commences to establish itself." According to the modern theory of energy, the same result is secured by the action of free fluids on the surface of a *solid* body. It is maintained that tidal friction will eventually bring the rotary motion of the earth into an equality with its annual motion.

The motions of the first three satellites of Jupiter present a phenomenon still more extraordinary than the preceding, one which consists in this, that the mean longitude of the first, minus three times that of the second, plus twice that of the third, is constantly equal to two right angles. Laplace claims that these motions were brought within certain limits, when the mutual attraction of the three satellites was sufficient to "render this relation accurately true," by the resistance presented by "the less condensible molecules" remaining around the

primary immediately after their formation. If this is the true cause of such a remarkable relation, the resistance presented by an etherial medium, or cosmical matter, will account for it equally well. Mr. Kirkwood, of Indiana, has recently discovered the same relation between certain asteroids, thus showing that the cause is more general than that given by Laplace.

In the year 1850 Mr. Kirkwood, whom Proctor calls the "modern Kepler," discovered a certain relation between the rotary and orbital motions of the planets, which was hailed as a powerful support of a waning hypothesis. This relation is called 'Kirkwood's Analogy,' and is thus expressed: The square of the number of rotations made during one revolution, divided by the cube of the diameter of the sphere of equal attraction, is a *constant* quantity for all the members of the solar system. When the discovery was communicated to the Academy of Science it was discussed *pro* and *con*. Prof. Walker remarked: "We may, therefore, conclude that, whether 'Kirkwood's Analogy' is or is not the expression of a physical law, it is at least that of a physical fact in the mechanism of the universe." If we accept either the theory of a luminiferous ether or tidal friction, or both, this relation cannot be permanent, since the orbital and rotary motion, supposed to be related by this analogy, are affected by forces which are wholly independent of each other. While a resisting medium accelerates orbital motion, tidal friction retards rotary motion. But the failure of the analogy in its application to the satellites is fatal to it, as a general principle. Prof. Walker remarked: "In the secondary systems the day and month are the same. This fact has remained hitherto unexplained." "In this case we may conclude that the rotary motion had exceeded the orbital motion immediately after the breaking of the ring, and only arrived at a state of equality by the loss of *caloric* from radiation." Contraction, consequent on radiation, has a tendency to *accelerate* rotation instead of retarding it. The development of the theory of energy since the discovery of the analogy entirely changes the bearing of this subject on the nebular hypothesis.

The Spectra of the Nebulæ.—After the resolution of many of the nebulæ by Lord Ross's great telescope, it was assumed, in opposition to Herschell's speculations, that all nebulæ might

be resolved by increased telescopic power. But the spectroscope, supplementing the work of the telescope, has revealed the fact that of the sixty nebulæ, whose light is sufficient to give reliability to the results of examination, twenty are found to be in a gaseous condition. Thus, what was lost to the nebular hypothesis by the telescope of Lord Ross, was supposed to be regained by the spectroscope of Huggens. These nebulæ may be divided into two classes. "All planetary nebulæ," says Huggens, "yield the same spectrum, the bright lines appearing with considerable intensity." The ordinary nebulæ give spectra of two or three bright lines, indicating the existence of masses of luminous gas, of which hydrogen and nitrogen are the chief constituents. If we compare these spectra with those of the gases hydrogen and nitrogen, we shall be able to arrive at some knowledge of their *density*. We have from two to four spectra of each of these gases, according to the degree of density. At a pressure of one-six-hundredth of an atmosphere, we have the three characteristic bright lines of hydrogen, deep-red, greenish-blue, and blue-violet. At the *minimum* pressure there are lines in the green alone. Up to a pressure of about one fourth of an atmosphere the spectrum of hydrogen attains its full brilliancy; but as the pressure increases to about one half of an atmosphere, it gradually loses in intensity without its general character being essentially changed, excepting that its individual lines, as was observed by Plucker, "*begin to widen.*" With a higher pressure the spectrum becomes continuous, and cannot be distinguished from that of star clusters. "Irresolvable nebulæ of high pressure cannot be distinguished by the spectroscope."

With these observations agrees the *theory* of spectrum analysis founded on the vibratory theory of light, as presented by Prof. Tait. "From free particles we get in general a few definite forms of vibration, corresponding each to a fine line in the spectrum, except in so far as this is modified by the relative velocities of the particles with regard to one another. When there are collisions, but not very numerous, we get slight modifications. So these lines broaden out on both sides. The effect of increased pressure and temperature is to make all the bands of the spectrum broader and broader; and finally, when we compress sufficiently to reduce the gas to what is

perceptibly a solid, or at all events an incandescent liquid, the bands have so spread out that they meet one another, and you have got, in fact, a practically continuous spectrum."

Hence we see that the spectroscope is capable of telling us still more regarding the nature of the light analyzed by it, than the nebulous condition of the matter from which it emanates. It is just here that the evidence it gives is unfavorable to the hypothesis of Laplace. The density of a gas produces an effect upon the spectrum, and is measured by the *breadth of the lines* composing it. Now the nebular hypothesis requires, as a necessary corollary—and it has accordingly always been admitted as such—that nebulæ of every degree of condensation should be found in the heavens, and the *variation* of the *brilliancy* of these bodies has therefore been pointed to as evidence of variation of density. The width of spectral lines, however, provides us with much more certain, reliable, and delicate test.

Mr. Plummer, in an article in the "Natural Science Review," says: "From the observations of Huggens, it would appear that the bright lines in the nebular spectra present no appreciable thickness in all those cases in which it has been possible to use a very narrow slit. The lines have invariably been found to be exceedingly fine, and hence we are furnished with distinct proof that the gases so examined are not only of *nearly equal* density, but that they exist in a very low state of tension. *This fact is fatal to the nebular theory.*" In the spectra of the nebulæ we have only a double line of nitrogen and the second line of hydrogen. The question why the characteristic bright lines of terrestrial hydrogen and nitrogen are not visible in the spectra of nebulæ has long occupied the attention of Huggens. Schellen remarks: "The only reliable conclusions reached by these spectroscopic investigations are: the temperature of the nebulæ is *lower* than that of the *sun*, and that their density is *remarkably small*, being in a highly rarefied condition."

These nebulæ, instead of lying beyond the stellar system, may even belong to the solar system, and be in some way connected with the comets. Assuming their distance to be half that of the nearest fixed star, and that they are moving at right angles to the line of vision, it would require about 250 years

to pass over one second of an arc, and their parallax would be less than two seconds. Such a motion could not be detected since the time these bodies were catalogued. This view seems very probable, especially in the case of extensive nebulæ, since the enormous magnitude which must be attributed to such a mass as the great nebula, Orion, is unfavorable to the assumption of an extra stellar position.

But a still more fatal objection to the assumption that nebulæ are the first stages of system-development would appear to be, that the gases which have been identified in the nebulæ do not seem to be, in themselves, adequate to form a system such as our own, unless by the addition of foreign matter. The addition of cometary matter would not give rise to the complex condition of the terrestrial elements, since the spectra of comets reveal little else than carbon.

All things considered, it may be doubted whether the nebular hypothesis has made any substantial advancement since it was set forth by Laplace, as a mere "conjecture," three quarters of a century ago. In view of this fact, it is remarkable that Dr. Winchell should make the following comparison, equaled only by that recently made by Professor Huxley. The former observes: "We said this account of planetary genesis (nebular hypothesis) was but an hypothesis. So was the doctrine of universal gravitation a hundred years ago. The latter says: "And the doctrine of evolution at the present time rests upon *exactly as secure* a foundation as the Copernican theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies."

Nearly two centuries ago the "*Principia*" appeared, in which its immortal author establishes the truth of the law of gravitation on the firm basis of induction and deduction. More than a hundred years have passed away since this theory was found to be in perfect accord with *all* the phenomena of celestial motions. The accuracy with which predictions are made relative to celestial motions, is a standing demonstration of the correctness of the theory of Newton. Newton was led to the general fact by a series of inductions, and from this principle he descended again to explain the heavenly motions. "This great man," says Laplace, "would justly have merited the reproach of re-establishing the occult qualities, if he had

been content to ascribe to universal attraction the celestial and terrestrial phenomena, without demonstrating the *connection* of his principle with these phenomena. This analytical connection of particular with general facts is what constitutes a theory," as distinguished from a mere hypothesis.

The nebular hypothesis rests on neither induction nor deduction, but has been evolved from the cloudy imagination of the theorist, and is about as attenuated as the original world-stuff. Professor Winchell placed before the gaze of Mr. Slaughter his "stupendous object lesson, which, like *curdled firemist*, engirts the sun." The pupil exclaims, "Curdled firemist that engirts the sun! Curdled nonsense. It is little less than charlatan dogmatism introduced into the domain of science." We should feel like sharing in this indignant outburst were it not that we have great respect for the memory of Herschell, who was the first to employ the word "Curdled" in this connection. It is certainly a remarkable phenomenon that a mere speculation, a "conjecture" of a great mathematician, should, in later times, be accepted as a scientific verity, without having passed the ordeal of every hypothesis before it is entitled to be installed as a true theory Science should either support the nebular hypothesis by a greater array of facts and arguments, or else remand it to the category of mere plausible conjectures, which have outlived their day. This opposition to "science, falsely so called," on the part of the theologian, may possibly be pardonable in view of the following opinion entertained by Dr. Winchell concerning those who are not entitled to speak by "authority" on this subject: "Occasionally we hear a dissenting voice, but it proceeds almost always from persons who, whatever their eminence in theology or letters, have little authority in matters of scientific opinion."

The Hypothetical Nebula in its relation to Molecular Science and Geology.—It is assumed in this hypothesis that the matter of the system existed originally at such a temperature as to be in a condition of vapor of great tenuity stretching across limits wider than the orbit of the remotest planet. This assumption seems utterly at variance with some well ascertained facts of "molecular science." The fundamental principle of this science, deduced from the observed laws of gases, is also found to be in harmony with the general phenomena of matter in its gaseous state.

The application of this principle in accordance with mechanical laws has led to some remarkable results. Under standard conditions of pressure and temperature at the earth's surface, the molecules of hydrogen have a motion among themselves of an average velocity of about 6,000 feet per second. Oxygen has a motion of 1,800 feet per second. The molecules of air vibrate at the rate of 1,400 feet per second.

Professor Cook observes: "That molecules of a body like the planets are in constant motion. In a gas this motion is supposed to take place in straight lines, the molecules hurrying to and fro encountering each other. The molecules, or atoms, if unconfined, would move off indefinitely into space." We can easily calculate the *density* of a nebula consisting of the matter of the solar system, and filling the orbit of Neptune. "It would require several cubic miles of such matter to weigh a single grain." We can also determine the *pressure* exerted by gravity at the surface of such a nebula. Having the pressure and density referred to the standard of hydrogen, we can ascertain, by the formula of Maxwell, the motion of hydrogen particles. At the temperature of freezing, this motion of the hydrogen atoms is about 9,000 feet per second. We can also calculate the velocity with which a body or particle must be projected from the surface of the nebula so as to pass off into space, beyond the control of gravity. A projection causing a velocity of about one tenth of a mile per second would forever separate a particle from the mass. Hence we see that not only hydrogen, but the heavier molecules, would be dissipated into space, and the continuity of the mass would be impossible.

On the assumption of the original nebular condition of the matter of the solar system, Sir William Thompson has demonstrated by a threefold argument that about ten millions of years is the limit that can be allowed from a physical point of view for all the changes that have taken place on the earth's surface, since vegetable life of the lowest known form was capable of existing thereon. His argument is based on the internal heat of the earth as showing the time of *consolidation*, on the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation, in its relation to the time when the earth solidified, as indicated by the amount of oblateness, and on the time, which the sun's temperature could supply the earth with heat. The gravitation the-

ory of the sun's heat, as held by Helmholtz, gives about twenty millions of years for the original nebula to condense to the dimensions of the sun. Mr. Crall, after making the most favorable assumption possible relative to the specific heat of the nebula produced by the coming together of two equal masses, having a large velocity of projection, from the stellar spaces, can only give us seventy millions of years. But both he and Thompson, as if to accommodate their geological friends, substantially agree that: "The general conclusion to which we are led, from *physical* considerations, regarding the age of the sun's heat, is, that the entire geological history of our globe must be compassed within less than one hundred millions of years." The problem is still further complicated by the experiments of Bischoff upon cooling basalt. He shows "that for our globe to cool down from 2,000 degrees to 200 degrees centigrade, would require three hundred and fifty millions of years.

But there are geological phenomena, material and vital, which point to a much longer period than that given by Thompson and Crall. The amount of denudation and stratification, as well as the slow modifications, of animal types, require, according to the geologist and palæontologist, from fifty millions to five hundred millions of years. Darwin demands three hundred millions. Lyall was content if he could have two hundred and forty millions. Huxley seems to point to the round number of a thousand millions of years in which to arise from protoplasm to man. Here is a clear conflict between the naturalist and philosopher. Either the geologist must be compelled to surrender some hundreds of millions of time, or the physicist must give up the nebular theory as the foundation of the condensation hypothesis of the sun's heat and the earth's present temperature. The geologist will probably carry the day, and the nebular hypothesis will have to give way to some other speculation relative to the origin of the solar system.

The Origin of Rotary Motion.—Laplace in his speculations assumes the existence of the rotary motion of the nebula as an unexplained fact. Helmholtz remarks, that there was "a motion of rotation originally slow, the existence of which must be *assumed*." The more modern speculators endeavor to account

for this motion on the principle of gravitative force. Spencer holds that the irregular "flocculi," or flakes of condensed matter, moving in a rarer medium, and passing to one side of the center of gravity on account of their irregular shape, impart a rotary motion to the mass. Why they have a tendency to pass on one side of the center of gravity rather than on the other, we are not told. Mr. Slaughter holds that this theory violates the law of motion, "that action and reaction are equal."

Winchell, in his "Sketches of Creation," has presented his view of this subject as follows: "The attractive influences of Sirius, Capella, Vega, and all the other fixed stars, were felt. The cosmical vapor which might otherwise have been perfectly spherical became *distorted* in its form. The position of the center of gravity was changed." If Mr. Slaughter, in his "Modern Genesis," had acquainted himself with the views of the author of the "Geology of the Stars," he could not have fallen into the error of using the following language: "There is no force contemplated as acting on the cosmical mass *from beyond* itself to give it rotary motion. But the contraction would be in the direction of the center."

Le Conte rejects Winchell's theory, and advances one of his own liable to precisely the same objections. He holds that "the nebular mass is formed of discrete masses which, by their collision, engender rotary motion." On the contrary, the collision of the last one of the "discrete" bodies of our isolated system would produce complete equilibrium. We can reply to Le Conte in the language which he uses to demolish the condensation theory. "How can we," says he, "reconcile a generation of rotation in the whole mass, in consequence of cooling and condensation, with the fundamental principles of the equality of action and reaction?" His own theory violates this law.

Let us examine Winchell's theory more at length. In reply to a note of the writer setting forth the atheistical tendencies of his position, he says: "I state that without the exertion of force *ab extra* no rotation would ensue." The effect of the attraction of the stars on the nebula would be to convert it into an ellipsoid, with its longest axis in the direction of the most powerful influence. While it is true that the particles in the course

of condensation will not move toward the center of gravity, but on a line normal to the surface, there is no reason why the particles similarly situated should not press equally on opposite sides of the axes, and thus produce equilibrium. The effect of the attraction on the shape of the nebula was similar to that exerted on the moon. Laplace observes: "We may conceive that the moon in a state of *vapor* assumed, in consequence of the powerful attraction of the earth, the form of an elongated spheroid, of which the greater axis would be constantly directed toward the earth."

Granting, however, that motion may be initiated about the shortest axis on account of prevailing impulses in some one direction, still the effect of tidal friction would be to instantly *check* this motion. These *ab extra* bodies which distort or bulge the nebula in the direction of the most powerful attraction, would not be less effectual in creating a tide in case the nebula began to revolve. Such an effect seems to be recognized by Laplace in his reasoning on the cause of the libration of the moon. "The terrestrial attraction acting while the moon is in a state of fluidity ought to make the two motions of the satellite to approach each other." That is, the external force which distorts the body has power to retard or check its rotary motion. The tidal wave must have acted just as surely on the original nebula "as a brake," as it once did in arresting the rotation of the moon, or as it does now on the earth. According to the views of Winchell we have the same cause, the action of exterior bodies, virtually giving rise to motion at one stage of the development of matter and destroying it at another stage. Such diverse effects should not be attributed to the same cause.

From the above considerations it is extremely doubtful, in the first place, whether an attenuated nebular mass filling the orbit of Neptune could exist in harmony with the conclusions of molecular science. In the second place it is equally doubtful whether gravitative force could initiate rotary motion without violating one of the plainest principles of philosophy. Finally, if such a rotation were commenced, tidal friction would doubtless at once destroy it.

Ring Formations and Equilibrium of Revolving Spheroids.—In our further investigations of this subject we shall have special

reference to "The Modern Genesis," by Rev. W. B. Slaughter, a work to which reference has already been made. This book is an attempted refutation of the nebular hypothesis, chiefly on the ground that the phenomena of the solar system are not in harmony with the mechanical principles on which the hypothesis is based. The avowed purpose of the author is "to examine the nebular theory in its *present phases*." The phase, however, presented by Dr. Winchell in one of the "Half-hour Recreations of Popular Science," entitled "The Geology of the Stars," is the one which claims the chief attention of Mr. Slaughter. As Mr. Winchell, and other nebular theorists, accept both the principles and conclusions of Laplace, presenting few "new phases" of this subject, we shall examine the "Modern Genesis" in the light of celestial mechanics and the nebular hypothesis.

There is not wanting evidence that Mr. Slaughter not only failed to grasp some of the most important principles of natural philosophy lying at the foundation of this subject, but that he neglected to study the nebular hypothesis as sketched by the master-hand of its author. He observes that "the peripheral ring was detached by the centrifugal force, but *how* the ring was changed into a planetary mass the advocates of the theory do not try to show." On the contrary, Laplace gives the entire *modus operandi* of this change. He remarks: "Almost always each ring of vapor ought to be divided into several masses—Saturn's rings being an exception. If one of them was sufficiently powerful to unite successively by its attractions all the others about its center, the ring of vapors would be changed into one sole spheroidal mass."

On the question of revolving spheroids Mr. Slaughter remarks: "But the *equation* of the gravitation and centrifugal forces will always be such that there cannot be such a thing as the casting off any portion of the mass."

In the absence of definite information given by Mr. Slaughter as to this important equation, let us present some of the most important results reached by profound mathematical analysis. In celestial mechanics it is demonstrated that the shortest period of rotation of a homogeneous fluid in *equilibrio* of the same density as the earth is 0.1009 of a day, or about one tenth, and this limit varies reciprocally as the square root of the density.

When the motion of rotation increases in rapidity, the fluid mass becoming more flattened at the poles, its period of rotation becomes less, and ultimately falls within the limits of equilibrium. This paradox is easily understood if we bear in mind that a particle at any degree of latitude has less rotary motion than a particle on the equator. As it reaches the equator it will act as a brake on the rotation. "After a great many oscillations, the fluid, (or gas,) in consequence of the friction and resistances which it experiences, fixes itself in a state of equilibrium."

It is extremely doubtful if the rotary motion, as the result of secular cooling and contraction, could ever exceed these limits of equilibrium. Is the formation of a ring possible at this limit? It has been proved that in the spheroid of equilibrium the equatorial diameter is about two and seven tenths (2.7197) times the polar diameter. It might be supposed that this limit is that in which the fluid would begin to fly off because of its too rapid rotary motion. Such is not the case, since this "could only happen when the whole action at the equator is nothing, or when the centrifugal force becomes equal to the attraction of the spheroid. In the case of the limit of equilibrium, the gravity at the equator is still about one half that of the pole." The advocate of the nebular theory ought to prove that the tendency to acceleration of the motion resulting from cooling and consequent contraction, is greater than the tendency to retardation resulting from friction among the molecules while the mass is in a state of unstable equilibrium.

Actual Velocities.—In discussing the subject of actual velocities Mr. Slaughter makes two assumptions, neither of which is accepted by the advocates of the nebular hypothesis. The first one is, "The periodic times may be said to be the same from age to age." From this assumption he makes the inference, that "we are justified in the declaration that the present orbital period of each planet must indicate what the original period of the cosmical mass was at the time the planetary mass was detached." This assumption is invalidated by the hypothesis of a resisting medium which presses the planets and comets toward the sun, and consequently accelerates their motions "from age to age."

A single outburst of Dr. Winchell's "enthusiasm" in his "Sketches" should have been sufficient to set his reviewer right on this question. Mr. Slaughter thus describes this enthusiasm: "Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of Winchell, unless it be the inconceivably high temperature of the original world-stuff. Nothing can compare with the grandeur of his periods, unless it be the original grand rotation itself." This glowing rhetoric is illustrated by the following passages from the "Sketches of Creation:" "Hark! from the highways of the comets come tidings of *friction* in the machinery of the heavens. The filmy wanderer encounters *resistance* in his long journey to the confines of the solar system. He plows his way through a resisting medium. He falls toward the sun and his orbit is diminished. Not only are the cloud-like comets slowly approaching the sun in spiral curves, *but every revolving planet.*" It is passing strange that Mr. Slaughter never heard this "music of the spheres," which breaks on the ear of scientific speculation. While, however, his philosophy is bad, the conclusion to be drawn is not invalidated, since the motions of the planets were slower at their origin than they are now.

He applies his *dictum* to the motions of Neptune and Mercury in order to show that nebulæ filling their respective orbits would be but slightly spheroidal on account of a rotary motion, corresponding with the present orbital motions of those bodies reaching "the conclusion that the ascertained rate of the supposed cosmical rotation is totally inadequate to produce a very *considerable oblateness* of the cosmical sphere." In coming to this conclusion why did not Mr. Slaughter give us the result of the rotation of a mass, not of the density of water, but of the actual density of the matter of the solar system, filling the planetary orbits? And why, in the second place, did he compare this homogeneous nebula with the solid mass of the earth, which is not homogeneous, instead of giving the oblateness produced, on the supposition of homogeneity? As the case stands, his conclusion is little better than a rough guess.

He asks a question in connection with Neptune which he should have answered himself for his readers: "Will you show us that a rotation at the rate of one eleventh of a second per hour is sufficient to produce even a great degree of oblateness in such a body as the original cosmical mass is supposed to

have been?" We can answer this question definitely by the application of the rule given by Laplace, as found on pages 146 and 147 of this Review. We can readily ascertain the time of revolution beyond which equilibrium ceases to be possible. Having computed the density of the nebula filling the orbit of Neptune, we are furnished with the time of revolution, which is about 274 years in the case of Neptune, producing an oblateness such that the equatorial diameter will be about two and seven tenths times the polar axis. But Neptune revolves in his orbit in 164 years. Hence the oblateness will be further increased unless checked by the friction of the molecules, as previously observed. To a similar question, whether Mercury, under the same conditions as those of Neptune, "would exhibit any perceptible oblateness?" we reply: Should the mass revolve in 112 days, it would assume the shape of a spheroid of equilibrium whose equatorial diameter would be two and seven tenths times the polar diameter. But since the period of Mercury is 88 days, the oblateness will be still greater.

The Relation of Orbital and Rotary Motion.—Mr. Slaughter asks the question, "What must be the ratio of the axial to the orbital rotation of any given planet?" As the rotary motion of a planet results from the *difference* of the motions of the *outer* and *inner* particles of the ring, after its fragments have coalesced, we should expect the outer planet to have the slowest rotation, while the motions of the other planets would regularly increase as we approach the sun. Such, however, is not the case. The conclusion resting on the fact that there is no ratio between the two planetary motions, depends on the assumption of the "*invariability* of rotary motion." Our remarks on "Kirkwood's Analogy" will apply to this branch of the subject. Mr. Slaughter has not seen fit to call the attention of his readers to the bearing of this "analogy" on this subject. There are two causes affecting the length of the day of all the planets possessing free particles. Condensation accelerates rotary motion; tidal friction retards it. The latter cause is most effectual in checking the motions of the planets nearest the sun, and least effectual on the motions of massive planets.

It may be said that we have laid entirely too much stress

on the theory of "dissipation of energy" as illustrated by tidal friction and resisting medium. Laplace seems to have recognized the influence of molecules among themselves in modifying motions of small intensity. "The fluids which cover this planet have destroyed by their friction and resistance the primitive oscillations of its axis of rotation." Helmholtz observes: "The motion of the tides produces friction; all friction destroys *vis viva*, or living force. We, therefore, come to the unavoidable conclusion that every tide, although with infinite slowness, still with certainty, diminishes the store of mechanical force of the system; and as a consequence of this the rotation of the planets, having fluids on their surface, round their axis must become more slow." Sir William Thompson and Prof. Tait have elaborated this theory more fully than any other philosophers. They say: "Whatever may be the relative importance of tidal friction and of the resisting medium, there can be but one ultimate result for such a system as that of the sun and planets. That result is the falling together of all into one mass, which, although rotating for a time, must in the end come to rest relatively to the surrounding medium. The tendency of retardation is not counterbalanced to more than a slight degree by the tendency to acceleration which results from secular cooling. Allowing for the retardation of the moon's mean motion by tidal friction or reaction, Adams estimates twenty-two seconds as the amount of error by which a perfect clock would get ahead of the earth in a century." It is claimed that there is an error in Laplace's theory of the earth's constancy of rotation, resulting from an inaccuracy in the amount of the moon's secular variation, which later mathematicians have corrected.

In the "geology of the stars," under examination by Mr. Slaughter, the influence of tidal friction in "destroying the *vis viva* and making the rotation continually slower," is distinctly set forth. Why Mr. Slaughter entirely ignores this principle in his discussions we are unable to understand. It would not be proper to hold that he was ignorant of the bearing of this theory on the questions discussed "after a careful study of the subject for more than thirty years."

Assuming the solar system to be an isolated system, not subject to external influences, we can readily show, by the appli-

cation of the principle of the "conservation of areas," fully developed in Celestial Mechanics, that the nebular hypothesis is untenable. This principle is thus expressed: "If we suppose a system of bodies acting on each other in *any manner whatever*, the sum of the products of the mass of each body into the area which the projection of its *radius vector* traces is *proportional* to *the time*." That is, for the same duration at any two epochs, however widely separated, this quantity is *constant*. We can compute the value of this constant from the present masses and motions of the system. If all these masses are viewed as diffused throughout the system as the original hypothetical nebula, possessing the same constant amount of *vis viva*, we can calculate the rate of rotation of the masses successively filling the respective orbits at the time each planet was detached. The rotary motion will be such that the sum of the areas described in a given time by the particles projected upon the plane will be the same as at the present time. Applying the principle to the sun and Mercury, we find that the rotation of the combined mass would be accomplished in about 470 years, or 1800 times the present period of Mercury's revolution. If, therefore, Mercury was detached from the sun, the quantity of motion must have been about 1800 times greater then than it is now.

The Direction and Perturbations of Planetary Motions.—The direction of planetary motions is the next subject discussed by Mr. Slaughter. He starts out with the assertion, "that the projectile always moves in a direction at right angles with the axis of rotation;" hence "the planes of the planetary orbits and the plane of the cosmical equator must be *exactly coincident*. We *demand uniformity*." Neither nature nor the nebular theorist has seen fit to comply with this arbitrary demand. Laplace, anticipating the objections which might be urged on the ground of *dis*uniformities, gives the following explanation: "But we may suppose that the innumerable varieties which must necessarily exist in the temperature and density of different parts of these great masses ought to produce the *excentricities* of their orbits and the deviations of their motions from the plane of this equator." In answer to Mr. Slaughter's question, "Will any one aver as a fact that stellar attraction affects the movements of a planet so as to change the plane of its orbit?"

Mr. Winchell would reply by pointing to Sirius, Capella, and Vega, "hanging on the verge of the firmament," exerting "their attractive influences on the solar system in its earliest infancy."

In reducing the planetary orbits to the plane of the solar equator, Mr. Slaughter has made an egregious blunder by *adding in all cases* the inclination of the sun's equator to the ecliptic to the inclinations of the planetary orbits, overlooking the important fact that the respective longitudes of the ascending nodes of the solar equator and planetary orbits must determine whether we shall *add* or *subtract* these quantities. If the ascending nodes of the solar equator and planetary orbit have the same longitude, the inclinations should be subtracted; if they are 180 degrees apart, they should be added. Applying this rule, we make the following very important corrections of Mr. Slaughter's numbers. As the ascending nodes of the solar equator and Mercury's orbit are nearly coincident, we subtract the inclination of the orbit, which is seven degrees, from the inclination of the sun's equator, which gives for the inclination of the two planes to each other one third of a degree instead of fourteen degrees. Approximately this rule gives for Venus four degrees instead of thirteen; for Mars five degrees instead of nine. Since the longitudes of the ascending nodes of the other planets approach to 180 degrees, the error is much smaller.

According to Laplace, the deviation of a planetary equator from the plane of its orbit, and of this plane from the solar equator, may be the result of the same causes. He observes: "If any comets have fallen on the planets, their fall has caused the *planes* of the orbits and of the *equators* to deviate from the plane of the solar equator. It is probable that such encounters have taken place in the immensity of ages which have elapsed since the commencement of the planetary system."

The author of the "Modern Genesis," in dealing with the subject of "direction of planetary motions," has entirely ignored the very important bearing of "planetary perturbations" on this question. Mr. Stockwell has conducted an elaborate and careful investigation, published in the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," in which he shows the limits of the variations of the planes of the planetary orbits, referred to

what is called, in Celestial Mechanics, "the invariable plane" of the solar system. These changes require vast periods of time to pass through a complete cycle. I have calculated the inclination of this plane and find it to be $6\frac{1}{12}$ degrees. It is an easy matter to refer the planes of the planetary orbits to the plane of the sun's equator, and then determine, from the variations given by Stockwell, how nearly these planes may coincide with the solar equator during the "secular variations" of the planetary elements. I have made this calculation with the following results: The orbit of Mercury may *coincide* with the sun's equator. At the nearest approach of the planes of the orbits to the solar equator the following numbers give the inclination in degrees: Venus $2\frac{5}{12}$, the Earth 3, Mars $\frac{1}{2}$, Jupiter $5\frac{3}{4}$, Saturn $5\frac{1}{12}$, Uranus 5, and Neptune $5\frac{3}{10}$ degrees.

In consequence of perturbations the retrograde motion of the moon's orbit may reduce the angle of its inclination to the earth's orbit from 29 degrees, the figures employed by Mr. Slaughter, to 18 degrees, as may be verified by comparing the moon's greatest declination during the present year with its minimum nine years ago, as given in the Nautical Almanac. The precession of the equinoxes of all the planets is also dependent on the same cause, and produces great variations of the angles made by the solar and planetary equators. The extent of variations resulting from this cause is about 12 degrees, or twice the inclination of the solar equator to the ecliptic. Hence, any valid objection to the nebular hypothesis based on the variation of the orbits or equators from the solar equator, must be subject to the above limitations. The conclusions of the "Modern Genesis" resting on such variable data are not very reliable. The *uniformities* of the ideal Jovian system, less subject to perturbing influences, in which the orbital planes of the satellites coincide with that of Jupiter's equator, should have admonished Mr. Slaughter of the weakness of his positions.

There are many other positions of the "Modern Genesis" open to attack on philosophical and astronomical grounds, but space will not allow of their examination. The chapter on "Relative Densities" is specially at fault, both as to principles and reasoning. As a presentation of superficial objections the work may have a place; but will fail to have much, if any, weight with scientific minds.

The Stable Equilibrium of the Solar System.—There are phenomena connected with the solar system inexplicable either by the nebular hypothesis or the "theory of accretion.' Granting that the "marvelous uniformities" may be reasonably accounted for by either of these views of planetary genesis, still there are certain "dispositions of matter in the planetary system," pointed out by Chalmers, or "an adjustment of bodies with their properties in respect to space" indicated by M'Cosh, which have never been traced to the action of the "primordial laws of nature," but which seem to have been "fixed at the original setting up of the machine" by a power transcending these laws. Newton explains these uniformities thus: "This admirable arrangement can only be the work of an intelligent and most powerful being." The writer of the article on "Nebularism," in "Appleton's Encyclopedia," admits that "It does not explain the *distribution* of the *masses* of the solar system." Proctor says: "A gradually contracting nebulous mass could scarcely, in my opinion, have produced a system in which the masses are at first view so irregularly scattered as in the solar system." Proctor's explanation of the fact is equally unsatisfactory.

If the perpetuity of the solar system was the object sought by the Author of nature, Laplace admits that such an end is admirably secured by its actual arrangement. That is no other system governed by existing laws, could more clearly manifest intelligence, as far as we know. In the solution of the problem of the stability of the solar system, the uniformities seem to be an indispensable condition of the reliability of the result. Even in the phenomenon of "precession," depending on the spheroidal form of the planets, there is some indication that rotary and orbital motion must be in the same direction in order to insure stability.

Assuming that the ultimate aim of the planetary system was to furnish a fit theater for the display of *vital* phenomena, we see the importance of its stability, and of those changes which result from perturbations and on which the vicissitudes of climate depend, being confined within the narrowest limits possible. Although the earth's eccentricity varies only between narrow limits, yet, as Mr. Crall has shown in his work entitled "Climate and Time," this slight change, in its rela-

tion to other influences, is sufficient to produce a glacial epoch alternating from one hemisphere to the other, thus giving the widest possible range to the distribution of species, as affected by climate, without utterly annihilating them.

There are some remarkable relations between the motions of the planetary orbits, pointed out by Mr. Stockwell, which serve to reduce the effects of perturbations to a *minimum* quantity. These relations seem to depend on the relative positions and magnitudes of the planets. Whether they have ever resulted from gravitation has not been demonstrated. In many respects these relations are analogous to those observed in the orbits of Jupiter's satellites, and which are the result of the remarkable commensurability of their motions, noticed on a previous page. Laplace succeeded in tracing this relation of Jupiter's satellites to the action of gravitation only on the assumption that such a relation was *very nearly* established at the commencement of their motion. Very likely the relation about to be mentioned depends on a primitive "collocation" of the major planets, such as to indicate Divine interposition. The relation seems to answer the purpose of a balance-wheel in the system. The perihelion of each planet has a motion in space caused by the attraction of all the other planets. This motion is exceedingly slow, and in some cases very irregular. Mr. Stockwell succeeded in proving that the motions of the perihelia of Jupiter and Uranus, referred to the "invariable plane," are equal to each other, being between three and four seconds of an arc, and performing a revolution around the heavens in 384,730 years, and continuing, on an average, 180 degrees apart. The same fact is observed in the motions of the first three satellites of Jupiter. Saturn's orbit, lying between those of Jupiter and Uranus, performs a revolution in one sixth of this time, while Neptune requires six times as long.

By virtue of this singular relation the orbit of Saturn is affected only by the *difference* of the perturbations by Jupiter and Uranus; whereas if the mean places of the perihelia of these two planets were the *same*, instead of differing by 180 degrees, the orbit of Saturn would be affected by the *sum* of these disturbing forces. But notwithstanding this favoring condition, the elements of Saturn's orbit would be subject to very great perturbation from the superior action of Jupiter,

were it not for the comparatively rapid motion of its perihelion, "its equilibrium being maintained by *the very act of perturbation*. The mean disturbing influence of Uranus on the eccentricity of Jupiter's orbit is identically equal to nothing by reason of the relation which exists always between the perihelia of their orbits." The mean motion of Jupiter's node on the invariable plane is exactly equal to that of Saturn, and the mean longitude of these nodes differs by exactly 180 degrees. By reason of the rapid motion of these nodes the secular changes of the inclination of the orbit of Uranus pass through a complete cycle of values in the period of 56,300 years. The corresponding cycle of perturbations in the eccentricity of Saturn's orbit is 69,140 years. "It is the rapid motion of the orbit, with *respect* to the *forces*, in the one case, and the rapid motion of the forces, with *respect to the orbit*, in the other, that gives *permanence* of *form* and *position* to the orbits of Saturand Uranus."

The spheroidal form of the earth and planets which Laplace and others urge as one of the consequences of the nebular theory has an important bearing on the *extent* of variation of equator and ecliptic. The actual limits are $2\frac{1}{3}$ degrees, only slightly affecting the seasons, which depend on this angle. If the earth were not spheroidal, but spherical, the inclination of the ecliptic to the equinoxial would vary to the extent of $12\frac{4}{17}$ degrees. While the earth's orbit vibrates through several degrees, the attraction on the protuberant matter of the equator draws it down toward the plane of the orbit.

Mr. Stockwell, reflecting on the phenomena of the solar system, connected with its stability, makes the following observation: "A system of bodies moving in very eccentric orbits is one of manifest instability; and if it can also be shown that a system of bodies moving in circular orbits is one of unstable equilibrium, it would seem that between the two supposed conditions a system might exist which should possess a greater degree of stability than either. The idea is thus suggested of the existence of a system of bodies in which the masses of the different bodies are *so adjusted to their mean distances* as to insure to the system a *greater degree of permanence* than would be possible by *any other distribution of masses*."

The grand progressive scheme of life, as revealed by geology,

requiring vast ages for its development, clearly points to the perpetuity of the solar system as an indispensable requisite. This *adjustment* of the physical system—in view of the many perturbing influences which threaten its existence—to the system of life, incapable of enduring great vicissitudes, must be regarded as a striking proof of a Divine Intelligence in creation and preservation.

Laplace criticises Newton for indulging in speculations which connected the Almighty with the solar system, while he himself framed an hypothesis virtually excluding him from the realm of nature. The Christian philosopher will do well to imitate the devout spirit of Newton, the great discoverer of the law of gravitation, rather than the irreverent spirit of Laplace, its greatest expounder.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Literary Elements in Theology. 2. Horatio Balch Hackett. 3. The Future of Catholic Nations. 4. Education among the Baptists of this Country during the Last One Hundred Years. 5. Progress of a Century. 6. Modern Evolution Theories.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1876. (Andover.)—The Madonna Di San Sisto. 2. The Synthetic or Cosmic Philosophy. 3. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion. 4. The Immortality of the Human Soul. 5. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 6. The Idea of God in the Soul of Man. 7. Dale on the Atonement.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1876. (Cincinnati.)—1. Baptism and Christian Union—the Real Question. 2. Animal Life. 3. Faith in the Unseen. 4. Materialism. 5. The Work Assigned to Faith. 6. Baptism for Remission of Sin is Justification by Faith. 7. Behold the Man. 8. Foreign Missions.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1876. (New Haven.)—1. The Influence of the Crusades upon European Literature. 2. The Belfast Address in another Light. 3. The Last Century of Congregationalism; or, the Influence in Church and State of the Faith and Polity of the Pilgrim Fathers. 4. The New Theology. 5. Mr. Lettsom's Version of the Middle German Epic. 6. *Logos and Cosmos:* Nature as Related to Language. 7. Necessary Truths and the Principle of Identity. 8. On some of the Relations between Islam and Christianity. 9. Muller's Rig Veda and Commentary.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, October, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Charles W. Moore, Esq. 2. The Field Family of New Jersey. 3. Notes on American History. Nos. IX–XII. 4. The Garrison Family of Massachusetts. 5. Gleanings. No. 69. Capt. John Ayres. No. 70. Farrars and Brewers of Essex County, Mass. 6. Deaths in Stratham, N. H., from 1741. 7. Extracts from the Diary of the late Hon. William D. Williamson. 8. Ab-

stracts of the Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 9. The Second Foot Company of Newbury. 1711. 10. Memoranda from the Rev. William Cooper's Interleaved Almanacs. 11. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 12. Samuel Allen of Windsor, Conn., and his Descendants. 13. Baptisms in Dover, N. H., 1717–66. 14. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in Middlesex County, Mass. 15. Passengers and Vessels to America. 16. Ancestry of Admiral Porter.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1876. (Boston.)—1. The Southern Question. 2. Whisky Ring. 3. Von Holt's History of the United States. 4. An Episode in Municipal Government. 5. The "Independents" in the Canvass.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1876. (New York.) 1. American Methodism in 1876. 2. The Indian Question. 3. Our Indian Policy Further Considered. 4. Organization of the Fundamental Principles of Social Science. 5. The Organic Unity of the Church. 6. The Great Awakening of 1740. 7. The Revivals of the Century. 8. Recent German Works on Apologetics. 9. Philosophy and Science in Germany. 10. Current Notes.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, October, 1876. (Gettysburg.)—1. Of Confession. 2. An Hour with the Fathers. 3. The Theological Seminary of the General Synod. 4. Protestantism and Catholicism in their Influence upon the Liberty and Welfare of Nations. 5. Our Home Mission Work in Cities. 6. Additional Remarks on the Ministerium.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Beauty in Common Life. 2. Egyptian Book of the Dead. 3. The Avesta. 4. Immer's Hermeneutics of the New Testament. 5. Luther and Schleiermacher as Preachers. 6. Tyndall and Martineau; or, the Debatable Ground between Materialism and Religion. 7. The Polity of the Universalist Church.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Church and the People. 2. What the Church and the People Have Done for the Science of Geography. 3. The Past and the Present Indissolubly United in Religion. 4. A Plan for the Proposed Catholic University. 5. The Nine Days' Queen. 6. Who is to Blame for the Little Big Horn Disaster? 7. How Shall we Meet the Scientific Heresies of the Day?

We have received the first four numbers of this stately Quarterly, and looked over its pages with gratification. In our country, where the Protestant principle of the right of private judgment prevails, it is desirable to hear the highest and best utterances of those who deny that right. No little ability of thought and grace of style appear in its pages. Besides fine literary articles, there are able defenses of our common Christianity, skillful argumentations in behalf of Roman peculiarities, and, we may add, sharp aggression upon Protestant communions, among which Methodism comes in for a very explicit share.

The Roman communion, like its elder and more authentic sisters, the Syriac and the Greek Churches, erred not so much by the corruption of primitive doctrines as by spurious additions to them. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was an attempt, very honest and to a great degree successful, to fling off the later and spurious, and fall back upon the primi-

tive and pure. It aimed to discard the modern and retain the ancient. Hence Protestantism is more ancient and primitive than Romanism. The primitive truth contained in Romanism, and in the written canon preserved by the Roman as well as by the other Churches, is essential Protestantism.

Among these Roman novelties, most pre-eminent in spuriousness and pregnant with danger, is the ascription to the Bishop of a single city of a supremacy over all other Bishops, culminating in a final ascription to the same prelate of the attribute of "infallibility"! The city selected as the theocratic city was the old Pagan Rome! This strange anomaly really arising from the fact that Rome was the politically imperial city, was theologically based upon the late and fanciful myth that St. Peter was once a Bishop there; and under pretense that the attributes of Peter descend along the whole descending line of Roman Bishops, we honest American Christians are called upon to abdicate our own reason and conscience, and accept the pronouncements of the present Roman Bishop in their stead. This is a decidedly tall demand. It calls for a very tall pile of resistless reasons authenticating itself. But the reasons are not impressive. Most well read and thoughtful Protestants recognize upon their very face ample warrant for prompt rejection, excusing us from wasting time in any extended examination.

Old Hugh Broughton remarks that Rome is not a favorite locality in biblical estimation. In the Apocalypse it is uniformly Babylon, an antitheocratic city, doomed to destruction. The great red dragon of Paganism has his native home in Rome. And Gibbon somewhere gives us a splendid passage picturing the fact that the stupendous pagan political empire of Rome was succeeded by a spiritual empire of deeper despotism, longer duration, and wider extent. And on the very surface of the Apocalypse we have the same fact pictured to the most transient eye. The great red Roman dragon of seven heads and ten horns is succeeded by the Roman beast with seven heads and ten horns. How far the scrutiny of details would verify the first impressions we will not now inquire. We only say that the first impressions are profoundly suggestive.

But the greatest practical Roman error, that which opens the deepest and broadest chasm between her and Catholic Christendom, is her claim to punish doctrinal dissent with physical

inflictions. Roman Catholicism is thus a standing vocal menace against the religious freedom of the world. We quoted a few years ago, from the "Catholic World," the assertion of the right of the Church to punish physically those who were "criminal in the order of ideas;" in other words, to kill us if we refuse to be Romanists. And lately, a leading French Catholic said to the Protestants, "You are bound by your principles to tolerate us, we are not bound by our principles to tolerate you." What is the proper reply to such a statement? Our reply would be, We are bound to tolerate you as Romanists in the exercise of your own religion, but we are not obliged to tolerate you as menacers of our rights to the exercise of our religion. In the last character you are secular enemies, to be guarded against, defeated, and punished. If they reply, *But this claim to not tolerate you is part of our religion;* then we must answer, *So much the worse, for then no Protestant principle requires us to tolerate even a religion that menaces our religious freedom.* Prudentially, the tolerance should be maintained so far as safety allows; but in dealing with a religious communion bound by irrepealable pledges never to tolerate where there is power to inflict, we can never forget what the law of self-preservation requires.

Roman Catholicism, so far as it is Catholic, is doubtless Christian: so far as it is Roman, it is deeply pagan.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1876. (Baltimore.)—1. Christian Theology. 2. Mind and Matter. 3. Caroline Herschel. 4. The Theistic Conception of the World. 5. Robert Emmet. 6. Capital Punishment. 7. Louisa, Queen of Prussia. 8. The Heart of the Continent. 9. The Teachings of our Lord in Regard to a Future Life.

Dr. Bledsoe accepts the work of the Joint Commission at Cape May in the following frank and whole-souled style:—

In our humble opinion the Joint Commission which recently met at Cape May to adjust the difficulties between the two Methodist Episcopal Churches of this country have done a great and good work. Indeed, we have always been in favor of "an era of *good feeling*" between the two Churches, provided it were, at the same time, an era of *just principles;* and such an era we now have reason to believe has been inaugurated by the action of said Commission. As to the books by Myers and Fuller, which we intended to dissect and discuss in this number of our Review, they may now fight out their own battle in their own way. We have buried the hatchet. We are more than satisfied with the work of the

Joint Commission. God grant it may prove a permanent blessing to both Churches, and to the people of America!

Dr. Summers notices the work of the same Commission in the following bitter and accusatory way:—

The plan of fraternity is intended to be a finality, so far as the points agreed upon are concerned. We expect to keep it in good faith, as we did the Plan of Separation. But we are not sure that the Northern General Conference so intended, or, if it did, that its successor in 1880 will be bound by it. We are reminded of 1844 and 1848.

We fear the good doctor will die of that fatal "Plan of Separation," and that he will die with the fictitious phrase muttering upon his lips. Dear doctor, there never was any "Plan of Separation." The document, untruly so-called, was also repealed by our General Conference of 1848, for the reason, fully assigned and formally evidenced, that the Church South had repeatedly violated it. Dr. S. very well knows that our Church earnestly denies having committed any such breach of faith as he here charges, and his reiterating such a charge at this point is an unfraternity which endangers his right of objecting, as he so often does, that utterances on the part of northern editors are unfraternal. We should like to see the editor of the Nashville and of our Northern shake hands as the two representative Bourbons of their respective Churches.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October 1, 1876. (London.)—1. Secular Changes of Climate. 2. Dean Hook on the English Reformation. 3. The American Centennial. 4. Disestablishment and Disendowment. 5. American Ecclesiastical Law. 6. The Turks in Europe. 7. Daniel Deronda.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1876. (London.)—1. The Microscope and its Revelations. 2. The Holy Spirit in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 3. The Problem of Human Existence. 4. Philosophy in Ancient India. 5. Wordsworth's Prose Works. 6. Retribution. 7. America in the Centennial Year.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Strawberry Hill. 2. The Arctic Regions and the Eskimo. 3. London Alms and London Pauperism. 4. The Papal Monarchy. 5. The Suez Canal an International Highway. 6. Pictorial Illustrations of Shakspeare. 7. The Turkish Empire. 8. The Life of the Prince Consort. 9. The Eastern Question and the Government.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. Indian Affairs: Recent Legislation. 2. William Godwin. 3. Political Economy as a Safeguard of Democracy. 4. Lord Althorp and the First Reform Act. 5. Shakspeare's Young Men. 6. Political Development and Party Government.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. Bancroft's Native Races of North America. 2. Secret Correspondence on Marie Antoinette. 3. The Declaration of Paris. 4. Sir Philip Sidney. 5. Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. 6. Daniel Deronda. 7. Morality without Metaphysic. 8. Depreciation of Silver. 9. Bosnia and Bulgaria.

In a notice of a book on Byron, by Mr. Minto, the "Westminister" has the following startling hint touching Mrs. Stowe's publication in regard to that part:—

It was perhaps necessary that he should make but scant allusion to Byron's daughter Allegra, the story of whose brief life is so intertwined with that of one still living; and he is perhaps right in dismissing with all but silent contempt the scandal bruited by a "celebrated living authoress who was slightly acquainted with Lady Byron." We warn Mr. Minto, however, that he may find it necessary to revert to these unsavory matters, as there are those in London who profess to speak with authority, and murmur the scandal still.—P. 285.

The following critique on Stanley's "Jewish Church" (noticed in our Book-table) is suggestive of both the position and ability of Stanley:—

It would not be easy to find among the books of this year one which presents us with more delightful reading than the third volume of Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," occupied with the period from the Captivity to the Christian Era. Whether we agree or disagree, it is impossible not to be fascinated by Dean Stanley's picturesque style, by his extraordinary wealth of illustration, by the power with which, without effort, he shows likeness as well as unlikeness in the struggles and difficulties of old days to those of our time, by his large-hearted sympathy. We do not, indeed, look in Dr. Stanley for the careful striving after accuracy which distinguishes such writers as Ewald or Kuenen. We distrust at times his brilliant generalizations, and the conclusions which he draws from picturesque phrases in prophet or psalm; but both for the scholar who uses this book as a rapid survey of that which he has already gained by slow, laborious work, or for the general reader who desires that the result of other men's reading should be put clearly and broadly before them, the book is invaluable. For the first time, and in the compass of less than two hundred pages, the Jewish history from Judas Maccabeus to the dawn of Christianity is presented to us in a manner entirely free from confusion and difficulty; while the earlier part of the history, and the manner in which the thoughts of other creeds filtered into and mingled with the Jewish faith, are placed before us with keen insight and careful research. In a book so valuable we do not like to hint at defects; but in one point we find the same fault that runs through the whole of

Dr. Stanley's works, and renders them unsatisfactory to those who desire to know the stand-point of the teacher from whom they learn so much. Whenever Dr. Stanley speaks of the miraculous he gives an uncertain sound. He indulges in poetic phrases which, whether meant to do so or not, disguises his real opinions, and we rise from the perusal of the book totally unable to say whether the writer intends us to believe in miracles, or to regard them as entirely the creation of a later time. This is especially the case in the present volume in regard to the account of Belshazzar's feast. The relation is animated, brilliant, even impassioned; but we are wholly at a loss to know whether Dr. Stanley believes that the writing on the wall, if it were really there, was formed by the hand of man or by the divine hand. When will our liberal divines say what people look for on this point? Instead of ambiguous utterances, we look for plain statements, as plain as are Dean Stanley's assertions that he does not hold, with the High-Church party, that the Christian minister is descended from the Jewish priesthood and their "mechanical, bullock-slaying, fumigating ministrations." With the style in which the "Lectures" are written we have one fault, and only one, to find. The dean, like Lord Macaulay, is too allusive. His books are no mere magazine articles, which would die with the month or the year in which they are produced, but should be permanent when the mere *brochures* of the day are forgotten, and the allusions of the day are known no more. He should not, therefore, speak of the Book of Judith and its imagiary invasion in these terms: "It is a romance intended to inspire the Israelite maidens with a sense of their duty in case of a new foreign invasion; even as in our own days an imaginary battle in the hills of Surrey was intended to delineate in the possible future the needs of England under like circumstances."

We trust that the "Lectures on the Jewish Church" will be read when the "Battle of Dorking" has, as must be the case in spite of its brilliancy, wholly passed out of mind; and though such references give vivacity to the style, they cannot but in some measure detract from the value of the permanent volume. But enough of fault-finding. The book is, on the whole, thoroughly worthy of its author's reputation; and if he will only speak his opinions, whatever they may be, distinctly and plainly about the miraculous, we trust that he will carry his labors into the yet more difficult and dangerous ground on the borders of which he has halted.—Pp. 243, 244.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1876. (London.)—1. Schleiermacher Interpreted by Himself and the Men of his School. 2. The Apologetic Function of the Church in the Present Time. 3. Romanism in the United States. 4. On the Translation of Galatians iii, 20, and Hebrews ix, 16, 17. 5. The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. 6. The Scientific Doctrine of Continuity.

The Third Article is one of several discussions of the character of the United States which have appeared in different British reviews drawn forth by our centennial, characterized

generally by great accuracy of statement, and universally by great fairness of spirit. The writer treats his subject with the more accuracy from the fact of a two years' residence in the country not long ago.

We were struck with a passage, written by a Calvinist, probably a minister, in a theological journal, noticing the New York NATION. The spirit of favorable anticipation with which such a man names the NATION contrasts suggestively with the bitter and malignant meanness with which the NATION has treated men of his class. We quote his words to show how he (as we also for a while) too favorably mistook the character of that paper:—

> The "New York Nation," which is conducted by Mr. Edwin Godkin, an Irishman, has been trying, with some success, to put down the system of mean and malignant depreciation by which the newspapers are generally polluted and disgraced, by showing the example of a dignified but effective journalism, which proscribes all base advantages, and adjusts quarrels by the laws of honor and chivalry.

The NATION did at the first speak in its political editorials with so stern an ethic in regard to public men, even of its own professed party, that, in spite of its persistent semi-infidelity, (if the *semi* is not surplusage,) we did, for some time, consult its columns as a politico-ethical oracle, and inclined to form severe opinions of any man it condemned. But the oracle has proved an imposture. For the last few months it has become the unflinching apologist of political knaveries. It has disclosed so genuine an affinity with public dishonesties that we assign it a permanent place in the ranks of what Horace Greeley once so piquantly and truly dubbed the "Satanic Press." Of Protestant evangelical Christianity it has generally spoken only to sneer; of the Protestant evangelical ministry it has very uniformly spoken only to insult. We can call to mind a few instances. Years ago it maintained that ministers were unfit to be educators by reason of that moral effeminacy by which women and clergymen are classed together. More lately it warned the ministry not to express any public opinion as to the innocence or guilt of Henry Ward Beecher, inasmuch as their habits of mind disqualified them for right judgment of the force of evidence; that quality, we suppose, being the

high prerogative of newspaper paragraphists like Mr. Godkin. Still more lately, in several pages of twaddle, it advises the ministry not to publicly discuss the subject of evolution, for here, too, their studies disqualify them for logical discussion. We have only to say that the American Protestant ministry has within its limits as learned and able a body of thinkers as any existent profession, whether legal, medical, or editorial. When the editor of the NATION undertakes, time after time, to teach that profession its manifold incompetencies, he only shows himself a very conceited addle-head. Any minister who is imbecile enough to go to the NATION for counsel in his duties deserves the insult he is sure to encounter.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Eleventh Year. Strahan & Co., Paternoster Row. London.

Dr. Rigg's article in this number furnishing a history of the position of John Wesley in regard to the Church of England and to Church government in general, exhibits full ability and mastery of the subject. It fully sustains the true Wesleyanism of the present position of English Methodism. He demonstrates the conclusion that "Wesley not only pointed but paved the way to all that has since been done, and that the utmost divergence of Methodism from the Church of England at this day is but the prolongation of a line the beginning of which was traced by Wesley's own hand." And he concludes with the following significant paragraph:—

It is manifestly now too late to think of the reabsorption of Methodism into the Church of England, for English Methodism is not only itself now a large and consolidated communion, but it has been the fruitful mother of many other communions—of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, by far the largest Protestant Church in America, (perhaps in the world,) and of Colonial Methodist Churches and Mission Churches almost without end—not to mention the seceding Methodist Churches in both hemispheres. With such a family of Churches derived from itself, that parent stock of Methodism, which claims direct descent from John Wesley, and which has hitherto walked more strictly in his counsels than any of the offshoot Churches, is never likely to consent to merge its own identity or annul its historical position.—P. 681.

Dr. Rigg makes the following noteworthy statement in regard to our own episcopacy:—

In his independent organization of American Methodism, he [Wesley] embodied in general his own ideal of an independent Methodist Church.—P. 673.

In full view of this concession we have some surprise to express at Dr. Rigg's published utterances from our late General Conference, hostile, to a partisan degree, against our episcopacy.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1877. First Number. *Essays:* 1. RIEHM, The Idea of Atonement in the Old Testament. 1. KÖSTLIN, State, Law, and Church in Evangelical Ethics. *Thought and Remarks:* KLEINERT, Remarks on Isaiah xx–xxii and 2 Kings xviii–xx. *Reviews:* 1. LANGE, History of Materialism, reviewed by SCHMID. 2. SIEGFRIED, The Task of the History of Old Testament Exegesis at the present time, reviewed by RIEHM.

Professor Julius Köstlin, now one of the editors of the *Studien und Kritiken*, has established, by a number of able works, especially his biography of Martin Luther, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, 1876, p. 760,) the reputation of being one of the foremost theologians of Protestant Germany. He begins in this number a series of articles on the rights and duties of secular governments, especially with regard to the religious and moral interest of mankind. It is time, he thinks, for Protestant theology to subject the prevailing theories of the essence, boundaries, and estimation of the State to a new examination; for on the answer given to these questions will depend the solution of the old problem of the relation between State and Church, and the modern problem of the relation of both State and Church to the great social questions of the day. In the first article the passages of the Bible relating to State authorities, the opinions of Luther and the other reformers of the sixteenth century, and the views of modern Protestant writers on ethics are stated. Among the writers whose views are stated at length are Wuttke, (*Sittenlehre*, 3d edit., by L. Schulze,) Stahl, (*Philosophie des Rechts*, and *Staats und Rechtslehre*,) Mühler, late Prussian minister of ecclesiastical affairs,(*Grundlinien einer Philosophie der Staats und Rechtslehre nach evangelischen Principien.* 1873,) Rothe, (*Theologische Ethik.* 2d edit.,) Schleiermacher, Alexander Vinet, Beck, (*Kirche und Staat.*) Vilmar, (*Theologische Moral*, 1871,) Harless, (*Staat und Kirche*,) Oettingen, (*Christliche Sittenlehre.*)

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN EUROPE.

FROM a comparative work on the States of Europe by one of the best living statisticians, Professor Brachelli, (*Die Staaten Europas*, 3d edit., Brünn, 1876,) which is now in the course of publication, we extract the following statistical summary of the Roman Catholics in Europe:—

"The supreme ecclesiastical power in the Roman Catholic Church is exercised by its head, the pope, in Rome, who is assisted by the college of cardinals. The pope enjoys the position and all the honors of a sovereign, and, in accordance with an ordinance of 1059, is chosen for life by the college of cardinals among its own members by a two-thirds majority of the electoral votes. The election takes place on the eleventh day after the decease of a pope, in the Vatican palace, in the so-called conclave, a wholly secluded place, which the cardinals are not allowed to leave until the new pope is chosen. The candidate for the papal see must be at least fifty-five years old, and not have any bodily defect of importance; otherwise the cardinals are only bound by an oath to make a choice according to the best of their knowledge. This includes the duty not to elect the candidate which the Catholic governments of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples, according to the vote of exclusion belonging to them, may designate as not acceptable. The pope-elect assumes a new name, is proclaimed to the people, is accustomed, in accordance with tradition, to confirm certain laws, and receives the consecration, the pallium, and the tiara from the bishop of Ostia, as dean of the college of cardinals. The pope has the title of 'Holiness,' or 'Holy Father.' He possesses a numerous court, and confers four orders of knights: 1. The order of Christ, which was founded in Portugal, recognized by the pope in 1320, and is conferred upon persons of the highest rank; 2. The order of St. Gregory the Great, which was founded in 1831, and has four classes; 3. The order of Pius, for all religious denominations, founded in 1847, and containing three classes; 4. The order of St. Sylvester, which was established in 1871, and comprises three classes. The order of the Holy Sepulchre, which was founded in 1099, and in 1868 divided into three classes, is conferred in the name of the pope by the Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem; and the ecclesiastical order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which was founded in 1118, is likewise under the auspices of the papal chair. The relation of the pope to the kingdom of Italy has been regulated by the law of May 13, 1871. According to it the person of the pope is sacred and inviolable; the Italian government renders to him sovereign honors, and guarantees to him an annuity of 3,225,000 lire, and the enjoyment, free from taxes, of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the villa of Castel Gondolfo, which places are not subject to the jurisdiction of the State,

and endowed with the rights of immunity, as well as those rooms which are temporarily occupied by the pope, or in which a conclave or a council are held. The pope shall not be impeded in the full exercise of his ecclesiastical functions. In the same way the free intercourse of the Holy See with the Episcopate and the entire Catholic world is guaranteed. The embassadors of the pope, and those of foreign powers accredited near him, enjoy the privilege of the law of nations.

The cardinals constitute, under the presidency of the pope, the sacred college, in which important affairs of the Roman Catholic world are discussed. The college of cardinals is divided into three classes: The cardinal-bishops, (6,) the cardinal-priests, (50,) and the cardinal deacons, (14.) The first and third classes have their permanent residence in Rome; to the second class belong a number of cardinals, who in other cities occupy the position of archbishops or bishops. The oldest cardinal-bishop is the cardinal-dean, with various honorary rights. The cardinal-chamberlain makes the necessary preparations for the conclave, and governs with the heads of the three classes of the college during the vacancy of the papal chair. The cardinals are appointed by the pope, have the rank of princes of sovereign houses, and bear the title 'Eminence.'"

Under the pope the ecclesiastical power is exercised by archbishops and bishops. The archbishops are also, as metropolitans, placed over one or several episcopal dioceses, which, in union with the archbishop's diocese, constitute an ecclesiastical province. In this respect the archbishops rank the suffragan-bishops. Some bishops are exempt from the metropolitan jurisdiction of archbishops, and are immediately subordinate to the pope. The vicars-apostolic and prefects-apostolic, who depend immediately upon the pope, as well as the abbots and prelates, (*nullius dioceseos,*) also enjoy episcopal jurisdiction. The archbishops may hold provincial councils, and the bishops diocesan synods, in accordance with the Church laws. The former, which are presided over by the metropolitan, and composed of bishops, prelates, and other clergymen of high rank, have a concurrent power in questions of ecclesiastical legislation; while the latter, consisting of the provosts, parish priests, and heads of monasteries, appear solely as clerical assemblies of the diocese with advisory powers. The ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church of Europe were, in 1876, composed as follows:—

Countries.	Archbishops.	Bishops. Suffragan.	Bishops. Exempt.
Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	14	47	..
Germany	5	14	6
Great Britain and Ireland	5	37	1
France	17	67	..
Italy	19	148	69
Russia	1	8	..
Sweden and Norway	..	..	..
Denmark	..	..	..
Netherlands	1	4	..
Luxembourg	..	..	1
Belgium	1	5	..
Switzerland	..	..	5
Spain	9	45	..
Portugal	3	16	..
Greece	2	4	..
Turkey	4	4	1
Total	81	399	83

Of vicars-apostolic there are: 8 in Germany, 1 in Austria, 4 in Great Britain and Ireland, 1 in Sweden and Norway, 2 in Roumania, 4 in Turkey—total, 15. Of prefects-apostolic: Germany, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland, each have 1; and of abbots (*nullius dioceseos*) Austria has 1, Italy 11, Switzerland 2, and Monaco 1.

The secular and regular clergy in the several countries numbered, in 1876, the following:—

Countries.	Secular Clergy.	Monks and Members of Religious Congregations.	Nuns.
Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	24,400	9,398	7,673
Germany	18,300	1,988	16,666
Great Britain and Ireland	5,000	....	....
France	43,000	17,776	90,848
Italy	100,000	....	....
Russia	6,000	....	....
Netherlands	2,000	815	137
Luxembourg	350	....	....
Belgium	5,000	2,991	15,206
Switzerland	2,000	550	1,880
Spain	40,000	719	12,990
Portugal	10,000	....	1,500
Total	256,110	....	....

If these figures are compared with the Roman Catholic population, it will be found that the proportion of priest to population is as follows:—

Countries.	No. Inhab'ts for every Priest.	Countries.	No. Inhab'ts for every Priest.
Italy	267	France	823
Spain	419	Belgium	1,050
Portugal	436	Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	1,144
Switzerland	540	Russia	1,200
Luxembourg	571	Great Britain and Ireland	1,320
Netherlands	680		
German Empire	812	Total	9,363

The following is the proportion of monks and nuns to the Catholic population:—

Countries.	No. Rom. Cath. for every Monk.	No. Rom. Cath. for every Nun.	Countries.	No. Rom. Cath. for every Monk.	No. Rom. Cath. for every Nun.
Netherlands	1,530	....	German Empire	7,600	900
Belgium	1,680	325	Spain	21,760	1,200
France	1,970	380	Portugal	....	2,900
Switzerland	2,000	590			
Austro-Hung. Monarchy.	2,970	5,687	Total	39,460	11,942

In Italy all monasteries and ecclesiastical congregations were abolished by royal decree of July 7, 1866. The monasteries of male orders and congregations were suppressed in Portugal in 1834, and in Spain in 1841. In the latter country, however, the orders and congregations devoted to foreign missions, education, and the nursing of the sick, were exempted from the prohibition. In Sweden and Norway the establishment of monasteries is not permitted by law. In Switzerland the Federal Constitution forbids the reception of Jesuits, and of any congregations affiliated to them in any part of the confederation; also the estab-

lishment of any new, and the re-establishment of abolished, monasteries. Germany, by an imperial law of July 4, 1872, excluded the Jesuits; and Prussia, by a law of May 31, 1875, all ecclesiastical congregations except those which devote themselves to the nursing of the sick. In Hesse, a law of April 23, 1875, provided that new establishments of religious orders shall not be admitted into the grand duchy, and that those now existing, except female orders devoting themselves to education, shall not be permitted to admit new members. Only congregations which occupy themselves with nursing the sick are not included in the provisions of the law. In the kingdom of Saxony there are only two monasteries of Cistercian nuns, and the establishment of new monasteries is prohibited for all time. In the kingdom of Wurtemberg and the grand duchy of Baden, the establishment of any new monastery requires a special authorization by the government.

The Greek Oriental Church.

In the Greek Oriental Church, which also calls itself the Orthodox, and in Russia and Turkey the Greek Catholic, the constitution is different in the several States. In Russia its head is the emperor, under whom the highest ecclesiastical power is exercised by the Holy Synod, the members of which, both clerical and lay, are appointed by the emperor. The bishop of Montenegro receives his consecration from the Russian Synod. In Turkey the ecclesiastical power is vested in the Ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy Synod. The latter consists of the four metropolitans who carry the patriarchal seal, and of from six to eight other metropolitans who are called by the patriarch; but all the Greek bishops who are present in Constantinople can take part in its deliberations. The national Churches of Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria are dependent upon the patriarch of Constantinople in doctrinal matters, but are otherwise independent. In each of these three countries the ecclesiastical power is in the hands of a Synod, which in Servia consists of the bishops, and in Roumania and Bulgaria of the bishops and archbishops. In Greece the Church is ruled by a permanent "Holy Synod," and in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by an "Episcopal Synod," the monarch in both countries having the chief superintendence. The "Holy Synod" of Greece consists of five members, who are either bishops or other high ecclesiastical dignitaries; the Synod of Austria is exclusively formed by metropolitans and bishops. In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy there are three different ecclesiastical provinces: one in Austria proper, with a metropolitan at Czernovitz, in the Bukovina; and two in the lands of the Hungarian crown, of which one, with a metropolitan at Carlovitz, is for the Servian, and the other, with a metropolitan at Hermannstadt, is for the Roumanian nationality. The bishops of each province form a Synod, under the presidency of a metropolitan. All the bishops of the monarchy, moreover, unite in a General Synod, in which the metropolitan of Carlovitz is the presiding officer. The latter bears the title of a patriarch, and in ecclesiastical affairs all

the bishops of the empire are subordinate to him. In each of the three provinces Church Congresses are occasionally held, consisting of the bishops and representatives of the clergy and laity. In the administration of his diocese every metropolitan, archbishop, and bishop is assisted by a consistory. The statistics of this Church, in 1876 were as follows:—

Countries.	Metrop's & Archb'ps.	Bishops.	Secular Priests.	Monks.	Nuns.
Austria proper	1	2	362	....	....
Hungary	2	8	3,100	200	....
Russia (inclusive of Asiatic provinces)	16	32	50,758	10,862	14,707
Greece	16	15	4,661	1,580	150
Roumania	2	6	9,702	4,762	4,076
Servia	1	3	712	122	....
Turkey	49	51	....	.	....
Montenegro	..	1	....	....	....
Total	87	118	....	....	....

The proportion of the secular clergy and monks and nuns to the total population is as follows:—

Countries.	No. of Inhabitants for every Secular Priest.	Monk.	Nun.
Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	884	10,900	....
Russia	1,060	5,000	8,700
Greece	850	900	10,000
Roumania	420	857	1,008
Servia	1,900	1,1000	....
Total	4,614	28,657	14,708

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The revised and enlarged edition of Herzog's "Theological Cyclopedia," the first number of which has just been issued, will be welcomed throughout the Protestant world. (*Real-Encyclopedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Leipsic, 1876.) This work, the first edition of which was begun in 1853 and finished in 1868 with the eighteenth volume, (exclusive of several supplementary volumes published afterward,) gave to Protestant Theology its first worthy representative in the literature of Cyclopedias. While in nearly all departments of scientific theology the Protestant Churches have run ahead of Roman Catholicism in the province of comprehensive theological Cyclopedias, Catholic Germany was already in the field when the work of Herzog was begun, having produced two works, Aschbach's *Allgemeines Kirchenlexicon*, (1846–1850, 4 vols.,) and Wetzer's and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, (1846–1860, 12 vols.,) which, in spite of the biased stand-point from which they are written, contain a number of articles of recognized value. As Protestant Germany contains an infinitely larger number of eminent scholars than Catholic Germany, it was to be expected that this work of Professor Herzog would exceed in scien-

tific value its Catholic predecessors and rivals. That this expectation has been fully realized, even very few Catholics will at present dispute. Herzog's Cyclopedia has forever secured a high and honorable position in theological literature, and in the literature of special dictionaries. Works of this kind are invariably of greater importance and value for their own than for foreign countries. They cannot be expected to treat the affairs of foreign countries with the same fullness, nor even with the same accuracy, as those of their native land. Herzog's work forms no exception to this rule. Many of the articles relating to foreign countries are disproportionately meager, and America in particular occupies so little space that the German work is not only altogether insufficient to supply the wants of American Protestants, but, even from a German stand-point, it seems to us, a country like the United States, which has a larger Protestant population than any other country of the globe, should have received a more prominent attention. It was to be expected that an attempt made in this country to translate Herzog's work would fail, not only because the war interrupted the publication, but still more, because no sufficient provision had been made to supply the utter insufficiency of its American department. The Cyclopedia of Drs. M'Clintock and Strong, which, while carefully using the excellent articles in Herzog, Aschbach, Wetzer and Welte, aimed at an equal fullness in its American department as the German work possesses in its German department, was, therefore, a real want of American literature, and it is creditable to the Protestant Churches of the United States that they have produced the second great Protestant Cyclopedia. Protestant France has waited until 1876 before a work of similar comprehensiveness (Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie de Théologie*) was begun; (see "Methodist Quarterly Review," Oct., 1876;) and England has up to this time not been heard from, though it has produced a number of smaller compends. Although we cannot bestow our approval upon the American department of Herzog's Cyclopedia, we cannot too warmly recommend its general excellences. The world-wide fame of German theology, which draws, in increasing numbers, theological students from the United States, England, Holland, France, and all other countries, to the German universities, has been honestly earned and is fully deserved. No one has ever looked into the foremost theological publications of Germany, be it in the original or in translations, without giving a ready and thankful recognition of the profound and unparalleled scholarship by which they have been produced. Herzog's Cyclopedia is one of the masterworks, perhaps the greatest, of German theology. It is, really, a vast theological library in itself, containing the important results of the ripest scholarship in all departments of theology. The new edition will be edited by Professor Herzog and Professor Plitt, both professors at the University of Erlangen. It will comprise fifteen volumes of eight hundred pages each, and is to be completed in about eight years. The list of contributors embraces among others the theologians Dillman, Dorner, Ebrard, Gass, Harnack, Jacobi, Kahnis, Keim, Köstlin, Lechler, Lutt-

hardt, Julius Müller, Piper, Reuss, Ritschl, Schweizer, Thiersch, Tholuck, Zöckler of Germany, Bersier and Pressensé of France, Oosterzee of Holland, Schaff of the United States, the jurists Hermann, (president of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council in Berlin,) Friedberg, Hinschius, Dove, Mejer, and Wasserschleben; the Egyptologist Lepsius; the Orientalist Spiegel. The first number contains a number of articles which have been thoroughly revised by their authors or by other scholars, (some of them had appeared in the first supplementary volume, or the nineteenth volume of the whole work,) as *Alpha and Omega*, by F. Piper; *Abbadie*, by C. Schmidt; *Abendmahlfeier*, (celebration of the Lord's Supper,) by Stähelin; *Abgaben Kirchliche*, (Church Rates,) by Mejer. Some articles have been entirely rewritten by other authors, and substituted for the articles of the first edition, as *Abendmahl*, (Lord's Supper,) by Burger and Herzog; *Aberglaube*, (Superstition,) by R. Hofman; *Abessinische Kirche*, (Abyssinian Church,) by Lüttke. It cannot, of course, be expected that all articles in a work like this should be of equal excellence. Thus, in the article on the *Abyssinian Church*, the history of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions is too meager, and the ample literature on Abyssinia, which was called forth by the English-Abyssinian war, should have been noticed more fully; for as Volz, in an interesting essay (which we think deserved itself a mention in the article of the Cyclopedia) on *Die Christliche Kirche Aethiopiens*, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1869, (see a synopsis of this article in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1869,) showed, it contained a considerable amount of new information on the Abyssinian Church. But imperfections like this are the merest trifles in comparison with the general thoroughness which characterizes all the articles of this number, and which leave no doubt that the new edition of Herzog's Cyclopedia will be an entirely new work, and so rich in new matter that even all the owners of the old first edition will be anxious to obtain also the new one. To the theological seminaries of our country, in particular, the new edition of Herzog's Cyclopedia cannot be too strongly recommended; their library will be incomplete without it.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Third Series. From the Captivity to the Christian Era. With two Maps. 8vo., pp. 549. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Price, $4.

This third series of Stanley's magnificent survey of Hebrew history extends from the Babylonian era to the advent of Christ. It commences with a brilliant survey of the power and downfall of

Babylon, depicting that downfall as a great epoch in history, the demise of Shemitic supremacy, and the first ascendency of the Aryan or Japhetic race under the Persian Cyrus. The return of the Jews to their native land, the days of the later prophets, the close of the Persian period, and the influence of Persia and Zoroaster on the doctrines of later Judaism, are traced through an obscure period with a luminous hand. Alexander the Great, one of the truly greatest intellects of history, closes the Persian and inaugurates the Grecian Period. Of the Grecian race and period, as Alexander is the greatest secular leader, so Socrates is shown to be the greatest spiritual phenomenon. The gradual infusion of Grecism into Judaism, especially in their confluence at Alexandria, produced the Greco-Jewish books of the Apocrypha, and resulted in the Greek translation of the Old Testament called the Septuagint. Then arose the Maccabees, and the illustrious Jewish age of the Asmonean family, bringing us to the epoch when John the Baptizer announced the Advent. Upon this entire period between the Return and the Advent, over which the learned Prideaux shed his accurate but tedious erudition, Stanley pours the light of modern study, given in a style of gorgeous splendor, fascinating the reader's attention, and leaving vivid pictorials upon the memory.

The two traits that deeply mark Stanley's work are the broad *comprehensionism* by which he gathers into one Church all the good of all climes and ages as the true elect, and the strong *negativism* with which he seeks to reduce all supernaturalism to a minimum or a nihil. With his *comprehensionism* we can largely sympathize. From our old Hollandic Arminian ancestry, through Wesley and Fletcher, down to Pressensé and Cocker, we are able to hold that myriads in all lands are saved by a universal atonement to them historically unknown. We are open to all the most cheering lessons of the new comparative theology. And so far is this new and pleasing view from diminishing our missionary zeal, it rather cheers our missionary in his work, and endows him with a new skill in kindly meeting all there is good in heathendom, and revealing unto it a still more excellent way.

Far less do we sympathize with Stanley's negativism. He sets slight value on the opening chapters of Genesis, emphasizing the fact that no allusion is made thereto in all the subsequent Hebrew canon. He easily discards traditions of authorship, and subjects the sacred books to the freest criticism. Zechariah and Isaiah both he cuts in two, and assigns one part to some unknown author. The

book of Daniel was written in Palestine forsooth in the age of the Maccabees. And now if you suppose that by these appalling surrenders the very foundations are all destroyed, he delights to show what a priceless and indestructible residue remains. The part is better than the whole. For let criticism have all its say, and tumble about the documents as it pleases, you have but to compare the Jewish records with any other literature of antiquity to see that they are impregnated with a strange divinity. The people stands alone a deeply inspired race. That people, through its legislators, prophets, and psalmists, was the front leader of humanity into the empyrean regions of spiritual truths; truths which, easily conceding to criticism and science all they claim, remain indestructible. And, then, centrally, but not alone, Hebraism is the prophetic antecedent of the divine Prophet of our and all faith.

Having rejected the creational and Adamic myths of Genesis, Stanley rather rejoices in Darwinism. He is pleased with the conception that man has acquired possession of the noblest faculties and divinest truths by long aeons of development. Those intuitive truths of God, holiness, retribution, and especially of *immortality*, the race has been enabled to grasp by successive growths. With advancing time these priceless gems of divine truth will shine to the eye of the soul with a clearer luster and a surer reality. And it is not by Judaism alone, but by Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism, and Hellenism, that contributions to this divine treasury have been made. If there is an intenser spiritualism, a loftier solemnity, a deeper inspiration in Hebraism, still there is one truth, that of *immortality*, that Hebraism but faintly uttered before the captivity had schooled her in the eastern lores, to which the Grecian Socrates gave the most distinct pronunciation. And, then, in a most beautiful chapter on Socrates, he shows how wonderfully the wonderful philosopher illustrates the prophets of Israel, yet even in his highest phases is their inferior. And from all the ages and races the rays converge upon One whom all the wise of every race are growing to acknowledge as the Prophet and teacher of all.

For the richness of the hues flung on sacred history we recommend to all our thoughtful ministers the reading of Stanley, checked by safer authorities, such as Keil's Introduction and Pusey on Daniel.

Exodus; or, the Second Book of Moses. By PETER LANGE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated by CHARLES M. MEAD, Ph.D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 12mo., pp. 141. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Leviticus; or, the Third Book of Moses. By FREDERIC GARDENER, D.D., Professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the Old Testament in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. In which is incorporated a Translation of the greater part of the German Commentary on Leviticus. By PETER LANGE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. 12mo., pp. 206. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

It will be noted that both Exodus and Leviticus are issued from the exegetical hand of Dr. Lange himself. There is a general Introduction by him unfolding what Dr. Schaff calls "an original and ingenious view of the organic unity and trilogy of the Three Middle Books of the Pentateuch and their typical import." The work done by the American annotators, as usual, is not the least valuable part of the volume. We again heartily congratulate our biblical brethren on the advance toward completion of a work so honorably uniting the biblical scholarship of Germany and America.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The History of Creation; or, The Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes. A Popular Exposition of the Doctrine of Evolution in General, and that of Darwin, Goethe, and La Marck in particular. From the German of ERNST HAECKEL, Professor in the University of Jena. The Translation Revised by Professor E. RAY LANKESTER, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Two volumes, pp. 408, 374.

Atheism plus Darwinism equal Brutalism; the beastliest philosophy that ever nightmared the human soul. We have never, indeed, said that Darwinism was necessarily Atheism, as Spencerism is; we have even endeavored to show that the Darwinian need not reject Moses. But Professor Haeckel, taking the nebular theory for his cosmogony,* and Darwinism for his biology, educes all existence from the primitive essence of unconscious matter, and thus brings out Atheism of the most pronounced kind. To the primary Dualism of God and nature, mind and matter, he opposes the "*Monism*" of essential matter alone; and he writes this eloquent, frank, and learned book to demonstrate that this one Primitive is alone needed for the entire problem of the universe. The rule of a just, benevolent intelligence, or of any intelligence at all, over the world, immortality, free-will, responsibility, essential soul, are

* It is to be noted that Haeckel admits that he cannot account for the commencement of rotary motion required in the nebular theory.

all rejected as the infantile conceptions of the world's non-age. By necessary laws primitive matter has developed into a great synthesis of things rising into a tall pyramid, of which, by conditions favorable to him, man, the *ex-ape*, is the *apex*.

To Haeckel's solution through Darwinism of the problem of nature we decline to concede the very first starting-point. Two things he assumes as his great premises, namely: Heredity, by which like begets like; and Adaptation, by which exact likeness is varied to the demands of surrounding conditions. Heredity preserves the uniformity and permanence of species so far as they exist, and Adaptation secures their unlimited variation in time and space; so that, given but a single animal organism to start with, all the ranks of living nature can be accounted for. Now, to an Atheist, or Monistic denier of antecedent overruling mind, no concession can be made of Heredity or Adaptation. Both are intellective terms, terms that implicitly affirm material substances, overruled by anterior and superior mind.

Were the universe a vast mass of orderless chaos, an indiscriminate slag, it would afford no proof of an overruling mind. We agree with Chalmers, that the proof for a God arises not so much from the existence, as from the "collocations," the orderly arrangements of matter. The moment this slag shapes into symmetrical plans—plans not consisting of geometrical shapes, but plans whose parts correspond on an intellective selective principle—we have phenomena that presuppose selective mind and will. And this distinction between the geometrical and the selective is here very important. Matter might be supposed by its own necessities to tumble unconsciously and undirectedly, like crystals, into geometrical form, though we do not concede that crystals do so. But an organism like a human body, with parts combined upon a plan to execute obvious purposes and ends, can be only mind-shaped. The correspondent parts are not *necessarily* resultant, but are selected and located on an alternative and volitional principle. This presupposition of intellective plan increases when there is added a subserviency of plan to utilitarian results; further increases with the increased amount of plans, complexities, and utilitarian results; and illimitably increases when an immense system is contemplated, over which any great all-pervading Purpose is seen as grasping into subordination to itself an infinite number of subordinate purposes. Now Heredity implies a symmetrical contingently shaped organism produced regularly by a preceding similar organism, and such organisms are mind-molded objects. If we judge things, as we must,

by their properties, this organism presents three phases: *first*, a substance which by its properties appears to be materialistic; *second*, a correspondence of parts, or a selective plan, which is volitional; and, *third*, a subordination of the materialistic to the intellectively volitional, by which it is constructed and overruled. An Atheist has no right, therefore, to assume Heredity as a premise to account for any results whatever. He has no right to any such intellective volitional terms as plan, organism, type, laws, and such like, for these are all intellective and volitional terms, implying that matter is preceded, shaped, and overruled by mind.

The doctrine of an evolution of created things in gradual historic series, unified as one great whole, has always been maintained since thought has begun to contemplate the subject, The Bible contains an outline of an evolution. Pope's "Essay on Man" contains a complete system of mundane evolution. John Wesley was an evolutionist. The problem of human and brute immortality Wesley solved by conceding immortality to brutes. "Wesley," says Dr. Stevens, "believed that there was a regular gradation of creation from the animalcule to the archangel; 'an opinion,' says Southey, 'confirmed by science as far as our physiological knowledge extends.' He also thought it probable that each class in the series advances, and will forever advance, men taking the rank of angels, and *brutes the rank of men*, and eternal progress and felicity be thus the lot of all saved beings."—*History of Methodism*, vol. ii, p. 422. Here is an evolution more complete than Darwinism presents; including apparent Darwinism itself in the words we italicise. Theistic Darwinism is apparently not very anti-Wesleyan. But generally the evolutionism of past times embraces all life in a great unit, produced by successive creations in accordance with a law subjective to the divine mind, objective in the created unit.

Professor Haeckel's work is not only a "history," it is a romance, an epic. His mastery of the science enables him to collect and group an immense number of facts in form favorable to his theory. And so convinced is he of the inductively certain truth of the theory as a whole, that he skillfully and abundantly fills all inconvenient blanks with hypothetical facts, facts made to order. That is, his view of the whole system is so clear that he can tell you with fair probability what the missing facts are. The omitted link is conclusively indicated by the very nature of the hiatus. He believes that man is not so properly descended from monkeys as from an earlier genetic point, from which the monkey

branch and man branch diverge. He indicates the very geographical spot where man began to emerge from brute. It is now submerged by sea, lying beneath the waters between the promontory of India and the shores of Africa. This is the scientific Paradise. And he gives us a splendid map on which are traced the lines of humanizing descent, starting from the primitive point and diverging over all the continents and islands of the earth. His whole work flows forth in a strain of rich and variegated eloquence. The translation is a model of lucidity.

Haeckel spreads out in description and picture the wonderful fact in Embryology, that the human *fœtus* in the womb passes successively through the forms of fish, reptile, and quadruped before fully forming into the final man. We have every one of us in our unborn state gone through these metamorphoses. And this, with all Darwinists, he claims as proof that the human race is generatively descended and derived through these successive gradational races. It certainly is a wonderful parallelism. But it seems to be only illustration; it is no proof. There is no logical or causative relation discernible between the two lines of succession. The embryo, in its successive transformation, is an image or picture of the evolutional transformation through which the external animal world passes. One shows no causation of the other, and the embryonic series only illustrates the fact that there is an order of creation. But be it specially here noted, it does not illustrate *a generative order.* The succeeding stage of the *fœtus* is not *born* of the preceding stage. It fails, therefore, in the very vital point of illustrating the *generative* descent of later animal species from earlier. The embryonic stages are produced simply by changes of the relative positions of the molecules, but these changes do not embrace the process of sexual concurrence, parturition, and birth. If I take a mass of putty and manipulate it through exactly the same changes of form, I have precisely imaged the embryonic image of external evolutionary animal developments, and the successive stages are most surely not genetically connected. The successive changes of shape, that is, the successive changes of molecular position, are produced by the interposition of the formative forces proceeding from the hands. The process is an admirable image of and comment on the Mosaic text of the creative order of succession. It illustrates the divine fact that man is a microcosm, a miniature of the macrocosm, summing up all his created predecessors in himself, and rising in himself above them all. If there had been so many successive births in the

womb of successive *fœtuses*, it would have been an illustration of Darwinism. But being only a formal *succession*, so far as it is proof it establishes a formative, but not generative, succession.

But whatever the external *form* of a human *fœtus*, it never was at any stage a real fish, or tortoise, or dog. From the first seminal element to the birth it was a man and nothing else. That is, there resided in the human seminal essence at the first the formative power, superior to and overmastering all its forms, which did not reside in that of the lower animals, and which was human first and last, and sure to produce a man. Prof. Haeckel can snuffle at that immaterial superior formative power as much as he pleases; true reason recognizes its existence as a supreme fact, for which his philosophy does not account.

But the theory of a mind-formed, mind-ruled world is stigmatized by Haeckel as *anthropomorphism*. This is a popular taunt with thinkers of his class. Spencer, with a clumsy jest which proves that sarcasm is not one of the gifts of his most serious nature, calls it "the carpenter theory of creation." And Tyndall objects to Clerk-Maxwell's calling matter a "manufactured article," as derogatory to the Infinite. It is a curious conscience that shows such sensitiveness to a supposed insult to a supposedly non-existent entity! It is a still more curious notion of dignity that rejects the *anthropomorphic*, and substitutes therefor a *mechanomorphic* theory, as if unintelligent mechanism were more dignified than intellective man. It increases the dignity immensely, forsooth, to strike from a creative or formative agency the attribute of intelligence and reduce it to idiocy! If ours is an anthromorphic, theirs is a *moro-morphic*, a *fool-formed* theory. If instead of in effect calling God here a "carpenter" we substitute *architect*, a term essentially identical, yet incidentally more esthetically dignified, Spencer's sarcasm loses all its point; for both poetry and oratory have ever delighted to call God the "architect of creation." And why should a genius so radical and essentially democratic as Spencer's appeal to the low conventional contempt of "a carpenter," as if there was not something truly divine in the humblest act of mind shaping matter to intelligential form and benevolent use? How infinitely superior to this unseemly snobbishness is that most divine conception of our Christian religion which narrates that the Son of God was putatively a "carpenter's son" and himself a "carpenter!" What a flash of unexpected grandeur does that fact let down upon our most humble lowliness, revealing to our view the sublime truth that man, in the legitimate

use of his noble faculties, is, in spite of homely conventionalities both in nature and act the image of God! God is anthromorphic because man as productive mind is theomorphic. But it is false that our theory is anthropomorphic any more than theirs. For if an intelligential origin is anthropomorphic because *man possesses the attribute of intelligence*, it follows that their own mechanical or force *origin* is anthropomorphic, for surely *man possesses the attribute of force*. Newton, it is said, no matter whether truly or not, constructed his theory of universal gravitation from seeing the fall of an apple; and so gravitation is *appleomorphism!* His problem was to account for the motions of the astronomic system, and of all the systems of the universe; and he found the solution in the apple moving to the earth. That appleomorphic solution he extended to immensity. With us the problem is to account for the apparently intelligential forms and combinations that make up the universal system. We find it in *nous, intellect;* that intellect revealed to us most clearly in our own finite mind; just as Newton found attraction in the moving apple. And just as Newton extended his appleomorphism into explaining the gravitation ruling all existing things throughout immensity, just so we as legitimately extend our anthromorphism into an explanation of the intelligent forming and ruling all existing things. Most surely if we cannot be allowed to explain the infinite by finite instances, all extended reasoning is at an end. But what right have these men to maintain that there is no intellect but human intellect? Or, still more, what right have they to charge us, who do not limit intellect to humanity, with holding an anthropomorphic theory, because we hold the intelligential theory? We hold that *intelligence*, in its own nature, irrespective of any finite *intelligent*, solves creation. Ours is not specially the *anthromorphic*, but the *intelligenceo-morphic* theory. We hold, and none can disprove, that intelligence belongs to higher natures than man. Intelligence is in itself not only anthropomorphic, but it may be angelo-morphic, archangelo-morphic, nay, theomorphic. The Force philosophers of the present day find Force exemplified in special finite instances, and they generalize it to infinity. The Intelligence philosophers find intelligence exemplified in given finite instances, and they generalize it in the same way into infinity. And as the Intelligence philosophers recognize this universal Force presented by their brother philosophers, so they also recognize that said Force does operate according to intelligential methods, produces intelligential shapes and movements, and appears to act under the guidance and control of Intelli-

gence. They generalize, then, most legitimately, that this universal identity of Intelligence-ruled Force is God. It is God unlimited, so far as we know, in Power and Wisdom; God omnipotent and omniscient. And inasmuch as this limitless Force of our brother philosophers is not prevented by its infinity from acting in the most minute quantities, and producing the most minute effects, so God omnipotent is under no difficulty, and no disqualification, arising from his great dignity, in manufacturing an atom, or carpentering a world. God omnipotent finds no difficulty in creating a hair. All the metaphysics about the impossibility of the finite being produced or moved or modified by the Infinite is infinite humbug.

As to the moral attributes of God, Haeckel is trenchant and destructive. Life through all its ranks is hate, war, and destruction; and all living species can say with Job's messengers, "I have alone escaped to tell thee." Over a pessimism like this does there reign, he asks, a benevolent God? It is, indeed, terrible; and Haeckel deems the negative conclusion self-evident. But a few hundred pages further on, near the close of his last volume, he relents. Some misgivings seem to arise that his theory is too hateful for human acceptance, and he feels it necessary to irradiate it with a few optimistic hues, very relieving to its horrors, and quite contradictory to his logic. In this exterminating struggle for life, he graciously assures us, lies the assurance of human progress. Ever and ever *it is the fittest who survive;* and therein lies a future of human elevation in which, relieved from all fear of God, the race will be interminably great and glorious. Happy atheistic millennium! But, alas! we reply, neither he nor we will be there to see. With our ancestral snails, toads, and apes, we shall have tumbled into that abyss of nothingness from which no future recollection will ever recall our image, and even the denizens of that millennium will be perpetually tumbling in after us. But that optimism is the very argument which, with far more force, the theologians use to defend the goodness of God, who permits evil, indeed, but only because from the permission of evil he can educe a transcendent good; a higher good, on the whole, than if the evil were not permitted. It is our theology which proclaims not only an advancing progress and an earthly millennium, but points to glory and eternal life as the crowning evidence of divine goodness in the history of the world. For our race our theology argues a vast amount of existing earthly happiness, for otherwise death would not be terrible. We all consent and desire to live

because we enjoy; and when faith, hope, and love animate us, our hearts exult aboundingly in contemplation of that goodness of God against which Atheism blasphemes. To the Atheist the world is rightly pessimistic, and God is truly a terrible God. What wonder that he who hates God should realize that God abhors him? Pessimism and Atheism are twin brothers.

Lessons from Nature as Manifested in Mind and Matter. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor at Kensington and Lecturer in St. Mary's Hospital. 12mo., pp. 462. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

In reply to certain taunts from the scientists that he was writing under a theological bias, Dr. Mivart informs us that he was really educated in scientific rationalism, but took refuge from its repulsive doctrines in the Roman faith. His "Genesis of Species" gave the first check to Darwinism, and laid down some important doctrines which have not since been invalidated. We specify particularly the following points:—

1. Though evolutionary development be true, yet the changes from one species to another are not always by slow degrees, but by sudden, great, and even revolutionary transformations.

2. The new forms are not accidental, but are evolved by an inherent rational formative potency.

3. Man being first formed by an intellective transformation and the infusion of a high rational soul, was truly *created;* derivatively *created*, indeed, yet still *created* in strict accordance with the Mosaic history.

4. That this view is neither novel nor heretical, but is essentially an old doctrine maintained by many of the ablest old divines of the Catholic Church. Those eminent doctors did not, indeed, teach the full doctrine of universal evolution, but of a "derivative creation" of which evolution is only an expansion. The full doctrine of evolution is, therefore, consistent with the most ultra Catholic orthodoxy, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, is allowable in ordinary Christians.

The old doctrine of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Suarez was, that organisms are often endowed with a productive or creative potency from which new species are evolved. Thus parasites are somehow produced from the organism on which they depend. If Adam was created pure and perfect, how did lice come into existence, except as evolved from the degenerate human body? And so, said the fathers, there spring insects and worms from putrefaction—that is, in fact, by spontaneous gener-

ation; for spontaneous generation, though now rejected as heresy by both theology and science, was once orthodox with both. But these views, according to Mivart, established as orthodox the doctrine of "derivative creation;" and evolution is simply derivative creation universally extended.

Many of the fathers, including Augustine, denied the literality of the Mosaic days. They held that the whole mundane system was created at once; and that the six days were not a succession in time, but an order of thought. This was held by a large series of the Church doctors, from Augustine to the present day, long before geology raised any objections to the literal interpretation.

To Mivart's doctrine of the "derivative creation" of man by formal transformation from a lower animal and infusion of a higher soul, Mr. Huxley replies as follows:—

> If man existed as an animal before he was provided with a rational soul, he must, in accordance with the elementary requirements of the philosophy in which Mr. Mivart delights, have possessed a distinct sensitive and vegetable soul or souls. Hence, when the "breath of life" was breathed into the man-like animal's nostrils, he must have already been a living and feeling creature.—P. 442.

To this Mivart gives the following reply:—

> This doctrine was that the human fœtus is at first animated by a vegetative soul, then by a sentient soul, and only afterwards, at some period before birth, with a rational soul. Not that two souls ever coexist, for the appearance of one coincides with the disappearance of its predecessor—the sentient soul including in it all the powers of the vegetative soul, and the rational soul all those of the two others. The doctrine of distinct souls, which Professor Huxley attributes to me as a fatal consequence of my hypothesis, is simply the doctrine of St. Thomas himself. He says (quæst. lxxvi, art. 3, ad. 3:) "Dicendum quod prius embryo habet animam quæ est sensitiva tantum, qua ablata advenit perfectior anima quæ est simul sensitiva et intellectiva ut infra plenius ostendetur." Also (quæst. cxviii, art. 2, ad. 2:) "Dicendum est quod anima præexistit in embryone, a principio quidem nutritiva postmodum autem sensitiva et tandem intellectiva."—P. 443.

The last sentence we translate as follows: We should say that there exists in the embryo a soul, which at first is merely vegetative, afterward sensitive, and finally intellective.

This doctrine of ascending souls bears a curious anticipative relation to the discoveries by modern embryology of the ascending transition of form through which the fœtus passes up to man. The vegetative soul first appears in the evolution of and from the ovum; the animal soul evolves the fœtus through the animal forms; the rational soul is complete with the completion of the human form. Yet the lower soul is not destroyed, but is immerged into the higher, so that all three are identified in the highest.

This vegetative soul is rightly so called as reigning not only

over the animal, but also over the vegetable world. It supplies the growing and formative energy. It is the "plastic power" of Cudworth. It implies no sensibility in the subject, and is to be explained only as the divine omnipotence working under the form of finite causations and successions.

The animal soul, the soul of all brute life, consists in the energy of the five senses, with the circumscribed power of conception, comparison, and inference, among sensible objects.

The rational soul consists in the power of supersensible intuition, beholding truths not made up of sensible impressions, but transcending the level of sensible objects; such truths as infinity, God, holiness, and Ego.

In man these three are three and one.

Professor Huxley, with his usual dashing chivalry, pounced upon Mivart's "Genesis of Species," and even bravely dipped into Suarez, and claimed to show that that author did not teach Evolution. But, as often, his chivalry proved to be Quixotery. Our author shows that he understands neither Suarez nor Mivart. The writings of Mivart are highly lauded in the Catholic world. They are presented and accepted as *a*, if not *the*, full reconciliation between Genesis and science. They show how a one Adam may have been created in full consistency with Evolution; how, in full possession of a rational soul and the endowment of the blessed Spirit, man may have been created in pure and paradisaic conditions; how the fall of man may be still a historic truth; and how, unless archæological facts contradict, the Hebrew chronology may be held as valid. The views of Augustine, held by him exegetically and without knowledge of geological difficulties, if adopted, entirely vacate all difficulty in the Mosaic cosmogony. Those who wish to appreciate Mivart fully must read both the "Genesis of Species" and this volume.

Phonetic and Stenographic Short Hand: A Scientific System of Sound and Sight Writing. By Rev. THOMAS MITCHELL. 16mo., pp. 108. New York: J. W. Pratt. 1876.

Mr. Mitchell's system is based upon what he calls the incorporation of vowels with consonants. He has six consonantal alphabets, the first of which consists of consonants simple followed by no vowel; the five others embrace, severally, consonants followed by five vowel elements; so that in writing the consonant you also write the vowel. This is an ingenious invention; but it must be decided by the practical writer how far it is on trial a practical success.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Great Republic; from the Discovery of America to the Centennial, July, 1876. The History of the Great Republic considered from a Christian Stand-point. Revised. By JESSE T. PECK, D.D., LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With thirty-four Steel Portraits. 8vo., pp. 704. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

This new and beautiful edition, revised and improved by its author, furnishes a lucid and eloquent view of our national history from our earliest origin to the present time. It is written in the true spirit of piety and patriotism—of loyalty to the government founded by Washington and his compeers, loyalty to the principles of freedom promulgated in our Declaration of Independence, and loyalty to God, who is recognized as guiding our historic pathway. It is a work worthy to be placed as both a school and an ecclesiastical class-book in our courses of study.

Honor to whom honor is due. We believe it is Dr. J. T. Peck who first publicly suggested an Ecumenical Union of Methodism. He drew out a plan some years ago which will be found monumentally on record in a former volume of our "Quarterly Review."

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Apthorp's Standard Map of Florida, constructed from the latest United States Surveys and from other Official and Local Sources, by WILLIAM APTHORP, late Chief Clerk of the United States Surveyor General's Office. 1877. Scale, 15 miles to the Inch.

This is the latest, largest, and most accurate Map of Florida extant. It is more accurate both from its access to the most thorough surveys, and from its exhibiting the newly risen towns and initiated railroads. We have received it from Col. J. B. Oliver, who has established in this city a paper entitled the "Florida New Yorker." This paper furnishes to the inquiring Northerner who is attracted toward the "Land of Flowers" answers to the great variety of questions he is interested in asking.

By united concession of the leading men of both political parties the Presidential election in Florida was perfectly peaceful and free. It was not until the special interest of the country n Florida's vote drew Northern politicians down there that any disturbance took place. Meanwhile, in disproof of any danger there to Northern men of any shade of opinion, we may note that Florida is proud

of being the residence of Harriet Beecher Stowe; and deep in the interior is the town of Beecher, where Charles of the "Beecher family" luxuriates in his own orange groves fearless of molestation.

Literature and Fiction.

King Saul. A Tragedy. By BYRON A. BROOKS. 12mo., pp. 144. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Mr. Brooks has attempted in this drama, with no little poetical success, to reproduce one of the most impressive passages of Hebrew history. He holds that he describes "a period," and we might add a race, which was "much nearer the spirit-world than the present, so that the supernatural was natural." The solemn spirit of that age and race, under pressure of the supremacy of the present Jehovah, was strikingly analogous to the spirit of stern overruling fate that reigns in the Grecian drama, and is well represented in the present "tragedy." The character of the seer, Samuel, of the young and aspiring David, of the lofty, yet fated Saul, are delineated with life. The successive scenes are well selected, move with stirring rapidity, and are vividly drawn. The interview of Saul with the sorceress of Endor tasks the writer's powers, and it is here that his poetic ability most decisively appears, in the mastery of so difficult a problem.

The great biblical era awakened by the International Lessons has called out, even in our hebdomadal periodicals, many a commentator; why should it not inspire at any rate one poet? We recommend Mr. Brooks's "Tragedy" to all readers in biblical literature, being assured that, as a poet, he quite equals any of the commentators created by the International epoch that we have read—which is saying nothing depreciatory of them.

Periodicals.

Southern Methodist Press on Negro "Intimidation."

Our brethren of the Southern Methodist press deny that there is any "intimidation," any attempt at disfranchisement of the Southern negro. The accuracy of this denial is to be tested by verified history and statistics; but what we now wish to discuss

and to place before them is, what we think of negro suffrage, and of the purpose attributed to the Southern whites by responsible thinkers of reducing the Southern negro to disfranchised serfdom.

Universal suffrage, unqualified by any conditions of property or character, we believe to be the great danger of our country. Hence, when the negro population of the South was enfranchised, we believed that such danger was encountered, if not a great wrong done. The greatness of that wrong is now under exhibition in the canvasses for presidential electors in the States of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. When our Southern brethren exclaim, "We are overslaughed with a mass of unintelligent voters; we are being deluged with an uncivilization; we are a 'prostrate State,' calling for mercy," we appreciate and deeply sympathize with their case.

But let us turn the table. We are here in New York overslaughed with as terrible a mass of enfranchised ignorance and depravity as any State in the South. We would gladly swap our Northern Irishry for the Southern Negrodom. We would gladly say, for the city of New York, to the city of Charleston, "Take our Irishmen and give us your Negroes." For the State of New York we would make the same offer to South Carolina. Here in the combined cities of New York and Brooklyn the Tilden majority was over seventy thousand, overruling the rest of the State, which would have given an overwhelming majority for Hayes; would have given him the thirty-five electoral votes of New York; electing him at a stroke. Reverse twenty thousand ignorant, foreign, papistical Irish votes in these cities, and Tilden would not have had the ghost of a chance. It would then be, "As go these votes, so goes New York State, and so goes the nation." Here let us unite our hearts, brethren of the South and North, and say this is a terrible danger and wrong.

What renders this wrong more galling to us of the North is, the knowledge that this arbitrative vote is directed by a foreign power, with no interest in the real good of the country. The Democratic party of our State is governed by the Irishry, the Irishry by the priest, and the priest by the pope; and when the State is governed by the Democracy, it is, in an unknown degree, governed by a foreign power, directing the vote not for the country's interest, but for that foreign interest. More than one entire half of the Democratic State Convention of our "Empire State" was Irish Catholics. And to this foreign vote, as opposed to the so-called "Republican party," must be added the organized "liquor inter-

cst," which holds that party as a temperance party. And thus at the present moment it is popery and whisky, Rome and rum, which overslaughs the temperate, intelligent native population of the great State of New York.

Now if that native population should unitedly arm itself, if under guise of "rifle companies" they should quietly become a military power, they could conquer and disfranchise the unintelligent vote. And so to a Democratic friend who was boasting that there would be in the coming election "a solid South," we replied, "If we should shoot down Irishmen as facilely as the southerners can shoot down 'niggers' we could have a solid North." But that we are not likely ever to do. We have another remedy more becoming Republicans and Christians. Our purpose is not to fight it, nor violently disfranchise it, but to educate it. Our remedy is not "rifle companies," but schools and churches and temperance societies. Our method is to overcome evil with good. The grandson of the Irish papist is very probably to be a good native American Protestant. Time and patience in well doing, with God's blessing resting on such a process, will, we have the faith to believe, bring us right.

We may be answered by our Southern brethren that the existence of unqualified suffrage is our own fault; that the South never desired it, and the North alone is responsible for it. But that is a great historical mistake. It was, as we showed years ago, the South that forced unqualified suffrage on the North. It was the "Democratic party," of which Horace Greeley said "its brain and body is in the South, and its tail in the North," which created the unqualified suffrage under which we labor. In our earlier history it was from Southern "Democratic" statesmen, not from the Northern or "Federalist" statesmen, that the broadest maxims of "equal rights" and "universal suffrage" came. Those maxims, as they understood it, were, however, not to be applied to the Southern slaves, but only to the Northern undercrust. And it was the union of the Southern slaveholder with our Northern subterraneans that secured universal suffrage, and ruled both sections with "Democracy." We well remember when, in this great State of New York, qualified suffrage was the rule, and it was safe and right. But under the leadership of Martin Van Buren, the "Northern man with Southern principles," aided by the backing of the Southern oligarchic "Democracy," the votes of the unintelligent were purchased by enfranchisement. For this unkind favor from the South, the North has repaid the South with an

equal favor. As the South enfranchised the Irishry, the North has enfranchised Negrodom. Yet, in behalf of the North, we must call to memory one fact. The Republican party did hesitate to enfranchise the negroes. It offered to the South that *if the representation of the States in the Federal Government could be proportioned to the number of votes*, the voting qualification should be left to the decision of each State itself. That was fair. If a State diminishes the number of its voters, it should thereby reduce its amount of representation in the national unity. That proposition the South rejected. The policy of the violent men in the South seems to be to disfranchise by violence the unintelligent vote, retain the power in a *caste*, and yet claim a full representation in the Unity. That is a restoration of the old oligarchy. It is a wrong pregnant with future strife. It only substitutes serfdom for slavery; it points to a new sectional contest, with unknown yet fearful results.

Let us renounce this policy of violent disfranchisement. Drop the "shot gun" and take up the spelling-book. Do not fear that the educated negro will unduly aspire to social equality before possessing those qualities that render sociality inoffensive. Any one of our Southern brethren can tolerate a negro to wait upon his table; it is only when he sits down, even at the other end, that he smells bad. Some of them could, we hope, sit at table unoffended beside that accomplished scholar and elegant writer, Edward W. Blyden, even, perhaps, in spite of the consciousness of being his intellectual inferior. On the other hand, very few or none of us are fanatical enough to look to "miscegenation" as any attainable or desirable end. Meantime the negro is native born, is Protestant, is aspiring to education and civilization, is a patriot ready to vote for the country's good. He cannot be disfranchised permanently by fraud or force. Serfdom for him is no more possible than slavery. Conceding his civil and political rights, sociality is a matter of individual taste which no one is obliged to concede. But can there not be enacted by constitutional amendment a national *intelligence qualification* of suffrage applicable alike to all races and colors?

The South says to the North: *You are trying to rule us through our unintelligence.* The North replies: *You have long ruled us through our unintelligence.* What is the remedy? A union between the intelligence of North and South by which, with oppression to none, intelligence shall maintain its ascendency. We call for a parley. Let the good people of the North and South understand each other. With our native, educated, tem-

perate, Christian, national people, is the power to control if, forgetting sectional fights, they will unite. Back of our present cohort of politicians there is a people that can rule in the interest of advancing civilization if they can only attain unanimity. Let the Churches lead in this path of peace. Let interchange and intercourse, courtesy and kindness, take place. Let this fatal antithesis between North and South—that is, the North and South lying between the Atlantic and the Mississippi—be abolished. Let Mason and Dixon's line be obliterated. Let the platform of a great *Unanimity* of our true PEOPLE be, *suffrage based upon intelligence*, universal education, civil-service reform, temperance, and tolerant Christianity.

Since the above was given to the compositor we have read with pleasure a recommendation in the President's Message for the national adoption of a system of intelligent suffrage.

Haus und Herd. A German Family Magazine. HENRY LIEBHART, D.D., Editor. 8vo. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Dr. Liebhart justly congratulates the Church and himself on the success of his "*Haus und Herd.*" It unites Germany and Methodism, Melanchthon and Wesley, in a highly delightful way. The number of its subscribers, we are informed, has steadily increased, until not only its existence, but its prosperity for the future, seems to be fully insured, and that in the face of a long-continued financial pressure such as this country has hardly ever experienced. We pray success and increase for our German Methodism, and fervently hope that it may prove a blessed antidote to German rationalism in the future of our country.

Pamphlets.

Methodist Fraternity. By ENOCH L. FANCHER. 12mo., pp. 19. New York: 1876.

In his early manhood it was the task of Judge Fancher, as junior counsel, to make up the case of our Church in its suit with the Church South. Probably no man living has followed the mutual relations of the two Churches with a more judicial eye. Never specially identified with aggressive antislavery men, yet realizing the evil of slavery, he has looked at both the ecclesiastical and political contest with the calmness and clearness of a

trained jurist. He was wisely selected as a member of the adjustive Commission, and his views here expressed, called forth by the eccentric action of the Central New York Conference, are a very conclusive refutation of the unhistorical statements and fallacious reasoning on which that action was based.

We are unaware of any action of our General Conference through its whole history by which it impugned the legitimacy of the Church South as a Church. On the contrary, the very proposal of fraternity presupposed the legitimacy of the body with whom it was proposed. Our Conference and our Church has repeatedly impugned the *righteousness* of the course pursued by the Church South. Her support of slavery and her withdrawal in behalf of slavery we ever have and do still condemn. But if unrighteousness always destroys the *legitimacy* of a Church, we fear that hardly a legitimate Church could be found extant. Our General Conference in 1844 conceded that the South might withdraw without ecclesiastical "blame." The Central New York Conference in our view, therefore, took issue not merely with the Commission, but with the General Conference through its whole history. The terms expressed by the Commission, we may add, contradict nothing which our Quarterly has ever maintained. On the contrary, we heartily indorse every clause and every word of its report as being perfectly in accordance with all we have said and thought. We have never uttered a syllable, or thought an idea, that denied the Churchdom of *any* now existing regular Methodist Church organization.

We have differed, however, with Judge Fancher as to the use of the term "secession." As he carefully defines the term, limiting it to an illegitimatizing sense, we have, indeed, never applied it to the action of any branch of Methodism. But the term "secession," it must be remembered, is a *vox media*, an intermediate term, susceptible, that is, of a good or bad meaning. Southern statesmen have claimed that politically "secession" was right. The Free Church of Scotland professedly "seceded" from the State Church. Older still, there is a Scotch sect of professed "Seceders," of which the scientist Faraday was an eminent member. An unjust or unlawful secession is a bad thing, but a rightful secession is a good thing. A few years since Dr. James Porter said in our Quarterly that if Bishop Andrew had not been inhibited from Episcopal functions while holding slaves the New England Conferences would have *seceded*. Thereupon some of our Southern editorial brethren flared up. So after all these charges of

secession against the South, they exclaimed, it is confessed that these treacherous Yankees would have "seceded!" Dr. Porter would have readily and truly replied that his condemnation of Southerners was not that they *seceded*, but that they seceded for wicked cause. New England secession, in his view, would have been in the cause of right, namely, justice and freedom; Southern secession was in the cause of wrong, namely, injustice and slavery. And so some years ago Dr. D. A. Whedon maintained in our Quarterly, rightly and conclusively, that the Southern withdrawal was a secession; a secession, that is, in distinction from the idea of a division of the Church by the General Conference into two co-ordinate but independent Churches, as claimed by Judge Taney's court; and, also, in distinction from the idea that the General Conference authorized the withdrawal of the Southern members in the Plan of the Committee of Nine; an idea lately reiterated by Dr. Myers, but not reiterated either by the Southern delegates to our General Conference, or by the Cape May Commission. It was, also, at issue with the inaccurate statement of the Southern Bishops when they boldly said at St. Louis, "We separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us." The separation, withdrawal, or "secession" was done *by them*, and on their own responsibility, only with a "Plan" that *after* it was so done by them, wrongly or rightly, we would not ever pass a certain line if they did not. The Plan had no effect or efficient existence until after the revolutionary secession was executed. In that secession they left the regular old organism; left to it its regular series of General Conferences, its old historic name, the archives and records of its history, and formed altogether a new organism commencing a new series. This, as men, citizens, ministers, Christians, they had "a right" to do, whether they rightly exercised that right or not. We are, then, different "branches of Methodism;" but our own old historic branch shoots up straight from the tap-root, through central trunk, to summit; while all the other "branches" glance off in a more or less graceful slant from this same primal center. All the branches are legitimate; one only is central, primordial, parental. It is an historical fact, that can be neither obliterated nor blurred, that every Methodist body on the American continent has *branched* off from that primal trunk, being either a branch or a branch of a branch.

Miscellaneous.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Held in Baltimore, Md., May 1–31, 1876. Edited by the Rev. GEO. W. WOODRUFF, D.D., Secretary of the Conference. 12mo., pp. 663. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

We have only room to announce this noble volume, and to say that, in our opinion, both the General Conference and the Editor, Dr. Woodruff, have well performed their work.

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. November. Contents: 1. The Book of Job. (The first Colloquy—Eliphas to Job.) By the Editor. 2. The Sixteenth Psalm. By the Rev. Professor M. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A. 3. The Epistles of St. Peter. (The Second Epistle.) By the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, B.D. 4. Dr. Pulsford on Ephesians. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 and 31 Paternoster Row.

This is a monthly Commentary on Scripture, to which contributions are made from some of the best biblical scholars of England. Annotations are prosecuted through a series of numbers on a single book. Besides the above-named writers, we notice in a previous volume the names of the late Bishop Thirlwall, Canon Farrar, the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. H. R. Reynolds, Prof. Plumtre, Dr. Oswald Dykes, and Rev. J. Hammond. Price per number one shilling sterling.

The Life of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. By CHARLES DUKE YONGE, Regius Professor of Modern History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, author of "The History of the British Navy," etc. 12mo., pp. 473. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The French queen, whose destiny it was to stand as one of the historical characters in whom mankind takes a permanent interest, is here portrayed from abundant materials by a friendly hand. One wishes to believe the favorable colorings true to fact. The character of La Fayette is presented in a more adverse light than usual.

The Orient and its People. By Mrs. J. L. HAUSER, Seven Years a Missionary in Northern India. 12mo., pp. 335. Milwaukee: J. L. Hauser & Co.

This little volume is a series of pen pictures drawn from life, and expressed in popular and attractive style. The book is about equally divided between India and China. It is a fine contribution to our missionary literature.

Vanquished Victors; or, Sketches of Distinguished Men who overcame the Obstacles in their Way to Fame, but failed to gain the Self-mastery which is the Greatest and Grandest of all Conquests. By DANIEL WISE, D.D., author of "Uncrowned Kings," "Story of a Wonderful Life," etc. 16mo., pp. 295. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

A series of brief portraitures of remarkable men.

Christian Nurture. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 407. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

Sermons on Christ and His Salvation. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

Sermons for the New Life. By HORACE BUSHNELL. Revised edition. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

We are gratified to notice that Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. are issuing a fine new edition in series of Dr. Bushnell's works. Christian thinkers will find in them ample starting-points for thought.

The Student's Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography. Abridged from the larger Dictionary. By WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D., With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 438. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

This is a highly scholarly and densely compressed manual, admirably adapted to the "student's" use. The abundance of illustrations, true to archæology, forms a valuable characteristic of the volume.

The Methodist Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1877. Being the 101st Year of the American Independence and the 111th of American Methodism. 12mo., pp. 60. Edited by W. H. De Puy, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Rachel Weeping for her Children. By Rev. N. VANSANT, of the Newark Conference. With an Introduction, by Rev. C. N. SIMS, D.D. 16mo., pp. 150. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

A beautiful gift for parents weeping for departed children.

Fleda and the Voice. With other Stories. By MARY A. LATHBURY, ("Aunt May.") Illustrated by the Author. Quarto, pp. 69. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

A highly illustrated and beautifully written holiday gift for the young folks.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By Rev. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D. Translated by WILLIAM L. R. CATES. Vol. VII: Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, the Netherlands. 12mo., pp. 576. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. By SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Illustrated by GUSTAVE DORÉ. Folio. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

A unique and very splendid gift book.

The Footsteps of St. Peter. Being the Life and Times of the Apostle. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D., author of "The Footsteps of St. Paul," "Memoirs of Gennesaret," "Morning and Night-watches," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 632. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

My Old Letters. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture. Third Series: Romans, Revelation. By Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 306. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1873.

The Judgment of Jerusalem Predicted in Scripture, Fulfilled in History. By Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., New Haven. 12mo., pp. 231. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

Rays from the Sun of Righteousness. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., author of "The Jewel Case," "The Wonder Case," etc. 12mo., pp. 341. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

The True Man, and other Practical Sermons. By Rev. SAMUEL S. MITCHELL, D.D. 12mo., pp. 236. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

The Uncommercial Traveler, Hard Times, and the Mystery of Edwin Drood. By CHARLES DICKENS. With forty-five Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 328. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Hay Fever; or, Summer Catarrh: Its Nature and Treatment. Including the early form, or "Rose Cold;" the latter form, or "Autumnal Catarrh;" and a middle, or "July Cold," hitherto undescribed. Based on Original Researches and Observations, and containing Statistics and Details of several hundred cases. By GEO. M. BEARD, A.M., M.D. 12mo., pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Oliver of the Mill. A Tale. By MARIA LOUISA CHARLESWORTH, author of "Ministering Children," etc. 12mo. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

The Lesson Compend for 1877. By Rev. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, A.M. 12mo., pp. 137. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Development Hypothesis: Is It Sufficient? By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College. 12mo., pp. 104. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1876.

Gems and Pearls for Parents and Children. By Rev. E. DAVIES. 12mo., pp. 154. For sale by the Rev. E. Davies, Reading, Mass.; J. P. Magee, 36 Bromfield-st., J. H. Earle, Hawley-st., Boston; J. S. Inskip, 921 Arch-st., Philadelphia; and booksellers generally.

Practical Cooking and Dinner-Giving. A Treatise, containing Practical Instructions in Cooking, in the Combination and Serving of Dishes, and in the Fashionable Modes of Entertaining at Breakfast and Dinner. By Mrs. MARY F. HENDERSON. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 364. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Other Gipsy. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. 16mo., pp. 162. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Mister Horn and his Friends; or, Givers and Giving. By MARK GUY PEARSE, Author of "Daniel Quorm," "Sermons for Children," etc. 16mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

The Berean Question Book. International Series, for 1877. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

Through the Eye to the Heart; or, Eye-Teaching in the Sunday-School. By Rev. W. F. CRAFTS. 12mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Waldon. 1876.

Old Tales Retold from Grecian History. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 12mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1877.

ART. I.—LORD MACAULAY.

The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By his Nephew, GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M. P. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

TAKE him "all in all," Lord Macaulay is one of the best examples—we are inclined to say, the best example—of the "literary life" recorded in the history of English literature. As critic, historian, even as poet, orator, and "conversationist," (for he was characteristically "literary" in all,) he may be taken as a type, a very impersonation, of that "elect" life. His political career was long and active enough to render him historical, and pre-eminent above nine tenths of the British statesmen of his day. But his literary life was not incidental to his parliamentary and official life. The latter was but exceptional to the former—a salutary alternative, a wholesome alterative, as medical men would say. Like Addison, whom, above all English writers, save Milton, he most admired, but least imitated in other respects, he was a good example of Coleridge's theory of the literary life—that it should always be associated with some more practical or secular pursuit, which may afford not only a less precarious subsistence, but also the intellectual invigoration that comes of habitual contact with the world. Addison had hardly begun, under the auspices of Dryden, to write fugitive pieces for the public, when he became a party and a pensioned politician. His travels on the Continent, during which he wrote his once famous Epistle to Lord Halifax, and

began his treatise on Medals, his Cato, and the Narrative of his Travels in Italy, were undertaken, at the expense of the Government, as a preparation for its diplomatic service. Nearly all his life he was in Parliament, or in office, in either England or Ireland. The first of his immortal "Essays" were sent from Ireland to Steele, for the Tattler. He was in the Cabinet, as Secretary of State, when he was compelled to retire, by the malady which not long after ended his days; and he died at Holland House, the center of the higher social and intellectual world of London. Addison died comparatively young, aged not forty-eight years; he had ten or eleven years less of life than Macaulay. Had he been permitted to work, in the rich maturity of his powers, through those ten years, he might have achieved as much as Macaulay, and given as crowning a proof of the compatibility of an active public career with the highest style of intellectual culture and literary productiveness.

Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Samuel Johnson, or any other modern Englishman exclusively devoted to literature, can hardly dispute the palm with Macaulay, notwithstanding his active political life. As a poet he was their equal, not excepting Scott. The "Lays of Ancient Rome" have passages of as genuine poetry as can be found in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or any other of Scott's metrical productions. As a critic he was incomparably their superior. His linguistic attainments, to say nothing of his rare critical acumen, might have enabled him to compete with Johnson, even, as a lexicographer. Few men have been more capable of reproducing the scheme (repeated by Richardson) of Johnson's great dictionary—the exemplification of the use of words by citations from authors. His powers as an historian were far above those of Johnson as a critical biographer, and may well be compared with those of Scott as a histori-novelist. In the versatility, as well as the accuracy, of his knowledge in languages, ancient and modern, in literature of all ages and nearly all nations, in history, in political, and even theological, science, he immeasurably surpassed them. We cannot, indeed, recall another Englishman who so completely represents the literary life—though, of course, scores can be named who have shown more special genius.

It were much to be wished that the example of such men as Bacon, Clarendon, Bolingbroke, Addison, Fox, Burke, Jeffrey, Brougham, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Gladstone, Disraeli, Lubbock, Grote, Bulwer, Derby, Kinglake, and hosts of others in English political life, could be imitated by our own public men. If some of our statesmen have, like Franklin, Jefferson, the younger Adams, Everett and Sumner, carried into public life some devotion to letters or philosophy, few, if any of them, have ever yielded any direct results of such culture after they have once entered the political arena. American politics are an engulfing abyss, fathomless and shoreless. Bancroft, Motley, Bryant, Irving, Hawthorne, and a few others, have kept up their literary aims, with a partial devotion to political or official life; but we have yet to produce a single example of high statesmanship wedded to high and productive literary culture. Gibbon records that he found his experience in a camp of British militia a help to the composition of his great History, and that his intellect was never more vigorous, nor his style more facile, than "in the winter hurry of society and Parliament." His services as Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, and the exhilarating debates of the House, relieved his mind of the fatigue of study, and healthfully stimulated his faculties to resume, the next day, their wonted task. Macaulay's biographer says that "the routine of the Pay-office, and the obligations of the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons, were of benefit to him while he was engaged upon Monmouth's invasion and the Revolution of 1688." His vivid and virile style; the athletic manner, at once graceful and powerful, with which he attacks every difficulty of his subject; his liberal and wholesome temper; his universal humanity, without a tinge of pharisaism or cant—the whole individuality of the man, in fine, spontaneously breaking out on every page, and bearing his reader irresistibly along with him, must be attributed largely to the fact that he was no literary recluse, but a man of affairs, a man of society, "a man of the world," in the best sense of the phrase. There is no figure of more manly bearing in the whole lists of English authorship since the day of Raleigh. His every step is strong and forward, down to the last few years, in which, by the splendid success of the early volumes of his History, he became absorbed in the com-

position of the remainder, retired mostly from public life, declined dinner invitations and society generally, became mortally sick, and began to record in his journals new and startling experiences of low spirits, irresolution in work, and most of those more or less disabling weaknesses of heart and head which, though common enough in the ordinary, exclusive life of literary men, were seldom or never known to him before.

It would be an interesting task to trace, if possible, in his writings and memoirs, the conditions of his vigorous and manifold intellectual life. We attempt this task, not without foreseeing, however, that the limits and necessarily cursory manner of a review article must render it only an attempt.

He built on a good natural basis—the *mens sana in corpore sano.* We need hardly affirm that he possessed that ambiguous something called *genius.* If extraordinary native powers, or special aptitudes of mind, are meant by the word, he certainly had it to a rare degree, for in historical painting, in biographic portraiture, in dramatic effects, he has seldom been equaled. If Buffon's definition of genius is correct, we may still more decidedly claim it for him. The great naturalist, who ranks among his countryman as a literary model as well as a "scientist," defined it to be a habitude of patience in intellectual work. "I trace," he said, in the not ungenial egotism of his old age, "a first sketch, and in doing this I do what a hundred writers in Europe can do. I copy it, and obtain a result which but twenty writers can obtain. I re-copy a second and a third time, and achieve at last what Buffon alone can do." Macaulay has, at least, a "genius" for work; and is not this the most normal and most effective genius for our "work-day planet?" Before his health failed he went to his daily task with the zest with which an epicure goes to a banquet. His biographer says that "he would do nothing against the grain;" but with his healthy and versatile nature nothing (save mathematics and metaphysics) was against the grain. He followed, in this respect, Goethe's theory of education and intellectual life, as taught in "Wilhelm Meister," that the training and work of a man should be in the line of his natural aptitudes, his natural proclivities, these being the instincts of his natural capabilities. Like all healthy minds, he loved labor for its own sake as well as for its sure results. "The pleasure of

writing," he said, "pays itself." He lived in books more than in politics, or in society, or in any thing else. It may be doubted whether any man of his day read more, or more indiscriminately. He devoured books, good, bad, or indifferent. His friend, Sydney Smith, said, "Macaulay not only overflows with knowledge; he stands in the slop." Bad or indifferent books were, at least, of negative advantage to him; they warned him against their own faults. In his usual walks through the streets of London, he wended his way among the crowd, poring over a volume. His research for his writings was tireless, and the minutest or obscurest data, in obsolete periodicals, pamphlets, street ballads, caricatures, seldom eluded his keen glance. He never recoiled from the lowest drudgery of composition. He reconstructed chapters, recast paragraphs, added or erased sentences, for the slightest improvements. In finishing either his manuscript or his "proof," he was fastidious even to the smallest matter of punctuation. He equaled Buffon in labor on his style, and his manuscript pages (an example of which may be seen in the British Museum) were a maze of interlineations, erasures, and blotches. He knew, by experience, the value of Johnson's rule, not to pause in the heat of composition for any verbal matters whatever, but to reserve these for correction when the inspiration of his subject should be exhausted. His usual daily task was, after his first rough draft, to cover six foolscap pages, filling in the outlines, and then to correct and complete them with elaborate care, condensing the six manuscript into two of his printed pages.

Mr. Trevelyan says that "the *secret* of his process lay in this, that to extraordinary fluency and facility he united patient, minute, and persistent diligence." He "never allowed a sentence to pass muster till it was as good as he could make it."

It was in this laborious manner that he acquired his transcendent style—a style so elegant, and yet so impetuous and swift, that it always reminds us of one of its finest examples, in one of the finest passages of his "Lays:"—

> "Now, by our sire Quirinus,
> It was a goodly sight
> To see the thirty standards
> Swept down the tide of flight."

"That is the way of doing business," exclaimed Wilson, (of Blackwood,) though his critical as well as political antagonist —"a cut-and-thrust style; Scott's style when his blood was up, and the first words came like a vanguard impatient for battle." It was Scott's style only when his blood was up, but it was, more or less, Macaulay's habitual style, for his blood was always up when his subject allowed it to be so. His style was like a full-blooded steed on the race-course, fleet, direct, and of simple but splendid proportions. A society of English workmen sent him a vote of thanks for having written a history of their country which they could understand; and yet what English scholar does not read him with enthusiasm for his style, in spite of its occasional obvious defects? Doubtless what we may call his intellectual temperament had something to do with it, for, to cite Buffon again, "the style is the man," or, as he more pertinently has it, "*de l'homme;*" but it was labor, we repeat, that made it the most vigorous and perfect, perhaps, in our literature. It is a dangerous style for imitators, as he himself said; more so than even Johnson's pompous Latinism. He had early to combat its tendency to rhetorical excess. Some of the finest passages of his essays are more or less marred by that tendency. The gorgeous description of Westminster Hall, at the trial of Hastings, shows it. But in spite of it, his healthful temperament and his inexorable self-discipline and labor made him, to both foreign and native readers, the best of English "stylists."

Macaulay was precocious, and his precocity, probably, gave him some eight or ten years' advantage over most students. Intellectual precocity is usually supposed to imply premature decay; but, while some facts favor the supposition, more facts contradict it Most great men have given more or less promise of their greatness in childhood. It is seldom that intellectual greatness is not founded in some original or inborn capability. "The child is father to the man" in this, as in other respects, and human nature is more self-revealing in childhood than in any other period of life. Intellectual precocity, with physical feebleness, may, naturally enough, prematurely break down; but with a sound body it may be an enviable vantage ground. It was so with Macaulay. He was small but robust in stature, with strongly knitted limbs, and broad, rugged features, expres-

ive of health and the mental self-command which comes of health. There was little, if any, Gaelic or Celtic blood in him. If not precisely Anglo-Saxon, he was, as both his mental and physical constitution showed, of as good metal; for the Teutonic element was strong in him. His mother was Anglo-Saxon. His father, though a Scotchman, was descended from the old Norwegian invaders who settled in the Western Isles. Carlyle, a genuine Scotchman, discerned at a glance his lineage. "I noticed," he says, "the homely Norse features that you find every-where in the Western Isles, and I thought to myself, 'Well! any one can see that you are an honest, good sort of a fellow, made out of oat-meal.'" One of the feats of his precocious genius was an epic, in his eighth year, on Olaus, the king of Norway, from whom the Scotch clan to which the young writer belonged received its name. Two cantos remain, extracts from which, given by his biographer, show ability astonishing in a child.

Incredible things are told of his early habits and achievements. From his third year he read incessantly, "lying on the rug, before the fire, with his open book on the ground, and a piece of bread and butter in his hand." At other times he would "sit in his nankeen frock, perched upon the table, expounding to the parlor-maid out of a book as big as himself." In his walks with the maid or his mother he would tell innumerable stories out of his own head, using already, as the maid said, "quite printed words." It cannot be doubted that his speech often appeared, as Mr. Trevelyan says, "quite droll." He was carried to the famous Strawberry Hill of Walpole, and ever afterward bore in his head a catalogue of its "Oxford Collection." While there a servant waiting upon the company spilled some hot coffee over his legs. After the kind hostess had done what she could for his relief she inquired how he was feeling. "The little fellow looked up in her face and replied, 'Thank you, madam, the agony is abated.'" He wrote hymns which Hannah More, one of the best friends of the family, pronounced "quite extraordinary for such a baby." Of course, his fond mother, a gentle Quakeress, was delighted with his surprising gifts. She wrote, "My dear Tom continues to show marks of uncommon genius. He gets on wonderfully in all branches of his education, and the extent of his reading, and

of the knowledge he has derived from it, are truly astonishing in a boy not yet eight years old. He is, at the same time, as playful as a kitten. He took into his head to write a Compendium of Universal History about a year ago, and he really contrived to give a tolerably connected view of the leading events from the creation to the present time, filling about a quire of paper. He told me one day that he had been writing a paper which Henry Daly was to translate into Malabar, to persuade the people of Travancore to embrace the Christian religion. On reading it I found it to contain a very clear idea of the leading facts and doctrines of that religion, with some strong arguments for its adoption."

Almost every essay of his shows a minute accuracy of research, of which even his letters and journals abound in examples. He makes particular criticisms and emendations of the original text of his favorite Latin and Greek authors. Besides abundant marginal notes, he pencils, at the end of each drama of the three Greek tragedians, small critical essays, and, judging from the specimens given by Mr. Trevelyan, they show not only good sense and taste, but exact scholarship. He changes his early estimate of Euripides, the representative of the decline of the Attic tragedy, and gives good critical reasons for the change; he places him above Sophocles, the representative of its climax; he exults over the genius of Æschylus, and traces in him the studies of Milton, not without correcting Milton's "sad Electra's poet," by showing that he alluded to the Orestes, not the Electra. Even the dull pages of the Thebaïs of Statius are critically studied, and marked with such observations as "Gray has translated this passage;" "Racine took a hint here;" and "Nobly imitated, and, indeed, far surpassed, by Chaucer." He gives thanks for having been able to "finish" Silius Italicus, (for he "finished" the very fag-ends of Greek and Latin literature,) and remarks that "Pope must have read him before me; in the Temple of Fame and the Essay on Criticism are some touches plainly suggested by Silius." He looks over Coleridge's "Remains," and exclaims:—

> What stuff some of his criticisms on style are! Think of his saying that scarcely any English writer before the Revolution used the Saxon genitive, except with a name indicating a living being, as where a personification was intended. About twenty

lines of Shakspeare occurred to me in five minutes. In King John: "Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course." In Hamlet: "The law's delay." In Romeo and Juliet: "My bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne." In Richard III., strongest of all: "Why, then, All Souls' Day is my body's doom's day."

He dines at Baron Parke's, with Brougham, his malicious enemy, and says:—

He was pleasant, but, as usual, excessively absurd, and exposed himself quite ludicrously on one subject. He maintained that it was doubtful whether the tragic poet was Euripides or Euripides. It was Euripides in his Ainsworth. There is, he said, no authority either way. I answered by quoting a couple of lines from Aristophanes. I could have overwhelmed him with quotations. "O," said this great scholar, "those are iambics. Iambics are very capricious and irregular, not like hexameters. I kept my countenance, and so did Parke."

Macaulay was seldom, probably never, caught napping, and woe to any pretentious critic who was so found in his presence.

Both the swiftness and the accuracy of his strange acquisitive power were shown in his method of learning a language. He says:—

My way is always to begin with the Bible, which I can read without a dictionary. After a few days passed in this way I am master of all the common particles, the common rules of syntax, and a pretty large vocabulary. Then I fall on some good classical work.

In a few weeks he was reading the classical works as readily as his favorite English books. He proposed to "make himself a good German scholar" on his passage back from India to England, and did so. After reading Luther's New Testament, he plunged into Schiller's Thirty Years' War, and was soon familiar with Goethe, Müller, Tieck, Lessing, and most of the classics of the language. During the years which he spent in India, though he did splendid official work in education and legislation, especially in his "Code," through which he is becoming recognized as the modern legislator of India, he seemed, nevertheless, buried in miscellaneous books. Not even Southey, at Keswick, was more a book-worm, for he could in three hours do more study than most students could do in fifteen. He

went through, critically, nearly the whole course of Greek and Latin authors in serial editions, which Napier, of the Edinburgh Review, had sent out to him, and this besides an incredible amount of French, Italian, Spanish, and English reading. Many of the largest Greek and Latin classics he read over and over again, and meanwhile sent to Napier some of his finest review articles. On his way out to India he kept himself in his state-room, among his books, with the devotion of an old Benedictine monk in his studious cell. He writes:—

> Except at meals I hardly exchanged a word with any human being. I never was left so long a time so completely to my own resources, and I am glad to say that I found them quite sufficient to keep me cheerful and employed. During the whole voyage I read with keen and increasing enjoyment. I devoured Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, and English; folios, quartos, octavos, and duodecimos.

Again he says:—

> My power of finding amusement without companions was pretty well tried on my voyage. I read insatiably the Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil, Horace, Cesar's Commentaries, Bacon's de Augmentis, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Don Quixote, Gibbon's Rome, Mill's India, all the seventy volumes of Voltaire, Sismondi's History of France, and the seven thick folios of the Biographia Britannica. I found my Greek and Latin in good condition enough.

He proceeds to give striking critical observations on many of these authors, for, rapid as his reading was, it was, nevertheless, by his peculiar faculty of quick apprehension and insight, remarkably thorough.

After being some time in India he writes:—

> During the last thirteen months I have read Æschylus twice, Sophocles twice, Euripides once, Pindar twice, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Quintus, Calaber, Theocritus twice, Herodotus, Thucydides, almost all Xenophon's works, almost all Plato, Aristotle's Politics, and a good deal of his Organon, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's Lives; about half of Lucan, two or three books of Atheneus twice, Plautus twice, Terence twice, Lucretius twice, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Sallust, Cesar, and, lastly, Cicero. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian.

Mr. Trevelyan says that these works were read critically, as the penciled notes, covering the margins and blank leaves,

show. He read (page 22) as a mental recreation not only the great masters, but, as we have intimated, the minor and least read of Greek and Latin writers—their poorest remnants—annotating them with learned particularity, but dispatching them with his usual speed. At the conclusion of each volume of his own History he read through, as a relaxation, Herodotus, who, next to Thucydides, was his model historian. He would read through the Melpomene in a single sitting. He read through the last five books of the Iliad "at a stretch, on a walk," and with hearty appreciation. He writes:—

> I could not tear myself away. I was forced to turn into a by-path lest the parties of walkers should see me blubbering for imaginary beings, the creations of a ballad-maker, who has been dead two thousand seven hundred years. What is the power and glory of Cæsar and Alexander to that!

He finished Buckle's first ponderous volume in one day—skimming some parts, certainly, but accurately comprehending the whole, and critically estimating it. Elaborate works, in foreign languages, over which most scholars would pore for weeks, he could dispatch in as many days, closing them often with criticisms important and minute enough to elate the pedantry of a plodding German professor.

We may well again lift a warning voice to youthful literary aspirants who would wish to imitate him. "Admirable Crichtons" are fatal models. Macaulay's example would be ruinous to most students who should attempt to copy it. He was an intellectual anomaly, and had it not been for the rare balance of his mental constitution, he would have been an intellectual monster.

Some of our readers are, doubtless, by this time disposed to suspect that we have been dealing in exaggerations. Not at all; and we proceed to notice another of his characteristics, which was as remarkable as those already treated—his precocity, his genius, his working power, his quickness of apprehension and insight—and which, in union with these, was one of the most important conditions of his intellectual growth and literary success: we refer to his remarkable memory.

In his fiftieth year he writes, "My memory I often try, and find it as good as ever." Two years later he says, "I walked in the portico, and learned by heart the noble fourth act of the

Merchant of Venice." There are four hundred lines in the act; he had known one hundred and fifty of them. In two hours he now made himself master of them all, including the prose letter. This was about three years before his death. The only difference in his wonderful memory between his childhood and this period was that in the former "whatsoever he took a fancy to" was involuntarily remembered; now to learn by heart was a voluntary, but never a laborious, act. It was an intellectual recreation. When made a peer he "studied the peerage," and could repeat the entire roll of the House of Lords. When done with the peerage he turned to the calendars of Cambridge and Oxford, and wrote, "I have now the whole of our university *Fasti* by heart; all, I mean, that is worth remembering—an idle thing, but I wished to try whether my memory is as strong as it used to be, and I perceive no decay." Such acquisitive and retentive faculties are absolutely beyond all estimation for a student. They enable him to work miracles. They relieve him of nearly all the drudgery of scholarship.

Another notable characteristic, the result of these rare powers, was his extraordinary versatility. Our remarks thus far have necessarily anticipated this fact. Its proofs are visible in all his works, and throughout his "Life and Letters." We have mentioned his knowledge of languages. He knew their respective literatures well enough to be a professor of any of them in any university of England, France, Germany, Italy, or Spain. He studied the Portuguese to read Camoëns, but found the Lusiad "enough" for him in that tongue. In a casual conversation at a dinner table he could discuss any of their important authors with critical minuteness, discriminating not only the best plays, but the best characters, in Moliere and Corneille, Goethe and Schiller, Alfieri and Goldoni, or in the almost endless lists of Calderon and Lope de Vega. Nearly every one of his essays is a good example of his versatility, an ample *résumé* of the best students' knowledge not only of the character or subject treated, but of its epoch, summarized with a marvelous tact, and colored by an artist's hand. Thackeray wrote:—

> Take, at hazard, any three pages of the essays or history, and, glimmering below the stream of the narrative, you, an average

reader, see one, two, three, a half score of allusions to other historic facts, characters, literature, poetry, with which you are acquainted. Your neighbor, who has *his* reading and *his* little stack of literature stowed away in his mind, shall detect more points, allusions, happy touches, indicating not only the prodigious memory and vast learning of this master, but the wonderful industry, the honest, humble, previous toil, of this great scholar. He reads twenty books to write a sentence; he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description.

We can hardly be surprised that, with such versatility and voracity of appetite for books, he became well acqnainted with theological as with all other kinds of literature. Few clergymen have excelled him in the knowledge of their own science and its standard authors. He was familiar with the history and doctrines of the numerous sects of his country. He understood well the great "Methodistic movement," a portion of which his own father represented in the "Christian Observer." Methodists have been, naturally enough, partial to him for his estimate of their founder, of whom he said, in his article on Southey, that he was the founder "of a most remarkable moral revolution, and a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have made him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species." He speaks with contempt "of some writers of books called Histories of England, under the reign of George II., in which the rise of Methodism is not mentioned," and says that in a hundred years "such a breed of authors will be extinct." Mr. Trevelyan says "he was never tired of ranging" in works of "religious speculation," and was "widely and profoundly read in ecclesiastical history. . . . His partiality for studies of this nature is proved by the full and elaborate notes with which he has covered the margin of such books as Warburton's 'Julian,' Middleton's 'Free Inquiry,' Middleton's 'Letters to Venn and Waterland,' and all the rest of the crop of polemical treatises which the 'Free Inquiry' produced. . . . It may be safely asserted that in one corner or another of Macaulay's library there is his estimate of every famous or notorious English prelate from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century."

We have alluded to his rank as essayist, poet, and historian. No one will dispute his unapproachable pre-eminence as a critical essayist. He was first recognized by the literary world in this character, and the recognition was immediate and general. From his first article, (on "Milton," in the "Edinburgh Review,") written in his twenty-fifth year, he was acknowledged as a new power in the intellectual world. The most exclusive circles of London society opened their doors to welcome him, and from that day to his death he was one of the "lions" of the metropolis. He became the chief dependence of the great Scotch review; it was importunate for his contributions, and he could command his own price for them. Murray declared that it would be worth the copyright of Childe Harold to have Macaulay on the staff of the "Quarterly"—the competitor of the "Edinburgh." Nearly every one of his articles produced a sensation through not only the literary and social, but often through the political, circles of the country. They made Brougham rancorously jealous, and eclipsed Sydney Smith, Mackintosh, and even Jeffrey himself. The latter, unlike Brougham, hailed with a sort of rapture the new ascending star, and deeply mourned the departure of Macaulay from England for India; for the veteran editor never expected to see him again. In the collected republication of his essays Macaulay deprecates criticism on his "Milton," and his other early reviews, especially on their youthful enthusiasm; but the world has demanded no apology for them. They are so replete with knowledge and reason—their rhetoric itself has, with whatever faults, such superb yet genuine qualities—that we would not wish them retouched. We have known grave and cultivated men to burst into tears over his vindication of the blind old Puritan bard, who, abandoned of the world, remained superior to it. He did more for the right appreciation of Milton than any other critic save Addison. In this and other writings he has proved to Englishmen that, while they had in Cromwell the greatest of their sovereigns, and in his Roundhead army the greatest of their soldiers, they had, also, in his secretary the sublimest of their poets, and one of the noblest models of British manhood.

Other, and even more surprising, papers than "Milton" followed, all making an impression never before known in English

periodical literature: in his twenty-seventh year that on Machiavelli, so comprehensive of his epoch and so decisive of the old problem of his "prince;" in his twenty-eighth year that on Hallam's "Constitutional History," so thorough on the religious questions of the times of Elizabeth and the Commonwealth, and so grandly appreciative of Cromwell; that on Southey's "Colloquies," so able in its discussions of political economy; that on Croker's Johnson, so remarkable for its critical corrections, and its estimates of Boswell and Johnson; that on Bunyan, in which he vindicates the high rank of the "Bedford Tinker" among Englishmen of genius; that on Gladstone's "Church and State," in which he has made out the best argument for religious liberty and for the "voluntary principle," though without propounding—perhaps without intending—the latter; that on Ranke's "Popes," so thoroughly appreciative of the era of the Reformation, and of the comparative policies of Popery and Protestantism; that on Temple, in which the notable "Phalaris" fight between Oxford and Bentley, and Bentley's signal victory, are commemorated; the two articles on Clive and Warren Hastings, so comprehensive of the history and policy of British India, and so dazzling in their rhetoric; the masterly articles on Burleigh, Hampden, and Chatham; those on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration; on Byron, Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann, Madame d'Arblay's Life and Letters, and Miss Aiken's Life and Writings of Addison, so full of entertaining information and literary gossip and criticism; and the unrivaled essay on Bacon, in which he drew with as much impartiality as ability the character of the great philosopher, and made the best statement of his system ever given by any of his critics. The latter is the largest and most elaborate of his review articles. It was written in India, and sent to the "Edinburgh" with an apology for its "interminable length." He wrote to Napier, Jeffrey's successor in the editorial chair:—

> My opinion is formed, not at second hand, like those of nine tenths of the people who talk about Bacon, but after several very attentive perusals of his greatest works, and after a good deal of thought. I never bestowed so much care on any thing I have written. There is not a sentence in the latter half of the article which has not been repeatedly recast. The trouble has been so great a pleasure to me that I have been greatly overpaid.

Napier sent it to Jeffrey for advice on the propriety of dividing it. Jeffrey wrote back:—

> What mortal could ever dream of cutting out the least particle of this precious work to make it better fit in your review? It would be worse that paring down the Pitt diamond to fit the old setting of a dowager's ring. Since Bacon himself, I do not know that there has been any thing so fine. The first five or six pages are in a lower tone, but still magnificent, and not to be deprived of a word.

It was inserted entire, filling a hundred and four pages of the review.

These essays excited so much interest in America that they were first published here in a collected form. Copies of the edition were sent over "wholesale," and Macaulay diffidently consented to prepare a new collected edition for the English market, in order to protect Longman, his publisher, from the enterprising American house. Mr. Trevelyan says:—

> The world was not slow to welcome, and, having welcomed, was not in a hurry to shelve, a book so unwillingly and unostentatiously presented to its notice. Upwards of a hundred and twenty thousand copies have been sold in the United Kingdom alone by a single publisher. Considerably over a hundred thousand copies of separate essays have been printed in the series known as the "Travelers' Library." More than six thousand copies have, one year with another, been disposed of annually. In the United States, in British India, and the Continent of Europe, these productions, which their author classed as ephemeral, are so greedily read, and so constantly reproduced, that, taking the world as a whole, there is probably never a moment when they are out of the hands of the compositor.

Macaulay's literary reputation became universal by his essays alone. No other man had ever won equal fame by mere review articles. They were a monument seen and read of all cultivated men throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. No one beyond the circle of his immediate friends suspected that he was capable of success in poetry till his "Lays of Rome" appeared. Of course, he cannot be ranked among the great poets, any more than Addison, Johnson, Southey, or Scott can be so ranked; but had he lived before Johnson he would certainly have had a place in the "Lives of the Poets," and a place above three fourths of Johnson's characters. But if he cannot be placed among the gods in the *cella* of the temple, he is entitled

at least to a prominent position among the demi-gods who stand in its exterior niches. The rhythmical instinct was inborn with him, and was as early, if not as thoroughly, developed as in Pope. We have already seen it in his childhood, and throughout his youth he could throw off poetry, or, at least, verses, in the sports of his home, impromptu and without end. But there is often a "fatal facility" in versification, seducing the young aspirant from the deeper things of poetry. It came near spoiling Pope himself. The Horatian lesson of delay and labor can never be disregarded with impunity in this highest department of literary art. Macaulay was the last man to disregard it, and his "Lays," therefore, met with immediate success.

Niebuhr had revived the theory that most of the romantic stories which fill the first three or four books of Livy come from lost ballads of the early Romans. Macaulay was no disciple of Niebuhr, and rather discredited him as an historical critic, but he was fully convinced of the truth of this theory. As a mere literary recreation he attempted, in India, to restore some of these long-lost poems, and the "Lays" sprung from the attempt full-winged. His friend, Arnold of Rugby, a disciple of Niebuhr, saw some of them in manuscript, after Macaulay's return to England, and was so struck with them that he wrote to the author "in such terms of eulogy" as to kindle his ambition for a higher literary fame than he had yet attained; he declined the importunities of Napier for new review articles, and gave himself to the correction and completion of his poems. He bestowed the utmost labor upon them, doing what, perhaps, is the hardest, though the most indispensable, task of the poet—abridging and condensing. He ruthlessly cut out scores of lines—at least thirty out of the battle of Regillus alone. The ancient Roman ballads were, most probably, in the Saturnian meter, pure examples of which have been preserved by the grammarians. It was a proof of the poetic instinct of Macaulay, a proof which could not but cheer him, that his own ballads were, without intention, very like the Saturnian meter. Goethe had succeeded, in his "Iphigenia" and Roman elegies, in reproducing the spirit of classic antique poetry; Macaulay, with less poetic genius, reproduced the Latin legends by recreating the Latin ballads—reproduced them in form and substance, as well as in spirit, not merely by his meter and perfect detail of facts

and allusions, but by the affinities of his own robust nature with the old Roman energy and heroism.

He was anxious about the success of his new venture, but, says his biographer, "the little craft, launched without noise, went bravely down the wind of popular favor." We have already seen Blackwood's opinion of it. Wilson had been his relentless political and literary antagonist. He had sarcastically described him as, "twenty years ago, like a burnished fly, in pride of May, bouncing through the open window of Knight's Magazine"—a short-lived periodical, to which he had been a contributor. He now hailed the "Lays" with "a pæan of hearty, unqualified panegyric." He exclaimed:—

> What! poetry from Macaulay? Ay, and why not? The House pushes itself to hear him, even though Stanley is the cry? If he be not the first of critics, (spare our blushes,) who is? Name the young poet who could have written the Armada. The young poets all want fire; Macaulay is full of fire. The young poets are somewhat weakly; he is strong. The young poets are rather ignorant; his knowledge is great. The young poets mumble books; he devours them. The young poets dally with their subject; he strikes its heart. The young poets are still their own heroes; he sees but the chiefs he celebrates. The young poets weave dreams with shadows transitory as clouds, without substance; he builds realities lasting as rocks. The young poets steal from all and sundry, and deny their theft; he robs in the face of day. Whom? Homer!

For twenty years editions of the "Lays," averaging two thousand copies a year, have been sold, and by the spring of 1875 upwards of a hundred thousand had been issued. They were received by the public not only as an example of his versatility, but as a work of genuine art.

He had a still loftier ambition, and is to be immortal chiefly as an historian. He was not unconscious of his powers for his historical task. Many of his essays had been splendid historical studies; studies in historical biography, at least. Their success could be taken as a presage of the success of his higher undertaking. He had reason, however, for diffidence. The English historians were pre-eminent. They were at the head of the artistic historians of modern literature; and history has its artistic properties as well as the epic or the drama. The Germans excelled in research, but were heavy by the very masses of their *materiale*, and the plodding drudgery of their work-

manship. The French were mostly dramatists and rhetoricians in historical writing, with an occasional exception, like Guizot, in which the "philosophy of history" excluded most of its artistic qualities. The English, with Gibbon—who, in spite of his great faults, stands imperially supreme over all modern historians—at their head, had shown a special genius for the art. There were many giants, if not many artists, among them —Clarendon, Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, Lingard, Thirlwall, Grote, Arnold, Milman, Hallam, not to speak of Alison, Russell, Stanhope, and a host of others. It required not only ability, but courage to step into the ranks of such men. Among good ordinary writers Macaulay could be certain of pre-eminence, but it might be otherwise among the giants. Swift's Gulliver among the Liliputians found that the emperor was taller by about the breadth of his finger-nail than any of his court, "which was enough to strike awe into the beholders." But it required other proportions for distinction among the Brobdignagians. Hume had written English history as a Jacobite, Lingard as a Roman Catholic; Macaulay wrote it as a Whig, believing (and justly, as we think) that the doctrines of British Whig politics are the fundamental ideas of modern civilization and progress. How he succeeded we need not here say; the whole Anglo-Saxon world has said it. It can hardly be questioned that his History, with whatever faults, has done more to promote Whig principles than any other contemporaneous agency. There was no great reform in English politics in which he was not a representative statesman, down to his last year; his History is, and for indefinite time will be, an oriflamme in front of the onward march of the Anglo-Saxon race. Hume will always be read for his entertaining manner, the ease and felicity of his style, in spite of its Scottisms; Lingard (whose ability Macaulay acknowledged in his article on Temple) will always be valuable for his research, and for his qualification of religious prejudices in English historical literature; Macaulay will always be read, not only for his brilliant style, but for his love of liberty and humanity, for his characteristic portraiture, for his dramatic power, and for his perfect mastery of nearly every thing pertaining to his task—especially his exhaustive research, in which he was hardly surpassed by Gibbon himself. Lord Carlisle wrote that "his volumes are full of generous

impulse, judicial impartiality, wide research, deep thought, picturesque description, and sustained eloquence. Was history ever better written? Guizot praises Macaulay." Of "his immense research," said Buckle, "few people are competent judges. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of his unwearied diligence, of the consummate skill with which he has arranged his materials, and the noble love of liberty which animates his work."

Taken as a whole, Macaulay's work is one of the most genuine examples of historical writing in our literature. He did not much esteem Voltaire's unveracious histories; but Voltaire was the founder of modern history as not a mere record of kingcraft, diplomacy and war, but a record of national life—of laws, manners, and religions. Macaulay's work is a history of the English people as well as their government, and no other writer has so well described them. We have seen how, at the close of each volume, he renewed himself for the next by reading Herodotus, the "father of history," and the greatest of "story-tellers." He read and reread Thucydides, the father of "philosophic history," and pronounced him "the greatest historian that ever wrote." He was acquainted with every other historical model in ancient or modern literature. But, while availing himself of these, he faithfully maintained the individuality of his own genius, and stands conspicuously alone in historic literature. His relative rank we need not try to determine; that is usually a fallacious attempt, and a right which belongs to posterity alone. But that his history will be a permanent monument to his memory no man can doubt.

He knew the importance of little things, of even petty data in the illustration of the life of a people—the eccentricities of character, the sayings of great men, the personal peculiarities of statesmen and kings, the characteristic anecdote, the habits of the common people; and, like Cromwell before the painter, insisted that every feature, and even the wart on the face, should be given. To him George Fox's leathern breeches, and the veriest antics of his honest fanaticism, were essential indications in the genesis of a new form of religion. He disdained no hint which a street ballad could afford him. Having formed with "consummate skill," as Buckle says, his outlines—the chronological skeleton of the earlier historians, made up of

regality, diplomacy and war—he filled it out, giving it body and living blood, by the common facts of the popular life. He feared not the critics, for he knew they would fall before the verdict of the aggregate good sense of the people. He knew that critical pretenders—"his puny detractors," as Buckle again says, "unworthy to loosen his shoe-latchet"—would disparage his facts and call his style irrelevant "fine writing;" but to him no facts indicating the real life of a people were unworthy of history, and nothing worthy of history was unworthy of the best literary art. Some one said to Dr. Johnson that he surpassed all his competitors in writing biography. "Sir," replied the veteran author, "I believe that is true; the dogs don't know how to write trifles with dignity."

As he wrote for the people, though in the highest style of the art, the people gave him a recognition such as no other historian has ever received. "Within three days after the appearance of the book," says Mr. Trevelyan, "its fortune was already secure. It was greeted by an ebullition of national pride and satisfaction." Three competing editions were quickly published in the United States. Our own Harpers wrote him that "no work of any kind has ever so completely taken our whole country by storm." Edward Everett wrote him that "no book has ever had such a sale in the United States, except the Bible, and one or two school-books of universal use." Tauchnitz, in Germany, had sold ten thousand copies (in English) within six months after the third and fourth volumes appeared. Six rival translators were at work, at one and the same time, turning it into German. There have been Polish, Danish, Swedish, Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish, Hungarian, Russian, Bohemian, and even Persian versions. He had said, "I shall not be satisfied unless I produce something which shall for a few days supersede the last fashionable novel on the table of young ladies." His biographer says that "the annual sale of the History has frequently, since 1857, surpassed the sale of the fashionable novel of the current year." "Within a generation of the first appearance of the work, upward of a hundred and forty thousand volumes will have been printed and sold within the United Kingdom alone." Twenty-six thousand five hundred copies were sold in ten weeks. "I should not wonder," wrote Macaulay, "if I made twenty thou-

sand pounds ($100,000) clear this year by literature. His publishers actually deposited in the bank for him a hundred thousand dollars, "as part of what would be due him in December" of that year. "What a sum," he exclaimed, "to be gained by one edition of a book!" At another time he speaks of receiving thirty thousand dollars in a single year. Longman could hardly keep pace, sometimes, with the demand for the work. Twenty-five thousand copies of the third volume were ordered before the day of publication. The stock at the book-binder's was insured for fifty thousand dollars. "The whole weight was fifty-six tons!" "No such edition was ever published of any work of the same bulk."

We cannot spare room enough to speak of him adequately as a statesman and parliamentary orator, for, as we have intimated, he stands pre-eminent above nine tenths of contemporary British statesmen, and would be historical in this character, aside from his literary fame. It is a proof of the generous instincts of his heart that he early broke away from the prejudices of his Tory education; for, curious as the fact may seem, his father, Zachary Macaulay, the philanthropist, the anti-slavery leader, and the editor of the evangelical "Christian Observer," was inclined to Tory politics. Zachary Macaulay was one of the "good men of Clapham," commemorated in Methodist history as the Calvinistic Methodists in the Low Church party of the Establishment, who had arisen under the religious movement conducted by Wesley, Whitefield, and the Countess of Huntingdon. Though leaders in most of the philanthropies of the day, these good men were inclined to Tory politics by their dread of the Jacobinism of the French Revolution, which had considerably infected England. Macaulay while yet at the university emancipated himself from their prejudices, but retained through life their best political ideas. Though he believed, with Buckle, that expediency, or "compromise," must be fundamental in any successful administrative policy, yet he held the boldest theoretical political ethics, and fearlessly avowed his theories and their consequences. The old English common sense dominated in all his speculations, and if he believed that a given public evil should be exterminated root and branch, yet he deemed it a violation of not only political sagacity, but of political ethics, to take to-

day, by assault and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, a fortress which would have to surrender at discretion to-morrow; and that many a good cause famously won might have been better won. In other words, he was a genuine statesman. He came into public life, and remained till his death, an unwavering reformer. He was found at the front in the fight of every great Parliamentary question of his times—the Anti-slavery question, the Reform bill, the India bill, the Franchise bill, the Factory bill, West India Apprenticeship, the Ballot, the Corn Laws, Catholic Emancipation, Jewish Disabilities, Copy-right. He was virtually the author of the Copy-right Law, which now protects British authors and their families—the "charter of his craft"—after the defeats of Talfourd and Lord Mahon in the same good cause. A speech of remarkable logic and lucidity rallied the House to his position with enthusiasm. Peel walked across the floor, and told him that within twenty minutes his views on the question had been entirely altered; and one member after another of the opposition acknowledged a similar change.

He was one of the most eloquent speakers in Parliament, without being precisely an orator. His first public speech was at a London antislavery meeting, in his twenty-fourth year. He was surrounded by the good men of Clapham on the platform, his anxious father among them. The "Edinburgh Review" spoke of the speech as "a display of eloquence so signal for rare and mature excellence that the most practiced orator may well admire how it should have come from one who then for the first time addressed a public assembly." "It was hailed with a whirlwind of cheers," says his biographer. "That was probably the happiest hour of Zachary Macaulay's life." When Wilberforce rose to speak, he said of the father:—

> My friend would doubtless willingly bear with all the base falsehoods, all the vile calumnies, all the detestable artifices, which have been aimed against him to render him the victim and martyr of our cause, for the gratification he has this day enjoyed in hearing one so dear to him plead such a cause in such a manner.

After the first of his Parliamentary "reform" speeches the Speaker of the House sent to him, and "told him that in all his prolonged experience he had never seen the House in such an excitement." Denman, who spoke afterward, "said with

universal acceptance that the orator's words remained tingling in the ears of all who heard them, and would last in their memories as long as they should have memories to employ." Peel remarked that "parts of the speech were as beautiful as any thing I ever heard or read. It reminds one of the old times." "The names of Fox, Burke, and Canning were," says his biographer, "during that evening in every body's mouth." Jeffrey, who heard him later on the same subject, said his speech "was prodigiously applauded, and I think puts him at the head of the great speakers, if not the great debaters, of the House." Mackintosh wrote from the library of the House, "Macaulay and Stanley have made two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament;" he pronounced them "the chiefs of the next, or, rather, of this, generation." Lord Althorp said of one of his speeches, that "it was the best he had ever heard." Graham, Stanley, and Russell made similar remarks, and O'Connell followed him out of the House to "pay him most enthusiastic compliments." The "principal men" on the Whig side "agreed that it was the best ever made since the death of Fox." Of his speech on the India bill one of the speakers said, "I will venture to assert that it has never been exceeded within these walls."

It is the uniform testimony of those who heard him that he owed nothing to the usual artifices of the orator. He had few gestures and little inflection of the voice. "Vehemence of thought, vehemence of language, vehemence of manner, were his chief characteristics," says the "Daily News." It was "fullness of mind, which broke out in many departments, that constituted him a born orator." He "plunged at once into the heart of the matter, and continued his loud, resounding pace from beginning to end, without pause or halt." "Macaulay," says another witness, "was wonderfully telling in the House. Every sentence was perfectly devoured by the listeners."

Cicero says the orator should be a good man, for the popular conviction of his integrity gives sevenfold force to all he says. Macaulay's unquestionable honesty made him mighty. He resigned office in the ministry in order to make, honorably, a speech against a bill of the Government—of his own party; but the cabinet had the good sense not to accept his resignation. He lost his election in Edinburgh rather than yield to a Scotch

religious prejudice; but his constituents became, in time, ashamed of their conduct, and re-elected him with honors, and proudly kept him till the infirmities of his last years compelled him to retire, when they took leave of him with demonstrations of affection and admiration. Sydney Smith said that he was absolutely incorruptible; that no money, no title, ribbon, or coronet, could change him.

Pre-eminent in so many respects, he was almost equally so as a "conversationist." Never in the saloons of Paris, from the days of Rambouillet down to ours, nor in the circles of London, not excepting Johnson's Club, with the "great moralist," and Burke, Reynolds, and Goldsmith around its table, had conversational talent been more a social power than during the life of Macaulay. Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Sydney Smith, Rogers, Mackintosh, Carlyle, Brougham, Milman, Dickens, Thackeray, and many others, were his rivals, but hardly his equals, much less his superiors, in the "table-talk" of the metropolis. If Coleridge, with his interminable monologues, was their oracle in philosophy, Sydney Smith and Charles Lamb their oracles in humor, Macaulay was their supreme oracle in universal knowledge and criticism. Crabb Robinson, whose entertaining autobiography gives, perhaps, our best view of the best London society of this period, alludes to Macaulay's earliest appearance in it, about his twenty-sixth year, and says: "I had a most interesting companion at the table in young Macaulay, one of the most promising of the rising generation I have seen for a long time: very eloquent and cheerful, overflowing with words, and not poor in thought, he seems a correct as well as a full man. He showed a minute knowledge of subjects not introduced by himself. He was a good example of Bacon's well-known remark in all its three particulars: 'Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man.'" Lord Carlisle's Journal gives many a fine picture of Macaulay at the London symposia. "Never," he says on one occasion, "were such torrents of good talk as burst and sputtered over from Macaulay and Hallam." At a breakfast with Macaulay he says: "The conversation ranged the world—art, ancient and modern; the Greek tragedians; characters of the orators. It is a refreshing break in commonplace life. I stayed till past twelve." At another time, "Macaulay rather para-

doxical, as he is apt to be. The greatest wonder about him is the quantity of trash he remembers. He went off at a score with Lord Thurlow's poetry." Again, "Macaulay's flow never ceased once during the four hours, but it is never overbearing." Again, "On being challenged, he repeated the names of the owners of the several carriages that went to Clarissa's funeral." Though never overbearing, in temper, at least, yet in the affluence of his thoughts he was disposed, like Coleridge, to usurp the conversation. Sydney Smith, whom he could usually overwhelm, once remarked to him with mock pathos, "Macaulay, what a loss you will suffer when I die, having never heard me converse." Lord Carlisle describes a scene in which Macaulay, Hallam, and Whewell, discussing, too, a grave ethical question, got so high ("without, however, the slightest loss of temper") that when his lordship left the table "not one sentence could any of them finish." Says Mr. Trevelyan:—

> His appearance and bearing in conversation were singularly effective. Sitting bolt upright, his hands resting on the arms of his chair or folded over the handle of his walking-stick, knitting his great eyebrows if the subject was one which had to be thought out as he went along, or brightening from the forehead downward when a burst of humor was coming, his honest glance and massive features suited well with the manly, sagacious sentiments which he set forth in his pleasant, sonorous voice, and in his racy and admirably intelligible language.

But, brilliant as he was in society, his absorption in literature made his library far more attractive to him than any dinner party. He at last had a thorough "distaste for the chance society of a London drawing-room," and almost entirely abandoned it, as he "also relinquished that House of Commons, which the first sentence of his speeches hushed into silence, and the first five minutes filled to overflowing." He consecrated his last years to his History. He became a devotee of the "literary life," of which, as we said in the outset of our article, he is one of the most admirable examples in English literary history, and in which we have endeavored chiefly to consider him. Finally, giving up politics, as well as society, he lived almost exclusively in his library, and the circle of his immediate kindred. He found genuine happiness in this literary consecration, for every virtue, as well as every muse, dwelt with him there. Gibbon said that he would not exchange his enjoyment

of books for the riches of the Indies; Montesquieu declared there was no trouble, no chagrin, he could not get rid of in his library; Lessing said that if the alternatives were offered him, by the Creator, to acquire knowledge immediately by intuition, or in his usual way, by laborious study, he would choose the latter, for study is itself a felicity. Says Mr. Trevelyan:—

Macaulay's way of life would have seemed solitary to others, but it was not to him. While he had a volume in his hands he never could be without a quaint companion to laugh with him or laugh at, a counselor to suggest wise and lofty thoughts, and a friend with whom to share them. When he opened for the tenth or fifteenth time some history, or memoir, or romance, every incident and almost every sentence of which he had by heart, his feeling was precisely that which we experience on meeting an old comrade whom we like all the better because we know the exact lines on which his talk will run.

He wrote from India:—

Books are becoming every thing to me. If I had this moment my choice of life I would bury myself in one of those immense libraries that we saw together at the universities, and never pass a waking hour without a book before me.

He found, as he said, that a "book is the best of anodynes" for hours of suffering. A bibliomaniac is never a pessimist. His strong affections rendered the death of his youngest sister almost a fatal blow to him. When the sad news reached him in India, he wrote:—

That I have not sunk under this blow I owe chiefly to literature. What a blessing it is to love books as I love them; to be able to converse with the dead and live among the unreal.

He wrote still later:—

Literature has saved my life and my reason. Even now I dare not, in the intervals of business, remain alone for a minute without a book in my hand. I am more than half resolved to abandon politics, and give myself wholly to letters.

No man has left us more delightful experiences of the pleasures of literature. In his library he could summon around him the great bards, to chant to him their immortal lays; the great historians, to recite their narratives; the great orators, to exhilarate him with their eloquence; the great novelists, to entertain him with their stories; the great travelers, with whom he could

traverse the world without leaving his fireside, and witness the wonders, without sharing the perils, of their adventures. A good library was to him the best of material provisions for happiness, and a good author the best of companions. In his essay on Bacon he eloquently says:—

> These friendships are exposed to no danger from occurrences by which other attachments are weakened or dissolved. Time glides on, fortune is inconstant, tempers are soured, bonds which seemed indissoluble are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice; but no such cause can affect the silent converse which we hold with the highest of human intellects. The placid intercourse is disturbed by no jealousies or resentments. These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry; in the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen, Cervantes is never petulant, Demosthenes never comes unseasonably, Dante never stays too long; no difference of political opinions can ever alienate Cicero, no heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet.

It was befitting that such a man should die in his library. He was found dead, says his biographer, "in his library, seated in his easy chair, and dressed as usual, with his book on the table, still open." He died in his sixtieth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, amid the monuments of Addison, Johnson, Gray, and Goldsmith, his tomb bears the inscription, "His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth for evermore."

We have endeavored, as we proposed, to trace, in his memoirs and writings, the chief conditions and most salient facts of his manifold intellectual life, without restricting ourselves mechanically to any chronological order. We should not be willing to take leave of him without saying something on his religious character, but his biographer is strangely reticent respecting it, giving hardly an intimation on the subject. We regret this singular defect in a work which we can, nevertheless, commend as one of the most able and most entertaining of recent biographies.

Art. II.—THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW ON "THE RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN."

The facts which I submitted to the public nearly two years ago in my work entitled "The Recent Origin of Man" have been criticised in various periodicals, especially in England, by writers entertaining mostly a different opinion from my own; and I have watched with some interest—not with anxiety—to see what reply would be made to them. I set out to study this subject of the antiquity of man with little expectation of arriving at a different conclusion from that which had been reached by such great authorities as Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Prestwich, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, M. Edouard Lartet, M. de Mortillet, Nilsson, Worsaae, and a host of others in all parts of Europe, and by Professor Agassiz, Professor Cope, Dr. Daniel Wilson, Dr. Foster, etc., in America. I presently began to suspect that they were mistaken, and the continuance of my investigations subsequently strengthened this impression. From that day to this, some five years, during which I have devoted a vast deal of time and labor to the subject, as my knowledge has enlarged, and as the facts have accumulated, I have become more and more clearly convinced that the science of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology is an elaborate and baseless delusion, which has led astray many of the most eminent scientific men of the world. The generalizations have been hasty, and the edifice has been hurried to completion without proper attention to the foundation on which it was erected. The Danish archæologists, without due consideration, led the way in these premature conclusions, propounding, upon the special facts applicable only to a very limited district in Europe, their theory of "The Three Ages." In the same manner Sir Charles Lyell, and Mr. Evans, and Sir John Lubbock, and the French archæologists after the visit of the English scientists to the valley of the Somme in 1860, adopted without sufficient consideration the theory of the high level and low level gravels, and the excavation of the valley of the Somme since the deposition of the former by the Somme river, an inconsiderable, sluggish stream, some fifty feet in width.

The argument for the antiquity of man rests upon the theory of three successive, protracted ages, designated the Stone Age, (divided into two periods,) the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, which ages have their respective relics revealed to us in the Megalithic Monuments of Europe, in the Pile Villages, in the Danish Shell Mounds, in the Peat Deposits, in the Bone Caverns, and in the River Gravels of the river valleys of Europe.

The oldest barrows and cromlechs have been conjectured to be contemporaneous with Menes, the first king of Egypt, who was supposed to have lived about thirty-five hundred or four thousand years before our era. The older lake dwellings or pile villages belonged also to the Second or Polished Stone Age, and were represented to be at least six or seven thousand years old; indeed, Professor Agassiz considered that their antiquity was so high that they "connected humanity with geological phenomena." The lower beds of the peat belonged to the same period. Sir C. Lyell declined to indicate any approximate date for the peat of the Somme valley, but, following M. Boucher de Perthes, he intimated that the growth of these beds, which are more than thirty feet thick in some places, seemed to have been at the rate of three centimetres (one and one fifth inches) in a hundred years. The shell mounds are thought by Sir John Lubbock to belong to the transition period between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages. The caves and the river gravel belong to the First Stone, or Palæolithic, Age, and are supposed to be from one to five hundred thousand years old. For we find here rude flints, evidently worked by man, and also (in the caves) beautifully worked implements of horn and bone, and in each case these works of art are in association with the bones of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the reindeer, the cave bear, the great Irish elk, and other extinct animals; and, further, it was represented that the rivers had excavated their valleys since the "high level" gravels were laid down. It was further urged that great changes in the relative level of land and sea had taken place since the days of the mammoth; and it was also pointed out that in the bone caves thick floors of stalagmite had formed over the relic beds, which stalagmite must have required, it was alleged, thousands of years to be deposited.

Sir Charles Lyell and Mr. Evans mention this as one of the proofs of the great antiquity of these relics, and Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace calculates that it took five hundred thousand years for the stalagmitic floors to form in Kent's Cavern; while Mr. Vivian, at the meeting of the British Association in 1871, asserted that it must have taken a million of years for these two floors to form.

These are the points, and I undertook to meet them. In doing so I collected a vast multitude of facts, and swelled my book to six hundred pages, determined to give the evidence in full, at the risk of making my work tedious.

I have published a short piece in England in reply to Mr. Boyd Dawkins, but I have not noticed any criticisms which appeared in this country in any way.

As my book has recently been reviewed, however, in the "Westminster Review," which has a high standing in England, and is reprinted in this country, and as a review has, moreover, recently appeared in *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, one of the leading anthropological periodicals of France, I desire to say something more formal in reply; and at the same time I may take occasion to notice again, if space permits, the review by Mr. Dawkins, published in "Nature."

I have taken the pains to state the grounds on which the geologists and archæologists rely as the proof of the antiquity of our race, in order to indicate the points which ought to be grappled with in any discussion of this subject.

Now I affirm that all of my English and American critics have failed to handle these points, and have offered no reply to the facts I have adduced under most of these heads.

The "Westminster" reviewer addresses himself chiefly to a criticism of some preliminary remarks I make on Egyptian chronology, and assails the chronology of Usher, and comments on the limited time I allow for the dispersion of mankind, and kindred topics. This is a very interesting subject, but it was touched only incidentally in my book, and I expressly, in my preface, as well as afterwards, cut off all such discussion by granting that the human period may have begun ten thousand years ago. I do not think that it did, but I did not wish to embarrass the subject with questions about the precise biblical chronology. I make some mention, it is

true, of probable dates, as B. C. 2700 for the beginning of Egyptian history; but I expressly refrain from committing myself explicitly, and in any case it was only a casual allusion in the first chapter, and aside from the main theme I proposed to discuss.

Before entering upon more important topics, I wish to say that the reviewer repeatedly misstates my positions.

1. He makes me say that the human race is only six thousand years old. I do not say so. Six or eight I do not object to.

2. On page 47 (English edition) he says that I regard the palæolithic implements "as pre-glacial or antediluvian." There is not a line to this effect in my book. On the contrary, I argue distinctly and expressly against Mr. Geikie's pre-glacial man.

3. On page 48: "Mr. Southall calls upon us to believe things more astonishing still, when he asserts that in two or three hundred years, at the most, after all mankind, excepting eight persons, according to his belief, had been cut off by the universal deluge, all the great kingdoms of the East had risen to the height of their power, filled with peoples of distinct races, . . . while at the same time people of the same descent had forgotten all this splendor, and were hunting the mammoth in Scotland in naked freedom, oblivious of Memphis and Babylon."

I am here made to believe, without any ground for it whatever, in a universal deluge.

I am made to say, further, that "all the great kingdoms of the East had risen to the height of their power in two or three hundred years, *at the most*," after the flood. I suggest 2400–2200 B. C. for the fourth Egyptian dynasty, (supposed to have been contemporary with the third,) and I remark in italics, on page 18, that "human history commenced about forty-five hundred or five thousand years ago." This, instead of "two or three hundred years, at the most," for the interval in question, would give eight hundred years, which is abundantly long, as the post-diluvians, of course, inherited, through Noah, the civilization of the antediluvians.

The brief sentence quoted contains a third blunder on the part of the reviewer. He speaks of "hunting the mammoth

in Scotland." Now, the mammoth never was hunted in Scotland, for, as I show in my thirty-second chapter, (and with this Lyell agrees,) palæolithic man never entered Scotland; he was kept out of it by the ice. No palæolithic tools are found in Scotland, Denmark, or Sweden.

4. On page 55 I am represented as stating that the "potter's wheel was unknown until the time of the Romans." I make no such statement; what I say is, that it was not known in northern and western Europe until the Romans introduced it. The potter's wheel was known to the Egyptians and Assyrians and Hebrews, and Dr. Schliemann found various traces of it at Hissarlik.

5. On page 61 I am represented as suggesting that a certain subterranean aqueduct (see page 252 of my book) "was constructed in tertiary times." This would place me in the attitude, in a work written to prove "the recent origin of man," of representing that our ancestors were living, and occupied in works of drainage, or water supply, in the Pliocene Age. A reviewer in a periodical of the character of the "Westminster" ought not to be ignorant of the facts he writes about; it is still more to be expected that he shall not, through carelessness or mental dullness, absurdly distort the plain meaning of the text he is engaged in dissecting.

6. On page 47 the writer remarks that he "believes no chronology places the flood earlier than B. C. 3000," etc. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the Septuagint fixes the date of the flood at about B. C. 3200.

I will now proceed to notice some of the positions taken by the reviewer.

1. On page 45 he expresses the opinion that the Palæolithic Age covered two distinct periods, represented by the rude implements of the river gravels and the presence of the cave bear, and by the much finer work of most of the caves, and the presence of the mammoth. It is M. Lartet's Cave Bear Epoch and Mammoth Epoch. It is only necessary in reply to this to say that this division is rejected by Sir John Lubbock, by Mr. Evans, and by Mr. Dawkins. The latter observes: "The classification will apply, as I have shown in my essay on the pleistocene mammalia, neither to the caves of this country, of Belgium, nor of France, and my views are shared by M. de

Mortillet, after a careful and independent examination of the whole evidence." *

2. The main and capital point which the reviewer urges, however, is this: that if the post-diluvians, as represented in Scripture, set out with a knowledge of the arts of life, and were dispersed over the face of the earth, he does not understand how the palæolithic people of Western Europe "forgot so soon the use of the metals, which must have been known in the ark, and used in building the tower of Babel, as well as the Pyramids." This involves the question of the diversity of type observable among the races of mankind, which diversity appears to have existed from a very early period, and is akin to the other difficulty which has been raised, about the divergence of language and the rapid development of so many different languages among the families of mankind. These questions are barely touched upon in "The Recent Origin of Man," for the reason that the author has in view another class of topics, namely, the discoveries of the relics and traces of man in the river gravel, the bone caves, etc. It would have led him too far away from his subject to have gone deeply into these other questions, which would of themselves require a volume for their elucidation. His work is intended as a reply to the books of such writers as Sir John Lubbock and Sir C. Lyell; and these authors merely give to the points now mentioned a passing consideration; indeed, Lubbock hardly refers to them.

And, waiving any attempt at any explanation of them on natural principles here, it is sufficient, so far as Language is concerned, to say that those who believe in the Bible have an adequate explanation of the diversity of tongues in the statement which is made in connection with the attempt to build the tower of Babel—a statement supported by the Chaldæan records. The diversity of races may have occurred in a similar manner. The descendants of Noah may have been characterized in a few generations by marked diversities of type, of which, indeed, there is some intimation in the biblical narrative. The same divine power which confounded the languages of men may have established, with an eye to a future multiformity in humanity, emphatic differences, physical as well as spiritual, among those who were to be the primeval stocks from

* "Cave-Hunting," p. 352.

which the nations of the earth should proceed. Is this improbable? It is only necessary to mention, in reply, Jacob, the great progenitor of the Jews, and Ishmael, the great progenitor of the Bedouin Arabs. The peculiarities of the latter, at least, were, in express language, embodied and anticipated in the son of Hagar.

Or it may be, as Archdeacon Pratt suggests, that the diversity of type originated *before* the flood; the three sons of Noah may have married wives of dissimilar types.

But how, then, shall we account for the non-employment of the metals by the Stone Age people of Western Europe?

In the first place, we may suppose those tribes inferior to those who settled in Egypt and built the Pyramids, or those who settled in Chaldæa and built the cities on the Euphrates. Why can we not civilize the Indians? Why are the Bedouin Arabs in ceaseless motion? "Who hath made them to differ?" How shall we explain the difference between the Village and the Roving Indians of North America?

In the second place, in the very oldest Chaldæan tombs we find *rude stone axes and knives* along with bronze and iron, the iron being so precious as to be used only for ornaments. The metals were scarce in those days, in the infancy of the race, and just after the earth had been swept by a flood. It is the same in Egypt; stone axes and lance-heads and knives are delineated on the tombs of Beni-Hassan, of the fourth dynasty; and Dr. Pickering tells us, in a paper on the Gliddon mummy case in the Smithsonian Institution, that the stone adze is figured in the third dynasty. Nor is this all: M. Mariette informs us that flint arrow-heads and knives are found in numbers in the later Egyptian tombs, even in the time of the Ptolemaic sovereigns. If, then, a primitive tribe, and that an inferior tribe intellectually, should have wandered from Asia, two thousand or twenty-five hundred years before our era, and should have found itself in the unvisited solitudes of central or western Europe—pushed into the wilderness, perhaps, by their more powerful kinsmen—is it strange that they, too, would make use of flint implements? They had not (the first immigrants) "forgotten" the metals, but where were they to get them? They may have been in the bowels of the earth, but they were not competent, perhaps, to find them, or to mine them, or to work

them. In a few years their children or their grandchildren would have "forgotten" them. Iron was not known in America among the Aztecs or the Peruvians. Iron was not possessed by the Massagetæ, (the powerful Scythian tribe who defeated and slew Cyrus the Great in the fifth century before Christ,) nor, indeed, did they make use of it as late as the time of Strabo. The reviewer cannot understand how the cave-dwellers in the valley of the Izère had "forgotten" the use of the metals. Can he explain how it was that the Ichthyophagi, on the north coast of the Arabian sea, between India and Persia, in the days of Strabo, knew nothing of the metals? The civilization of Southern Arabia, the empire of Persia, the arts of India, and—separated only by the Persian Gulf—the cities of the Chaldæan plain, for four or five thousand years, according to the archæologists, had fenced them in. Can the reviewer explain how it is that in the Isle of Lewis a stone knife was used as late as 1824 to cut out a wedding-dress, or that, but a few years ago, the spade was unknown in modern Greece? Were the Ichthyophagi unrelated to all the civilized races around them? and had they enjoyed no opportunity of seeing "the metals?" Doubtless the primeval tribes that reached Western Europe did not improve in that inhospitable region, although the reviewer would be slow to credit the retrogression of humanity, forgetful alike of the plains of Marathon and the ruins of Iona. Can he explain the presence of the flint and bone implements found in association with wheel-made pottery by the Abbé Moretain and the Duc de Luynes, near Bethlehem, in Judea? or on what principle it is that the Bojos of northern Abyssinia at the present day manufacture and use stone hatchets and flint knives along with hatchets and poniards of iron? From the same region nearly two thousand five hundred years ago the Ethiopian contingent in the army of Xerxes, which invaded Greece, had antelope's horn for the heads of their javelins, and their arrows pointed with sharpened stones. This was from the country of the great Tirhakah, where had flourished from a remote period the Golden Napata, and, later, the Golden Merõe; where we find now, on the banks of the Nile, at Jebel-Berkel, great Pyramids and avenues of Sphinxes leading up to the ruins of the Ammonium; where Osiris was worshiped; and where, at a far later period still, in the first or second century

of our era, the kingdom of the Auxumitæ flourished, whose greatness is attested by the ruins of the modern Axum in Tigré.

Why should the reviewer allow such weight to such a point when we are confronted by the astounding revelations of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ? Does he not know that no iron was found in the relic-beds at Troy, and that up to the surface or historic Greek beds (B. C. 650) *all* the beds contained stone implements, the same stone implements greatly preponderating over the bronze in the fourth and highest layer from the bottom? If bronze and stone (and apparently no iron) were used on the Asiatic coasts of the Ægean from 1500 B. C. continuously down to 650 B. C., is it very incomprehensible that in 2500 B. C. or 2000 B. C. there should be no working in iron and bronze in north-western Europe? If fifty per cent. of the implements at Troy from 1000 B. C. to 700 B. C. were of metal, and fifty per cent. of stone, why may not one hundred per cent. of the implements in the Thames valley have been of stone 2500 B. C.?

This is what I should say in reply to the objection that the post-diluvians of the European bone-caves "could not have forgotten so soon the use of the metals."

3. I undertake to show in my book that the theory of the Three Ages is practically a delusion, and even venture to doubt, except in Ireland and the Baltic region, the existence of a Bronze Age. I show by innumerable examples that these ages run into each at every point; that the Stone not only overlaps the Bronze, but laps *across* the Bronze into the Iron Age; that while one race was in its Iron Age another was in its Stone Age; that in the same country stone would be in use in one district while metal would be in use in another; and that stone implements are found constantly with Roman remains, and even in Saxon and Merovingian graves.

On this the reviewer remarks:—

> Mr. Southall occupies pages in proving that which no one denies, namely, that stone, bronze, and iron were used together, and that even to a comparatively recent date. . . . Nevertheless, the broad facts remain, of a time in all countries when iron was unknown, but in most cases bronze was used instead of it. Further back, again, and bronze disappears, polished stone alone being used; one step further still, and implements of a rougher, unpolished type appear.—Page 65.

The reviewer admits (says "no one denies") that stone, bronze, and iron were used together, "and that even to a comparatively recent date." He is compelled to admit this. On the site of Hissarlik, (Troy,) in the four relic-beds superimposed the one on the other, coming up to the Greek bed, which is the fifth and last, bronze implements and stone implements occur together in all the beds, and no iron—the last of the four beds, counting upwards, coming down to the dawn of the Greek period, that is to say, about 650 B. C.

If stone was used in the Troad as late as this, and bronze, what must have been the fact in Britain and Gaul? Bronze swords have been found in the peat of the valley of the Somme, with coins of Caracalla and Maxentius. A large number of bronze tools and weapons were found at the lake station of Unter-Uhldingen, in Switzerland, with implements of iron and the fragments of glass goblets—glass being introduced into this region by the Romans. Bronze implements were found again with Roman relics at the lake-stations of Nidau, Sutz, Little Island, Ile des Lapins, (Lake of Bienne,) and at La Tène, (Lake of Neufchatel.) They were found by M. Boucher de Perthes in the Abbeville peat with Gaulish coins. And the bronze daggers are constantly found in the tumuli and dolmens dating after the Christian era. Bronze (and stone) weapons were found again in the trenches before Alise, where Julius Cæsar besieged and captured the army of Vercingetorix.*

As for the continued use of stone, the Abbé Cochet found, as the usual accompaniment of the urn-interments in the Roman cemeteries opened in Normandy, "pieces of chipped flint, generally formed into the shape of wedges." Stone implements were found with Roman relics in a tumulus at Crubelz, (France,) in a tumulus on Hartshill Common, (England,) in Rolley Low, at Moot Low; at the lake-stations of Unter-Uhldingen, Sipplingen, Nidau, Sutz, Little Island, Ile des Lapins, La Tène, Colombier, Chez les Moines, Concise, Corcelettes, Montellier,

* The same fact was developed by the excavations carried on in 1862 between Trévoux and Riottier, on the plateaux of La Bruyère and Saint Bernard, where Cæsar defeated the Helvetii on the Saone. The Emperor Napoleon III. remarks that there are numerous Gallo-Roman and Celtic sepultures on this spot, which yielded many fragments of arms in flint, ornaments in bronze, iron arrow-heads, and fragments of sockets.—*Hist. of Julius Cæsar.* Tran., vol. ii, page 65.

(all in Switzerland;) they were found with Roman objects again at Ash, (in Kent,) at Leicester, at Great Whitcombe, (Gloucestershire,) at Ickleton, (Essex,) at Alchester, (Oxfordshire,) at Eastbourne, at Stoneham, (Suffolk,) in the Isle of Thanet, at Hardham, (Sussex,) all in England. In France, stone implements occurred with Roman relics at La Souterraine, (Creuse,) at Le Chezlounet, (Haute-Loire,) in the necropolis of Varennes-sur-Allier, in the funeral pits of Beaugency, in the cavern of Condere, (Hautes-Cevennes,) in the Gallo-Roman sepultures of Luneray, (Seine-Inférieure,) at Sainte Privat d'Allier, in the Gallo-Roman villa of La Tourette, (Cher,) in a Roman *sacellum* near Couches, (Eure,) in another *sacellum* near the Chateau des Roches, (Sarthe,) in the sarcophagi of Bray, (Oise,) in an ancient iron mine near Guêret, (Creuse.)

Later still, stone weapons have been found with objects of the Saxon period at Stand Low; and in Ireland a stone celt was found with a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins of the tenth century. In France implements of flint have been found in several instances in Merovingian cemeteries, as at Labruyère and Caranda. At the latter place there are great numbers of graves, and they generally contain implements of flint or some other stone.*

If we pass to the other extremity of Europe it has been recently ascertained by the examination of great numbers of the tumuli or kurgans of Russia that they contain implements of stone, bronze, and iron; and the date of these graves is fixed by the discovery in them of Byzantine and Asiatic coins of the tenth century, and other objects belonging to about the same period. The bronze arrow-heads are especially abundant.

Our object in citing these cases is to make it plain that the reviewer was compelled to admit that "stone, bronze, and iron were used together, *and that even to a comparatively recent date.*" This being admitted, we do not care to argue about the priority or succession of stone, bronze, and iron. Of course, there was a period in Western Europe when the metals were

* Since this was written I have met with the statement in *Matèriaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, in an article by M. G. Soreil on the Cave of Chauvaux, that "we possess a short but authentic and precious monument of old Germanic poesy which proves that in the time of Odoacer (the fifth century) the principal German warriors were still armed with hatchets of stone."—See *livraisons* 9e *et* 10e, 1876, page 385, note.

unknown; we state this—it is implied in the Palæolithic Age. But if stone, bronze, and iron are all found in the trenches before Alise, or if the flint implements occur constantly on Roman sites in France and England, and abound in the Merovingian cemetery of Caranda, then it is obvious at once that stone implements are no longer a proof of a high antiquity. If the stone continued to be used in these countries after the Christian era, *the Stone Age* cannot be very far behind. That was our argument. The reviewer does not seem to apprehend the significance of the facts. Again: the archæologists are fond of Mr. Evans' illustration that, "like the three principal colors of the rainbow, these three stages of civilization overlap, intermingle, and shade off the one into the other, and yet their succession, as far as Western Europe is concerned, appears to be equally well defined with that of the prismatic colors." But while the red, yellow, and blue of the rainbow blend into each other at their edges, the red does not *cross* the yellow to mingle with the blue; it does not touch the blue; but we find the flints in use in the Iron Age; it has lapped *across* the bronze. And a lapping of this kind simply means that the distinctions amount to nothing. The metals did not reach Western Europe (except through an occasional trader) until a few centuries before the Christian era; they had not reached the interior districts of Britain before the advent of the Romans. The more advanced tribes (those on certain coasts, for example) used metal implements; those in the interior continued to use stone. There was also a distinction between the rich and the poor. The rich managed to procure metallic weapons; the poor could not always afford to do it.

The American Indians were in constant communication with all parts of the Continent at the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico: why did they not throw away their stone weapons and use bronze? Why did the Mexicans use stone? Why do some of the Pacific tribes use stone at this day?

Nor need it be supposed that the use of stone implements implies the want of intelligence, or even refinement of feeling. The pottery and the jewelry in the two oldest relic-beds at Hissarlik, as well as at Santorin, are of an advanced type; and if any one will take the trouble to refer to the Appendix to Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," he will see there a letter of advice from

an Aztec mother to her daughter that is touching and beautiful in the extreme, and full of hints in regard to the latter's deportment in society that would be valuable to a young lady of even the present time in a Christian country. The main thought that I wish to convey, however, is, that this continued use of stone down to and after the Christian era destroys the presumption of antiquity for the Stone Age in Western and Northern Europe. It is only the question of *date* with which I am concerned; the sequence is only a secondary matter.

At the same time (though I cannot go fully into the subject here) I am inclined to the opinion that there was no Bronze Age in Gaul and Britain, and in some other parts of Europe. There was a Bronze Age in Denmark and Southern Sweden; these people were using bronze when the nations of Southern and Central Europe and Gaul were using iron, and their Iron Age does not commence until the third century of the Christian era. There are no evidences of a Bronze Age in the Swiss Lake-Dwellings, if we adopt the definition of such a period given by the archæologists; namely, that it was characterized by the use of bronze for *weapons* and *cutting implements*. Very few bronze weapons have been found at these stations, as may be seen by referring to page 43 of Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," where he gives a table of the various objects found at them. At six of the principal bronze stations and "other places" (not specified) four thousand three hundred and forty-six objects of bronze were found, and only four swords, six arrow-heads, sixty-seven celts, forty-seven lance-heads, two daggers, and one hundred and ninety-three knives. This is the Bronze Age in Switzerland. The stone implements are not reported; but we ascertain this item, from another table, at the principal Bronze Age station at the Swiss Lakes—Nidau, (on the Lake of Bienne;) and it appears that the stone axes here amounted to thirty-three, while the bronze axes amounted to only twenty-three—there being in addition three hundred and thirty-five "other objects" of stone—chiefly weapons, of course. Now, Nidau is *par excellence* THE bronze station. And yet, according to Sir John Lubbock's own definition, (see page 3,) he ought to have called it a Stone Age station, for it is evident that stone was the principal cutting instrument.

At another great bronze station, Unter-Uhldingen, three

hundred stone celts were found, "besides arrow-heads, chisels, stone hammers," etc.

Where is the Bronze Age in Britain? It is not in the caves, for Mr. Boyd Dawkins observes that "up to the present time (1870) all the prehistoric caves discovered in Britain belong either to the Age of Stone or Iron," ("Macmillan's Magazine," December, 1870.) It is not in the lake-stations; few of these have been found in Britain. It is not in the barrows or dolmens; for Sir John Lubbock gives us a tabulated statement (page 142) of the finds from two hundred and fifty of these, and in all these graves he reports of bronze weapons only fifteen daggers, two axes, and one lance-head—no swords, or knives, or arrow-heads. And yet he refers many of these graves to the Bronze Age.

I am not alone in this opinion as to the non-existence of the Bronze Age in some countries. It is the opinion of Mr. Thomas Wright, one of the most eminent archæologists of England, and of the no less eminent Mr. Roach Smith. It is the opinion of the distinguished Egyptologist, M. Chabas, who declares that there was no Age of Stone, or Bronze, or Iron in Egypt—nor, indeed, in Europe. I cannot say that M. Mariette denies the existence of a Bronze Age in Egypt, but he expressly denies that there are any traces of a Stone Age. The great Assyriologist, M. Oppert, insists that there was no Bronze Age and no Iron Age in the East. At the Stockholm Congress of Anthropologists, in 1874, M. Bertrand, one of the editors (I believe) of the *Revue Archéologique*, declared that "not only did the Bronze and Iron Ages overlap one another, but they had positively been contemporaneous—and in Germany (that) the Bronze Age prevailed to the fourth century after Christ." At the same Congress Mr. Leemans declared that there was no distinction between the Age of Bronze and the Age of Stone in Holland. As to England, Mr. John Evans declared at the same Congress that the bronze swords found in that country are invariably provided with handles of a different metal, which would seem to countenance the opinion of Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Thomas Wright, that these swords are of *Roman* origin. At the Congress, last year, at Budapest, Mr. Evans stated that the "flat" or "knife" hatchets of bronze in England were always found mixed with objects of stone.

The statement of M. Bertrand as to Germany is confirmed by the declaration of M. Virchow, at Budapest, that in Southern Germany the archæologists insist that bronze is not found without iron. (*Matériaux*, 1876, p. 449.)

It is equally true that there was no Bronze Age in Poland or Russia. Dr. Heinrich Wankel, giving an account of the Russian Archæological Congress at Kiew, (1875,) in the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, after passing under review the kurgans of Russia, remarks that "the separation of the bronze and iron periods has no justification, certainly, for great districts of Russia." "We know, moreover," he adds, "from the investigations of Professor Pryborovsky in Warsaw, that among the people who lived on the Vistula a bronze period did not exist at all, and that the stone period of these people continued into the iron period, and continued to exist with the same a considerable time." *

One more authority to the same purport will suffice: it is that of M. Lenormant, in his work entitled "*Les Premières Civilizations.*" This eminent Orientalist remarks that—

> The distinction between the age of bronze and the age of iron has been from the first too much exaggerated from an observation of the special facts in the Scandinavian North, and it tends to be effaced. In the greater number of countries the two metals were known at the same time, and it was local circumstances, facilitating rather the working of bronze, which made it at first predominate among certain peoples, while the fabrication of iron was developed in preference among others from an extreme antiquity.

Bronze adzes, saws, chisels, falchions, arrow-heads, etc., occur in numbers in the ruins at Thebes in Egypt. The Egyptians, after the capital was removed from Memphis, continued, during the later Theban Monarchy, to use bronze apparently in preference to iron.

On the other hand, in other parts of Africa, as we are informed by M. Lenormant, bronze does not appear to have been used; but the negroes of Central and Southern Africa appear "to have passed at once from the exclusive use of stone to that of iron." †

This is enough on this point. It is plain to any unpreju-

* *Mittheil. anthrop. Gesells. in Wien*, 1875, s. 29.

† *Matériaux pour l'Hist. de l'Homme*, 1874, 2e *livraison*, p. 82.

diced reader that the theory of the Three Ages, as presented by the archæologists, is incorrect as a scheme of chronology, and almost worthless as a formula of human progress.

4. *The Peat.* Great stress has been laid on the *peat* of the Somme valley. Thirty feet of it (in some places) overlie the implement-bearing gravel beds at Abbeville and Amiens. This alone, we are told, has involved the lapse of a vast period of time, entirely at war with the old chronology. In my book I undertake to show that these deposits do not go back of (say) 1,000 years B. C., and that, in fact, much of it is post-Roman.

There are two arguments for this. One is that made by Dr. Andrews, who observed at Amiens that in the peat deposits the stumps of birch-trees were still standing erect three feet high. On this Dr. Andrews remarks that, as the stumps of trees do not stand long uncovered in the damp air of a swamp without decay, it follows that all which were found standing erect in the peat must have been covered to their present summits before they had time to rot away. But one hundred years is a long life-time for an oak-stump under such circumstances, and every trace of almost every other tree would disappear in fifty years. Birch-stumps are especially perishable. There were also prostrate trunks of oak four feet in diameter, and so sound that they were manufactured into furniture. They must have been covered by the peat in a hundred years, and the birch-stumps in much less time. At three feet in a century, the thirty feet of peat would have formed in a thousand years, instead of the thirty thousand required by M. de Perthes. At one foot in a century, the whole would have formed in three thousand years.

The second argument for the moderate age of the peat was drawn from M. Boucher de Perthes' book, (the *Antiquités celtiques et anté-diluviennes.*) I showed from this work that relics of Roman origin were found in the peat or silt at the lowest depths, and instanced, in addition, from Lyell, the discovery, near Abbeville, at the bottom of the peat, of *a boat laden with Roman bricks.*

I cited also from Ireland and Denmark, England and Scotland and Germany, many other cases to prove that the peat deposits of Europe are ordinarily no older, or little older, than

the beginning of our era. I think the point was established; but the reviewer meets it by suggesting that "rivers are constantly shifting their course more or less rapidly, . . . and it seems to us probable that a laden boat, sinking in the mud of a swollen river which excavated for itself a new channel, would quickly become silted up with sand and mud, and, on the river resuming its normal proportions, it would remain buried below the level of the peat, the superincumbent mass of which might have become pressed down and spread over the spot, undermined by the flood, without having grown there."

This supposes that our Roman boat was caught at Abbeville, before it had time to unload, in a sudden flood of the river; that the river got out of its banks, and excavated a new channel in the adjacent peat; that this peat had been quietly forming there before for thousands of years without interruption; that the boat went to the bottom in the new channel during the flood; that the river then retired, and in some mysterious way the peat then closed over the stranded boat.

If the peat of the Somme valley has been thrown about after this fashion, it has no significance one way or the other; if the Roman relics at the bottom of it are not indicative of the age of the peat, then neither are the relics of the Neolithic Age found there reliable witnesses of the time which has elapsed since the peat began to form; nor is the mere thickness of the peat; for if the floods may have undermined it and upturned it, we can know nothing about its normal thickness whatever, and can base no calculations on it. But we never heard of peat being treated in this way; it would not be going much further to suggest that the whole of it has been washed into the Somme valley.

The reviewer ought to know that peat will not form in muddy water, or over a valley subject to violent floods. Thus, as M. Belgrand says, discussing this very question, there is no peat in the valley of the Marne, which is subject to floods of muddy water.

The reviewer of my book in *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme* (8ᵉ *livraison*, 1876) is much more candid on this point than the "Westminster" reviewer. He says:—

According to Mr. Andrews, the peat, which is only produced under very special conditions of abundant vegetable decomposition and humidity and repose, can only be formed in a rather rapid manner. If his conclusions, which seem the fruit of careful observations, were admitted, it would be necessary to reject every hypothesis of the formation of peat on a scale slower than that of two feet in a century. . . . It seems proved that under favorable circumstances the thickest beds of peat have been formed in the course of one or two centuries, even where it can be produced no longer in our day from the absence of the same necessary conditions for its development.

5. *The Stalagmite.* The reviewer (page 78) says that it would be ridiculous to apply the admeasurement of stalagmitic deposit in the Ingleborough Caves to the stalagmite of Kent's Cavern. I cannot see the logic of this. We have been told by Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace that it must have taken five hundred thousand years for the stalagmitic floors in Kent's Cavern to form; and Mr. Vivian, as I have stated, at the British Association in 1871, put it at "more than a million years." In reply, I showed that at the Ingleborough Cave, in Yorkshire, stalagmite is being accumulated at the present moment at the rate of 0.2946 of an inch in a year, which is at the rate of nearly one inch in three years, or about three feet per century. Why may not the process have been equally rapid in Kent's Cavern? It may have been *more rapid.* The rate depends on the supply of carbonic acid, and this may have been much greater formerly, either from subterranean sources, or from the greater accumulation of vegetable matter in the soil.

I mentioned that the stalagmite had been recently observed to be forming at Poole's Hole, near Buxton, at the rate of one inch in four years; that in Martin's Cave, at Gibraltar, a floor eighteen inches thick had formed since the twelfth or thirteenth century; that at San Vignone, in Tuscany, half a foot of solid limestone is formed every year in a conduit-pipe, inclined at an angle of thirty degrees; that at the baths of San Filippo, in the Apennines, the water has been known to deposit a solid mass thirty feet thick in twenty years; that in a lead cave, near Dubuque, Iowa, stalactites three feet long have formed in three years.

And yet the reviewer deems it a sufficient reply to all this

to say that it would be ridiculous to apply the admeasurement in Ingleborough Cave to Kent's Cave.

I will settle the matter by an authority that the reviewer will, perhaps, bow to.

In his work entitled "Cave-Hunting," Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins (who believes in pre-glacial man, and who ranks second to none in the school of Prehistoric Archæology) remarks upon the Ingleborough Cave as follows:—

> It is evident, from this instance of rapid accumulation, that the value of a layer of stalagmite in measuring the antiquity of deposits below it is comparatively little. The layers, for instance, in Kent's Hole, which are generally believed to have demanded a considerable lapse of time, may possibly have been formed at the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum, and the human bones which lie buried under the stalagmite in the cave of Bruniquel, are not for that reason to be taken to be of vast antiquity. It may be fairly concluded that the thickness of layers cannot be used as an argument in support of the remote age of the strata below. At the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum, twenty feet of stalagmite might be formed in one thousand years.*

6. *No Palæolithic Age in Egypt.* Says the Westminster reviewer:—

> Over and over again Mr. Southall affirms that no palæolithic implements have been found in Egypt, and that there is no trace of any thing behind the Pyramids; but Sir John Lubbock produces numerous specimens found by himself in Egypt, scarcely to be distinguished from those found in our caves—found, too, in situations suggestive of the highest antiquity.

Of course, if there is nothing in Egypt behind the Pyramids, or in Chaldæa behind Erech and Calneh and the Tower of Babel, the argument is nearly ended; and that is precisely what I affirm, (allowing a margin of a few centuries—possibly five hundred to one thousand years.)

The reviewer does not understand the subject, and has, moreover, made an important addition to Sir John Lubbock's statement. Sir John Lubbock does not state that he found there implements "in situations suggestive of the highest antiquity." He says that he found them in the Nile Valley on the surface of the ground.

Nor has Sir John Lubbock found any implements of the "Pa-

* "Cave-Hunting," p. 40.

læolithic Age," (as that term is understood in connection with the Somme Valley and Western Europe) in Egypt. All that he found—and that on the surface of the ground—was implements of "palæolithic type," resembling those of the Somme Valley in character. He *did not* find them in the same geological horizon; he *did not* find them in association with the bones of the mammoth and the cave-bear.

I have already stated that implements of palæolithic type have been found in the old Chaldæan tombs. Implements of the same type were found in abundance by Col. J. Lane Fox at Cissbury, which are admitted to belong to the Neolithic Period; and Prof. Charles Rau informs us that such implements "are by no means scarce in North America. . . . and must be classed with the other chipped and ground implements in use among the North American aborigines during historical times." Messrs. Squier and Davis found six hundred flint implements of this type in one of the "sacrificial" mounds of Clark's Work, on the North Fork of Paint Creek, Ross County, Ohio.

The *type*, however, is of no significance; the antiquity of such objects must be judged from the geological position and the associated fauna.

I stated deliberately, and I reiterate the statement, that there are no traces of the Palæolithic Age in Egypt. Not only was there no Palæolithic Age in Egypt and Chaldæa, but there was *no Stone Age of any kind.* There are plenty of stone implements found, belonging to the Neolithic type, but they are found in the tombs and on the surface of the ground, and are delineated on the Egyptian monuments.

The circumstance that some implements of this type have been found in the Nile Valley points to the same conclusion which is suggested by their presence in the Chaldæan tombs; namely, that the palæolithic implements of the West *are of the same date, and originated in the East.*

THE EXTINCT ANIMALS AND THE CHANGES IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

I have now noticed the points made by the reviewer. They do not touch the main issue in the case. The difficult facts to account for in this matter are *the association of human relics*

with the remains of the mammoth, the hippopotamus, the reindeer, etc., in England and France, and in Central Europe; and, secondly, *the modifications of the crust of the earth which have taken place since the Palæolithic Period.*

The reviewer ought to have grappled with these points. The first of them is, perhaps, the most important. It is pointed out that a new fauna has been introduced into Europe since the Palæolithic Period, and that there has been a change from an arctic to the present mild climate in England and France. Moreover, the imagination is impressed when we are told that since the human period elèphants and rhinoceroses and reindeer and lions and hyænas have lived in the Thames and the Somme valleys. It is at once inferred that this must have been ages ago.

I undertook to show, however, that this inference is unwarranted, and that all of these animals survived to a comparatively recent period: that the urus survived in Germany to the sixteenth century; that the aurochs was found in Prussia in the last century, and still survives in the Caucasus; that the reindeer is mentioned as living in Germany by Cæsar and Sallust; by Torfæus as found in Scotland in the twelfth century; as found (its remains) in the Scottish burghs, and in the peat of England, Scotland, and Denmark, and as found in association with implements of polished stone and bronze; that the remains of the great Irish elk are found in Irish crannoges (which have no antiquity) and in the Irish peat in association with implements of iron; in the Irish peat with the tendons still undecayed, and the bones yielding forty per cent. of animal matter; and that Brandt and Agassiz believe it to have survived in Germany to the fourteenth century of our era; that the remains of the cave bear are found in Italy and Denmark in association with neolithic implements—and, indeed, that there is no specific distinction between the cave bear and the common brown bear; that the lion was found in Thessaly as late as the third century before our era, and that the cave lion is now identified with the Asiatic lion; that the cave hyena and the cave horse are now considered also as identical with existing species; that the American mastodon and mammoth have left their bones in the most superficial deposits all over the country; that there is good reason to believe that one of these animals is represented in the

Wisconsin mounds—and, possibly, in the monuments of Central America; that in Siberia entire carcasses of the mammoth and rhinoceros are found completely preserved in the frozen sand; that in America, in Siberia, and in Europe the tusks and bones of these animals still retain a large proportion of animal matter—in Siberia the ivory constituting an important article of commerce.

It appears to me that these facts destroy the presumption of a remote antiquity (one hundred or two hundred thousand years) for the palæolithic fauna. Since I published them I have seen no attempt to answer them. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, who reviewed my book in "Nature," did not refer to them; Mr. Joseph Anderson, who reviewed it in "The Academy," does not refer to them; the "Westminster" reviewer passes them over in silence; and M. Rioult de Neuville makes only a passing allusion in his review in "*Materiaux.*" The truth is, there is no answer to be made. The carcasses found in Siberia would alone demonstrate the recent existence of the mammoth. The occurrence of the bones of the mastodon in shallow peat-bogs from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, and in the shell-marl of small lakes and ponds, is *conclusive* of a recent date. "Almost any swampy bit of ground," says Professor Shaler, in the "American Naturalist," vol. iv, page 162, "in Ohio or Kentucky contains traces of the mammoth and mastodon;" and at Big Lick, Kentucky, he adds, "the remains are so well preserved as to seem not much more ancient than the buffalo bones which are found above them."

If these circumstances were not sufficient to prove the case, all doubt would seem to be removed by the evidence of the existence of the reindeer and the great Irish elk down to historical times, and by the facts mentioned touching the cave lion, cave bear, and cave hyena, the contemporaries of the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros in Western Europe.

But this is not the whole of the case: *we can trace the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus on the shores of the Mediterranean down to the beginning of the Christian era.* If this statement be true, the existence of the same animals in Europe at a recent period is not only rendered probable, but it would be a matter to excite surprise that they should not be found there. For why should Europe be free from great carnivores

and great pachydermatous animals, when they were found in all the other continents—in North and South America, in Asia and in Africa? Why should Europe constitute an exception?

The monkey is still found in Spain on the rock of Gibraltar. Remains of the African elephant have been found in a cave near Madrid; and Don Juan Vilanova y Piera, a Spanish archæologist, gives an account of the cave of Las Maravillas, in Valencia, where he found, at the depth of several meters, the bones of the extinct mammifers mingled with implements of the Polished Stone Age.* In the neolithic caverns of Gibraltar, explored by Captain Brome, we find again the bones of the spotted hyena, the lynx, ibex, serval, Barbary stag, and other African species. All of these animals inhabited Spain during the Second Stone Age. And now, if we cross the Straits of Gibraltar, we learn from the "Voyage of Hanno" (about 500 B. C.) that the expedition under his command, sent out by the Carthagenian Government, saw "herds of elephants" grazing at Cape Soleis, on the north-west coast of Africa. A little later Herodotus informs us that "the western parts of Libya abound with wild beasts—serpents of enormous size, lions, *elephants*, bears, etc."†* Pliny, in the first century of our era, writes that "Africa produces elephants beyond the deserts of Syrtes, and in Mauritania,"‡ (Fez and Morocco.) Strabo states that above Mauritania, on the exterior sea, is the country of the western Ethiopians. "Iphicrates," he adds, "says that cameleopards are bred here, and elephants, and rhizeis, [rhinoceroses,] in shape like bulls, but in manner of living, size, and strength resembling elephants."§ And again: "Mauritania produces large serpents, elephants, antelopes, buffaloes, lions," etc.‖ And, again, he mentions that the Mauritanians dress themselves in the skins of lions, panthers, and other wild beasts, and their foot-soldiers, he tells us, "have for shields the skins of elephants."¶

On the other side of Europe, as has been now ascertained through the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, it appears that the elephant was hunted in the valley of the Tigris as late as about 1130 B. C. We learn from the stele of Amenemheb, a military officer of the time of Thothmes III., translated by

* Congress Prehistoric Archæology, Norwich volume, 1868, p. 398.

† Book iv, § 191. ‡ Nat. Hist., viii, c. 11. § Strab., book xvii, c. 3, § 5.

‖ Ibid., § 4. ¶ Ibid., § 7.

M. Chabas, that this Egyptian monarch, (about 1500 B. C.,) in an expedition against Nineveh, captured in the chase one hundred and twenty elephants.* We learn again from M. Lenormant that in the twelfth century B. C., according to an inscription on the prism of Tiglath-pileser I., preserved in London, this monarch "killed ten elephants on the banks of the Khabour," (an affluent of the Tigris), and "captured four alive."†

On the black obelisk from Nimrud, in the British Museum, the Muzri (a people from northern Kurdistan—the upper Tigris) are represented as bringing to Shalmanezer II. (B. C. 858–823) the camel, the elephant, and the rhinoceros as tribute. We learn from these facts that the disappearance of the elephant from the Mesopotamian valley has occurred in historical times, and that in the Barbary States elephants, lions, cameleopards, and probably the rhinoceros, were common after the beginning of the Christian era.

A representation of the hippopotamus has been met with in a specimen of pottery obtained by Dr. Schliemann from the third (ascending) relic-bed at Troy—the bed immediately above the Trojan bed, which proves the existence of this animal on the coasts of the Hellespont about 1100 B. C.; and if on the Asiatic side, of course on the European side of these straits also. It was this *Asiatic* hippopotamus which is described in the Book of Job, just as it was the *Asiatic* crocodile, and not the Egyptian, which is described there also.

The hippopotamus is referred to in ancient Indian writings, and is expressly mentioned by Alexander the Great, in a letter to Aristotle, as existing in India; and the same fact is stated by Onesicritus.‡ It was found in the Delta of the Nile in Roman times, and the traveler Zerenghi killed two individuals near Damietta in the sixteenth century. Its bones have been also found in the river Chelif in Algeria.

No more need be added on this point I can only again express my astonishment that such facts are silently ignored by writers who urge the presence of this fauna in the palæolithic caves as their strongest evidence for the antiquity of that age.

As to the *change of climate* which is alleged to have taken

* Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1874, tome i, pp. 157, 178. † Ibid., p. 182.

‡ See Buffon, Nat. Hist., vol. vii, p. 453. London. 1812.

place since the reindeer lived in the South of France, I have only to remark that the remains of this animal have been found near London, with metal implements, and that it is admitted pretty generally that he was living in France in the Neolithic Age. If the reindeer, therefore, proves a much colder climate, it has not taken any very extended period to bring about the change which has taken place.

My space leaves me but little room to notice the *physical changes* which have taken place. They involve a movement of some of the (northern) European coast-lines amounting to, (ascending and descending,) perhaps, some four hundred feet. I would remark upon this that these movements of the crust of the earth were very active during the Glacial Period, and continued after the close of that epoch. The sea rose and fell on the coasts of Scotland and England during the Glacial Period twelve or thirteen hundred feet, and the elevations and subsidences of the land were repeated more than once.

There was one great movement of this sort (on a reduced scale as compared with those of the Glacial Epoch) in post-glacial times—at the time of the Palæolithic Flood.

We are not so much surprised at these disturbances of the crust of the earth when we learn that at Uddevalla, on the west coast of Sweden, the land has been elevated more than two hundred feet since a date which, according to M. Torell and Sir C. Lyell, "by no means reaches back to the Glacial Period"—as is proved by the sea-shells found at this height, which agree with species now proper to the fauna of the adjacent and more temperate seas.*

Again, at Södertalje, near Stockholm, a buried fisherman's hut has been found at the depth of sixty-four feet, covered by marine strata containing shells of the existing Baltic species. Sir C. Lyell says, "It seems impossible to explain the position of this buried hut without imagining first a subsidence to the depth of more than sixty feet, then a re-elevation." Several vessels of antique form, and (which Sir C. Lyell omits to mention) an *iron anchor and some iron nails*, were found near the hut.† We have thus (descending and ascending) a move-

* See Lyell's Principles of Geology, vol. ii, p. 192, Amer. ed.

† Lyell's Antiq. Man, p. 240. *Archiv. für Anthropologie*, August, 1875, s. 17.

ment of nearly one hundred and thirty feet since the iron anchor and nails mentioned were deposited where they have been found.

The north-east coast of the Island of Möen is another example. Here, according to M. Puggaard and Sir C. Lyell, the coast has been raised four hundred feet since the Glacial Period—and this, in this part of Europe, was considerably more recent than the Glacial Epoch of the Somme valley, as will be seen presently.

I would merely mention in addition, as examples of similar movements, the island of San Lorenzo, in front of Callao, where Darwin discovered, at the height of eighty-five feet above the sea, in a bed of modern marine shells, roots of sea-weed, bones of birds, ears of maize, plaited reeds, and some cotton thread; and, again, Hobson's Bay, Australia, the bottom of which, some years since, was ascertained to be rising at the rate of four inches in a year; and, again, the instance cited on page 373, *Recent Origin of Man*, near Nova Zembla, where the Gulf Stream Islands have risen from the sea one hundred and ten feet in three hundred years. Many other examples might be given; but these suffice to show that a movement of this sort of several hundred feet at the close of the Glacial Age cannot be regarded as very extraordinary, and affords no evidence of a great lapse of time since its occurrence. This point the reviewer alike passed over in silence.

There was one other point which he abstained from noticing, to which I challenge attention. This is the argument, in chapter xxxii of my book, for the recent date of the Glacial Age. That argument is this: Lyell and all the archæologists admit that no palæolithic implements are found in Denmark, Sweden, or Scotland, and that palæolithic man never penetrated these regions. The reason assigned is, that *the ice* had not retired from the north of Europe—the Glacial Age still lingered. The first traces of man in these countries are of the Neolithic or Polished Stone Age. Man advanced as soon as the retreat of the ice permitted him; *and this was in the Neolithic Age.* Therefore, the Glacial Age closed in Denmark during the Neolithic Age, which archæologists represent to possess an antiquity of six or seven thousand years; it is in reality not more than

thirty-five hundred years ago. The Glacial Age in the valleys of the Thames and the Somme had ended a short space earlier.

We thus fix the date of the Glacial Age. And I do not believe any reply can be made to this.

That remarkable epoch in the geological history of the earth closed certainly less than six or seven thousand years ago in the north of Europe. And there is probably good reason to believe that Mr. Lenormart is right in thinking that the tradition of it is preserved in the venerable records of the Zendavesta.

JAMES C. SOUTHALL.

ART. III.—REV. WM. TAYLOR AND INDIA MISSIONS.

Four Years' Campaign in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

THERE are certain great problems in modern missionary work in the light of which this book will be read, and the work of which it is a narrative will be judged. Christian missions to heathen nations are no longer to be considered as an outburst of "puritanical fanaticism," or as a mistaken but harmless benevolence, but rather as the highest manifestation of the "faith, the philanthropy, and the power" of the Christian Church. Of their ultimate success few persons well informed of their past history and present power and opportunities could be found to seriously doubt. Quite apart from the question of their steady and certain triumph, however, is the specific one, whether a general Christian "awakening" or "revival" is possible among great bodies of heathen people, or whether we may hope for sudden or simultaneous movements toward Christianity among them; and if so, at what stage of Christian endeavor, through what means and methods, and under what circumstances, or with what force and hope, may we use the phrase, "A nation shall be born at once?"

It was because of their hope to find some agency highly adapted to excite such general "awakening" that the India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church invited Rev. William Taylor to labor with them. After having worked with them and other missionaries in India, and subsequently independently of them—four years in all—he wrote this book,

which, he says, is "the first published report of a new soul-saving mission in a great heathen country, with specimen incidents and illustrations of the first three years of its eventful life."

The book has been more criticised than the man or his mission work. The "Indian Evangelical Review," for January, 1876, says: "As a Christian workman Mr. Taylor undoubtedly stands far in advance of many; as an historian, at least of his own labors, he falls as far behind." It says, "It is a most unfortunate production," and "regrets that he should have published it." The uncharitableness of the assertions and assumptions concerning other missionary agencies has been considered in bad taste, and as incongruous with Mr. Taylor's Christian professions and known general character. Our writer thinks the "flings" at other missions to be the equivalent of asserting that "their course has been one of failure, their results nothing, their policy a blunder." Exception has also been taken to the irreverence, as it appears to be to some persons, of some of the phraseology. How "God intends to run" this mission work, and "the Holy Spirit being allowed to test his Pauline methods," with much like phrase, is not acceptable to the taste of many people.

On the other hand, there has been much hearty commendation of, and great interest in, the book. To our own taste and judgment the publication of the detailed moral and spiritual history of persons who sought an interview with Mr. Taylor as a spiritual adviser is of very questionable propriety. Yet to many these may be a source of profit.

Incidentally this book treats—and treats pretty fully—of the manners and customs of the people of India; and is, herein, entertaining, instructive, and accurate. (For illustrations, see pages 90, 91, 95, 96, 105, etc.)

The book has the character of a journal of the author, of whom we may safely say that his simplicity, sincerity, self-denial, integrity, great faith, and devotion to the cause of Christ, have but rarely been questioned; while his tact, his dash, his courage, his perseverance, and his pluck, have attracted the attention and challenged the admiration of men who, besides being without appreciation of his preaching or regard for his piety, downrightly disliked his evangelistic methods. But however excellent, he is too unique to pass uncriticised. His

friends have defended his eccentricities and deficiencies by saying that "he is Taylor," and that "the culture which would remedy his glaring faults" might strip him of the "power to do the peculiar work which God has committed to his hands." There are few but will admit that his faults are of the head, and not of the heart or intention. His renown as a revivalist occasioned his being invited to India. He had seen a great "revival of God" in a half dozen of the West India islands; had, he says, twelve hundred colonists and seven thousand Kaffirs converted in his meetings in South Africa, and had the official report by others of the conversion of six thousand persons at his meetings in Australia.

While laboring in connection with our North India missionaries no such general results attended his efforts. If one may judge from the tone of his entries the review does not seem to have been wholly satisfactory to himself, for he thus summarizes: "A few hundreds of nominal Christians professed to find peace at our meetings, and also a small number of Hindus and Mohammedans, and God gave a fresh divine impulse to the work which thrills on with increasing power year by year." This is scarcely to be considered remarkable success.

There was, however, a great disparity between the other fields in which he had labored and that which he found in India. In those the populations were small, the territory limited, the Christian laborers relatively more numerous, and the people better instructed in Christianity. In the six West India islands on which he labored are five thousand acres of territory, containing a population of about a million, administered to spiritually by three hundred and eighty-six European and colonial missionaries, and among whom the Wesleyan Church alone reckoned some eighty thousand hearers. Religion was in a state of decline; the Wesleyans, he says, had in the six years preceding his visit struck from their Church records the names of six thousand Church members. There was opportunity for revival.

Old Cape Colony and its dependencies, in South Africa, contain twenty-five thousand acres, and have a population, including Zulus and Bechuanas, not reaching two millions, among whom are thirty-five thousand Church members, three hundred and fifty European ministers, and fourteen hundred lay agents —"a proportion of Christian laborers unequaled anywhere in

the heathen world. New South Wales comprises say three hundred thousand acres of land, with a population of but little more than half a million, three hundred thousand of whom are recognized "adherents" of Churches; the average attendance on Christian worship reaching a hundred thousand. An eminent authority says that there is here "a larger proportion of well-educated people than can be found among the same number of people in the British Isles." In the whole of Australia are eight colonies of English-speaking people, the vast majority of whom are Protestants.

How dissimilar from this India was may be seen at a glance. (1) Here were only six hundred foreign missionaries, with a proportionate number of native agents, in a population approaching three hundred millions, occupying a territory twenty-three times larger than England and Wales, and equal in area to all Europe, exclusive of Russia and Scandinavia. There were (2) the proclivities and prejudices of diverse races. Remnants of two race-waves of Turanian tribes, sustaining a relation to later invaders similar to that of the North American aborigines to the Anglo-Americans, are found in widely separated, and often remote, portions of India. Aryan, Mongul, Portuguese, Dane, French, and Briton have followed, and form at present a mosaic of twenty-one races and thirty-five nations. (3) More than a half hundred languages and dialects add to the hinderances of evangelistic labor. A hundred millions of the people of India are speaking Hindi and Urdu; thirty-six millions use Bengali; to Tamil Telugu and Marathi are to be assigned a population of fifteen millions each; while the Punjab claims but three millions less. Among those of lesser prominence the Canarese claims ten, to the Gujerati are given seven, and to the Oriya five, millions. (4) Diversity of forms of faith and worship add to the complications. Ten thousand Jews are in India. A hundred and fifty thousand descendants of the old fire-worshiping Geubre are present in the Parsee, the merchant prince of India. Seventeen millions engage in the dismal orgies and rayless rites of demonolatry and aboriginal nature-worship; forty millions are fired with the furious fanaticism of the false prophet of Mecca, and follow his green flag; and one hundred and seventy millions are molded by the principles and practices of Brahmanism. (5) The influence of the

Indian social organization is not to be discarded in its relation to Christian revival. Partly from religious causes, and partly owing to a highly artificial distribution of labor forces, there exist class divisions of society, which classes think and act with unparalleled compactness. These "castes" are hereditary, the parents and priests through infant marriages perpetuating the distinctions. Property is held by the family as a whole, and violation of caste usages is legal ground of disinheritance. The peace of the dead is dependent on ceremonial observances of the living, which may not be performed when class obligations are omitted. Such a system not only perpetuates institutions, but evils and errors as well. It does more. It destroys independence of action and individuality of thought. It incapacitates for personal assertion. The individual comes to have but little comprehension of the possibility or the duty of the desirability of other action than that of his class. There is but little room for conviction of personal sinfulness when conscience as well as conduct is communal.

Taken all in all—for we have but hinted at the bulk of hinderances to a Christian awakening or revival in India—we do not wonder that Brother Taylor says (p. 75) "the combinations of opposing forces in India probably exceed those of any other part of the globe." But the question still recurs: What is possible to Christian faith and effort in this direction? Taylor says: "The brethren got an idea that I would at once attack the masses in the street and mow them down like grass." Precisely so. This indicates just what it is all-important the Christian Church shall not allow to slip from its thought, and hope, and aim—to wit: the possibility of a simultaneous movement of masses of heathen toward Christianity. Taylor thought the obstacles we have enumerated, combined with the feeble force and low intelligence of a first generation of Christian converts from heathendom, and the antagonistic influences of unworthy representatives of Christian countries, resident in India, offered for the present insuperable obstacles to a general Christian awakening. He says: "We cannot expect very great results among the natives in the presence of a nominal, ineffective Church. If there were no such Church we might hope for immediate results among them; but now our only hope is to make the Church more effective."—P. 69.

Let us look, then, at the grounds of hope which remain for such Christian awakening in India.

First—for nothing strikes like a fact—India has already witnessed local movements of masses of people, such as it is desired should become general. Rev. Mr. Boerrusun is a Norwegian missionary laboring among the aboriginal tribes north-west of Calcutta, known as the "Santals." A few years ago he wrote: "The Lord is doing wonders here. During the last few weeks I have baptized upward of five hundred persons, and every day from ten to a hundred fresh candidates present themselves, and are eager to be taught further in the truths of the Gospel. Every one of them is an evangelist, doing all he can to get some one of his heathen brethren to share the blessing he has himself experienced." Many women "come as far as twenty to thirty miles, and the whole land of the Santals seems to be under the mighty influence." This same missionary, according to the "Lucknow Witness," in four months of 1872 baptized no less than fourteen hundred persons, converts from heathendom.

A hundred thousand Shanars, a devil-worshiping tribe in South India, have accepted Christianity, and their "revival" meetings have been attended with remarkable physical phenomena, such as whip-like cracking of the hair, violent jerkings, etc., similar to those witnessed in earlier times at camp-meetings in Kentucky and elsewhere. Three hundred Telugus were baptized by Baptist missionaries in December, 1870, while, in the midst of harvest, men and women turned out by hundreds to hear about Jesus." A general movement of masses of people toward Christianity has also been witnessed in the case of the Karens. These, and like instances of tribal movements, show the possibility of a great awakening in India. What has been may be, and we can but long for its coming. Here in the Santal, as in other cases, were numerical results of evangelistic labor amid India's "combination of opposing forces," and in many senses in the presence of the same paralyzing influences from a feeble Church as those found in the localities where Taylor labored in India. We concede a difference between these rude tribes and the burnished Brahminism and bannered Islamism of the Gangetic valley, but do not yield the logical force of the precedent. We say these more than suggest that like results are possible in other parts of India.

A second ground of hope for such general movement is found in a considerable and increasing force of Christian converts scattered over India. Relatively few, it is true, yet sufficient to show that Christianity may win its way among all; and to furnish an agency on which the Holy Ghost may move to make it a great spiritual factor in a general awakening.

Brother Taylor and others write much of apostolic success. It has been recently pointed out that equal if not greater success has already attended missionary labor in India. Nor let it be interposed that we have greater facilities than had they, for even that has been anticipated. The apostles found the Hebrew Scriptures already in the hands of their first converts, for these had been translated into Greek three centuries before, and thus there was a people prepared of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. For the first hundred years the Gospel did not spread among those attached to the soil, but was mainly confined to the cities and towns, and only a few Gentiles were at first among the converts. In seventy years after the first preaching of the apostles (A. D. 100) it has been estimated that there were a hundred thousand converts. In India, seventy years after Carey's first baptism of a native convert, there were (in that land and British Burmah) seventy-three thousand native Christian communicants, and a nominal Christian population among the natives of over three hundred thousand.

If aggressive force is indicative of spirituality, this Christian body may point with hope to their more recent ratio of increase. Throughout India, exclusive of Burmah, between 1862 and 1872, there was an advance from one hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, to two hundred and twenty-four thousand one hundred and sixty-one, that is, to the extent of sixty-one per cent. Within this decade the number of Telugu Christians advanced from twenty-three to six thousand four hundred and eighteen. In Chota Nagpore the growth was from two thousand five hundred and thirty-one to twenty thousand. Our own Methodist Episcopal Mission in North India advanced five hundred per cent. Protestant Christianity has spread more rapidly in India than did Brahminism, Moslemism, or Romanism in the East. A uniform increase equal to that of the past decade would afford a hundred and thirty millions of Christians in India in the year A.D. 2001.

Within the same decade Hinduism has increased but five per cent., leaving a net gain of Christianity over it of fifty-six per cent., which would show that the Church in India is to-day gaining on the world numerically as rapidly at least as in the most favored sections of America. We say it is in accord with precedent, principle, and faith, to hope that the Holy Ghost may move this body of Christians to simultaneous spiritual effort.

A third hopeful feature is found in a general state of expectancy favorable to Christianity. In no other country are there so many convinced of the truths of Christianity who are counted with the opponents of it, and in no other heathen country is there so general anticipation of the ultimate triumph of Christianity over other forms of faith. "Do not take so much trouble; our folks will soon become Christian even if left to themselves," said a Hindu woman in the zenanas of Calcutta to Miss Britain. "Only have a little patience, and all the Hindus will become Christians," said another Hindu woman to Mrs. Page. "We believe we speak the simple truth," said the "Lucknow Witness," "when we say that millions of natives are firmly convinced of this. We have found it an accepted belief in the most remote mountain hamlets where no European had ever penetrated, and we find it received as an inevitable event of the near future in every city and town of the plains." Rev. Dr. Waugh says: "A deep and widespread conviction seems to prevail, not only in cities, but also in the country places, among the villagers, and, indeed, throughout all classes, that a day of overthrowing of the old religions and effete faiths, of the breaking up of old forms, is at hand. The common people speak of the coming day of overturning, and seem not dismayed at its approach, but announce themselves as ready to join in the van, indeed are only awaiting its coming to break away from their present thraldom and bonds of caste." A company of educated natives, none of whom were Christians, met for five Sundays in succession in Calcutta recently to discuss the question, "Is it likely that Christianity will become the religion of India?" At the close a vote was taken, and it was unanimously declared in the affirmative. They seemed thunderstruck with the result of their own deliberations. One of the gentlemen, a head-master of a government school, got up and said, "Then what are we

here for?" This was echoed by all present. They broke up, and never met more.

He is a poor student of history who does not know what important factors in popular movements such a general state of expectancy among a people can become. Some day, perhaps not distant, there may be found in this the basis of a widespread Christian awakening. The uprising may come with a rush, and there may not be men enough to show inquirers the way.

The very air is full of restlessness and change. European education is breaking up old systems; English legislators are teaching the equality of man. Western medical science is displacing muttered incantations; forty millions of Hindus have tried the railway; the penny-post and telegraph are exposing idolatrous shams; twenty-six hundred vernacular and five hundred English books, one hundred and fifty-six native and sixty English newspapers, with thirty-one native and thirty European magazines—all the issues of a single year in India—show its literary stir. Multitudes of Hindu boys never become idolaters at all. "The age of hero-deification is already passing away," says the government report of Madras. A government officer reporting not as a missionary, but as a Roman consul might have done, says: "The magnificent temples erected in past ages are slowly succumbing to the destroying hand; new temples on a scale of grandeur equal to those of former ages are unknown . . . this is but a visible sign of the waning vitality of the religion itself. . . . The day is not probably far distant when a religious revival, a shaking of the dry bones of Hinduism, shall occur."

Professor Max Müller wrote several years ago: "From what I know of the Hindus, they seem to me riper for Christianity than any nation that ever accepted the Gospel."

Added to all this—for it is allied with it—the Hindu social and religious disintegration points to the fact that as the Hindus are wont to think and act only in mass, this general breaking up favors the acceptance of Christianity by these disintegrated masses. The Presbyterian missionaries of Futtehgarh found in the Saadh a class of people whom no missionary had visited, thrown off from the Brahmanic community, following a leader who was instructing them in a religion

which was neither Hindu, Moslem, nor Christian, but was more Christian than any thing else. They sought and readily accepted Christian instruction. We have the record of like disrupted communities in Bengal, Northern India, and in fact quite extensively over the country, the leaders in many cases instructing the people to accept the teaching of the Christian missionaries. Here is a further force favorable to some general movement toward the Christian faith.

Lastly—for we must have done with this, though it might be extended indefinitely—there is the ground of hope from the development of native leaders. The modern missionary force has, through much discouragement, aimed to develop indigenous lead for its mission Churches. Nor have they wholly failed. At the fiftieth anniversary of the Sandwich Islands we are told that the orator was a man who narrowly escaped being buried alive by his heathen mother, and that he held an audience of three thousand persons for more than an hour by his eloquent address, delivered without note or comment. The Theological Seminary of the Karens has been left in the charge of natives, and suffered no loss. In the Jaffna College of Ceylon, and in the Tamil seats of learning, natives have been successful professors. Of one hundred and eighteen delegates at the Allahabad Conference twenty were native Hindus of various castes and languages. They sat side by side as peers with graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, Amherst, Williams, Yale, Princeton, Alleghany, and Dickinson colleges. Recognized leaders of religious reform have also arisen among the Hindus, such as Babu Keshab Chunder Sen, about whom the semi-Christian revolt against Hindu idolatry gathers.

Taking all these component facts together, what might not some Christian native leader, competent for the emergency, do in leading a general movement toward Christianity? It is always possible that from among the multitudes thronging the bazaars, dreaming in the jungle, pondering philosophical problems, some one may be arrested by a tract, instructed in the school, trained in the seminary, with a head like that of Loyola, and heart like that superstitious monk of Wurtemburg, who redeemed half Europe, and, dying, bequeathed to the world a Protestant Church and an open Bible—who, we say, with a head like that of Loyola, and heart stirred like that of

Luther, subtle with all the subtlety of the East, wise with all the practical knowledge of the West, shall be to his people what no foreign evangelist can ever become, the leader of a grand Christian reformation, revival, or awakening, which shall sweep from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from sea to sea. One such Christianized Hindu might revolutionize all India. One such converted Moslem might reorganize half of Asia.

To say nothing of the supernatural force promised in prophecy, and looking only to human means, we ask, "If Mohammed were possible, why is this a dream?" Such is the combination of disturbing forces in India that one Turanian Peter the Hermit might break in pieces all Hindu systems, one Bengali Chrysostom might move and remold the mighty masses of the Ganges, one Tamil Whitefield might sweep Southern India with revival flame, one Indian Wesley might inaugurate on the plains of Hindustan a numerically mightier Methodism than Europe or America has yet seen.

But what is the relation of the work whose history is sketched in this book to other missionary work in India, and to the state of things we have sketched? Thus far we have treated only of the indications and forces within purely native society. There is, however, another element of power and hope, and to it Taylor turned, not with the supposition that it was ripe as a spiritual agency, but that by patient preparatory labor it might become so. As the Jews, scattered in all lands, speaking all languages, familiar with all local social usages, components or adjuncts of all communities, might, if converted to Christ, become at once a ubiquitous, indigenous missionary force; so one feels, in turning to India, that the sixty-four thousand Europeans and the ninety thousand Eurasians (so called because one parent is European) residing in that peninsula are so systematically distributed over India that, without any change in locality or occupation, they might readily become an almost ubiquitous missionary force, and a chief means of a general awakening.

As long ago as 1866, Bishop Cotton, of India, spoke of the causes which must continually add to the number of this community, "sharing our English blood and our Christian creed." He gave a graphic picture of their wide distribution in India.

Along the five thousand miles of trunk railway, with feeders and branches, are European observers, firemen, mechanics, and guards, with their families or without them, in considerable communities, smaller groups, or in isolated houses. Connected with the agricultural operations of the valley of Assam, the plain of Cachar, the beautiful Himalaya Districts of Kumaon and Kangra, with tea plantations and other industries, is an ever-augmenting foreign community. Added to these are government clerks, dependents, planted at intervals all over India; officers of coasting and river steamers; collectors of customs, as in the Salt Districts, ten or twenty miles apart, from the Punjab to Central India; tradesmen, surveyors, contractors; and below these of definite occupations and means of livelihood, fallen into reckless living, and found in the back slums of great cities like Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, or wandering along the roads.

All these classes feel in greater or less degree a moral loneliness in India, and being without moral restraints and checks from society, and in the absence of Christian principles so powerful elsewhere to the prevention of at least outward immorality, often, in many cases, exert an influence antagonistic to Christianity, and not unfrequently justify Brother Taylor's strong assertion that they are "heathenizing the heathen."

Missionaries have given but meager attention to this class, because they felt themselves sent primarily to labor among idolaters; and experience proved that it was impracticable that the same person should do efficient work in both directions simultaneously, and they had not sufficient force for division of their laborers. We have no station in our India Conference in which liberal attention has not been given religiously to European residents.

The class can better be reached by specific, concentrated, and organized labor for their welfare. To be efficient and conserve results of labor it must extend as necessities seemed to require over India. No missionary society could authorize its agents thus to divert or distribute their feeble force. Successful work directly among the heathen demands concentration and localization of effort. Missionary experience has demonstrated nothing more conclusively in India than that success is greatest where a small territory is well worked, than

where a large one is feebly occupied; and that a society which plants its missions in more places than it can find the force and funds to develop, is open to the charge of folly and pride.

William Taylor turned his attention to this class, and to all English-speaking peoples as well, not only with a view to their own salvation, but with the aim and the hope of their becoming a great evangelistic agency among the heathen. Much of the work, most of it in fact, is simply English work for English people, few natives having been reached, and its members being mostly from the middle class of European residents. "The first three years of its eventful history" afford us nothing conclusive by showing whether this method will be more successful than others have been in influencing the natives. There are some things plainly to be hoped for, prominent among which is the development of a large unpaid agency among Europeans in India. Few persons in estimating the result of foreign missions and their cost as compared with the same in home work, estimate the amount of voluntary labor and unreported contribution that goes to the latter, and its almost entire absence of the same from the foreign field.

The success of the scheme which Brother Taylor presses involves the development of like unpaid Christian labor in India among the foreign and Christian population particularly. Already this has supplemented ordinary agencies with a large amount of voluntary labor of lay agents, both European and native. In Bombay are a half dozen who preach in Marathi; in Madras "Lawyer Gordon" and other able European laymen preach in Tamil. A civil engineer, transferred from the Bombay Church to Hyderabad, holds "meetings," and speedily a Church of a hundred and seven communicants demands a pastor; while a regiment of soldiers carries the Methodistic flame from Poona to Kurrachee and Kotree, and Rev. F. Goodwin becomes pastor of a Church of nearly a hundred members. There are few probabilities, however, that the application of this voluntary force to educational work can be successful beyond the most elementary instruction.

One of the difficulties of the general scheme is found in the migratory character of nearly all the population among whom it is chiefly inaugurated within India itself, and the change by

retirement to Europe and substitution by other persons, who must in turn be "adjusted" as an agency to this work. The migration within India, it is true, may be the means of rapid ramification of this work; but that wide ramification may also discover a new danger to be cautiously guarded, for it will tend to the establishment of agents at points so remote from each other as to be not mutually supporting, or to admit of close organization or proper supervision in places where funds will not be forthcoming for the development of any but pastoral work to a few Europeans.

The attention of European and India Christians has been given to the importance of developing this Christian community, and Rev. Mr. Somerville and others have been sent to India as "revivalists," and what is called a "winter mission" has resulted in the sending of a few eminent workers to labor in India during the cool season. All this but shows that Brother Taylor's effort to reach the Europeans meets a recognized want, and none can do less than hope for it the best of results. It may yet so stir the English-speaking peoples of India as to make them a chief agency in India's redemption. It may be the fuse that shall fire, the force that shall combine, all else that we have shown to be in such marvelous readiness for general action.

A second of the chief topics with which the contents of this book are allied is benevolent, and, especially, missionary economics. This is presented in three or more aspects.

The first form in which it appears is one which we can little more than state. It is found in Brother Taylor's independently maintaining his family and meeting some portions of his individual expenses while conducting his evangelistic work. He relies on books, as Paul relied at times on his trade as tent-maker. This plan of work has had many illustrations on the foreign mission field. Miss Baxter of Hong Kong, Miss Aldersey of Ningpo in former years, Miss Whateley, daughter of the archbishop, laboring among the Fellahs of Egypt, and Mrs. Watson of Mount Lebanon, are noble examples of this self-abnegation in our own day. Many, very many converts from heathenism have exhibited a like devotion, though our space will not permit us to even mention eminent names. In the exhibition of general selfishness in the world, one can but admire this self-denying conduct.

We must, however, guard against an approval which implies acceptance of this as the chief method of conducting mission work. There must be some concert and organization which can distribute laborers in various fields as necessity may demand, and experience shall suggest to be wise. The general council of all Christian laborers which gives direction and proportion to labor, which finds its expression in boards of management, is a necessity to prevent "wrong missions to wrong places and among wrong peoples." Nor can the general Church be relieved of the claim on it for proportionate labor as expressed in systematic collections and institutions for training missionaries, and which in fact should pervade schemes of education of youth, projects of commerce, plans of government, and all other social and personal thought and action. These persons alluded to may be ensamples but not substitutes. As a rule, the call to go implies the call to send. The missionary spirit must pervade society, and show itself in all secular life. James I. and Charles I. proclaimed in 1662 that their special motive in encouraging the American colonies was their zeal for the extension of the Gospel. The seal of the Massachusetts colony was an Indian, with the Macedonian invitation, "Come over and help us!" These but illustrate the spirit which should pervade all forms of Christian life, personal and communal.

The second of these monetary features is the announcement of a "self-supporting plan" of conduct of mission work. It is very desirable that we get all the wisdom or inspiration possible on this topic, and we regret the apparent or real confusion of statement in the book on the matter. It is asserted that "one peculiarity of the work is that it is self-sustaining," (p. 130,) and we are told that Agra was ceded as a mission to the India Conference "provided they would conduct it on our self-supporting principles," (p. 328,) and he declares that "our mission Conference in the north" cannot "live on the principle" on which this is "to run," (p. 164,) and he expresses his belief that "God wishes to demonstrate the soundness," etc., of his "own Gospel methods of aggression, one principle of which is self-sustentation," (p. 164.) This is all plain enough, but presently we find a limitation of the term "self-support," and subsequently what seems to us the abandonment or denial of it.

1. "Our *principle* applies particularly to the support of ministers of the Gospel," (p. 156,) and "what I have pledged our India people for specially is the support of their ministerial workers," (p. 404.) Cawnpore is called "the first self-supporting mission in the Conference," though money was appropriated by the board of building, etc., (p. 46.) This is certainly not a sense in which the term "self-support" has been used, and would scarcely seem to justify so serious an announcement of the divine purpose to "demonstrate its soundness," etc.

The missionaries engaged in this work are in large measure pastors of European congregations, and much of their work is with English people. Were these Europeans to rely on American contributions for the support of their pastors it would be manifestly wrong. Yet it is only in this sense of pastoral support that the Cawnpore mission could be called "self-supporting," for it took no precedence in the amount of missionary moneys contributed locally over other missions. The second year of the Lucknow Mission (1862) the local contributions were $2,369, and those of Nynee Tal for the same year were $2,756. The second year of the Cawnpore Station as "self-supporting" its local income was $1,189. The same year (1874) Nynee Tal received $3,556, Shahjehanpore $3,979, Paori $2,506, and Bareilly $2,406 as local revenue. He seemingly modifies even this pastoral-support plan, for, on page 156, he illustrates it by "our Churches in America" which receive aid from the Missionary Society "for the beginning of work in their bounds too poor to start of itself," which logically would carry with it aid to support pastors "when too poor to start" that alone; which is, in fact, the case, as the work of our Missionary Society in the United States consists of the support of missionaries, more than one fourth of the entire ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church being supported in whole or in part by the Missionary Society. [There are 10,923 itinerant preachers and over 3,000 missionaries at work in the United States.]

The Presbyterian Church has, perhaps, more than one fifth of its pastors, possibly one fourth, thus aided by its home missionary and sustentation funds. These have been considered to be judicious expenditures, but we suppose nobody ever thought of calling these "self-supporting" Churches. On all our Conference minutes they are registered as "missions."

2. When we read a phrase like this, "There are resources enough in India of men and money to run at least one great mission," (p. 156,) our next thought is that it is meant that whatever aid for pastoral support, or other purpose beyond what the specific Church or locality is able to furnish, is to be raised in India, and we are ready to accept that as explaining the "self-supporting principle." Such missions have been very successfully "run." One at Ghazeepore has been long in operation on this plan. Rev. Mr. Wilder conducted the Kalapoor Mission through twelve of the most expensive years of its successful life entirely on contributions of a local character.

Unfortunately, however, even this fails to adjust the phrases found in the book. We read that "one appropriation of funds from any missionary society would set upon us the brand-mark of existing Indian missions, and tend to bring us down to their dead level," (p. 164,) and it seems to confirm our view, but is at once followed by the announcement that it is "no infringement of self-support" to accept funds from individuals in other lands, or from any missionary society to any extent, (pp. 156, 157, 396, 397;) so that this "self-supporting" mission may secure its expenses from (1) the Churches; (2) "indigenous resources" of the country; (3) or by "foreign funds." There is much emphasis laid upon this order of application for money, but this would scarcely constitute it "self-supporting;" and as any body knows these are apt to be conducted simultaneously, the principle does not always appear prominently to be "self-support," nor do we see why the North India Mission "could not live" on this plan. It would better accord with these statements and with the facts if it were called a self-originated and self-helpful mission; for moneys have been raised in India "for work too poor to start of itself," and aid largely and freely solicited in Scotland and America for the Cawnpore school, and American aid given to the Calcutta Church; and it is probable that the work could be much more rapidly developed than now if it could have large contributions from our Missionary Society other than what it has had, though that has been no inconsiderable sum. Brother Taylor asks the Missionary Committee to send men, (p. 164,) which covers the *principle* of aid from them, and the work is by so much not "self-supporting."

There is some reason to fear lest our Methodist community

may receive the impression that our missionaries in North India have not been as careful to secure contributions in India as they might have been, and some danger that we will forget our obligations to the Europeans, and both heathen and Christian natives who have contributed to our work. Very much or most of the money for our Southern India work is contributed by the same class which has always from the first, and often in advance, aided our own and other missions in India.

We have seen it stated that as long ago as 1866 one sixth of the whole cost of Protestant missions in India was subscribed by people in India, and one fifteenth by native converts themselves. Rev. Dr. Mullens, in his statistical tables of India missions for 1871, shows that £50,000 sterling were annually contributed to the various missionary societies in India out of their official income, in the midst of their official labors, by men who were toiling in India to accumulate sufficient funds to enable them to retire to England, a fact honorable to the men, and decisive of the reality of the good being accomplished by the missions. He also shows that as early as 1861 natives in India connected with the various missions contributed $109,046 annually to this work.

Our own mission has had a remarkable record. At the very initiation of our India Mission, and "in advance" of the appointment of the missionaries, Europeans in India in 1858 (while the smoke of the mutiny was not yet cleared away) pledged Dr. Butler to contribute one half the cost of six missionary residences if the men could be sent to occupy them; a proposition which they met and extended to six more, and subsequently fulfilled in the case of every missionary residence in our field. In 1860 Dr. Butler wrote to our Mission Board that they had $30,000 worth of property in India, more than half of which money was raised in India, which he says does not show all they have done, for besides all else they have enabled us to support our schools without calling on the Board for funds. Well might he say: "We have asked and received aid such as no missionary society has ever realized in a foreign land and at the hand of strangers." In 1867 the contributions in India were within thirteen hundred dollars of being one half as much as the Missionary Society appropriated to India for that year. In 1865 the Bareilly District alone raised

$13,175 gold, of which Rev. Dr. Waugh says, "few districts in home conferences raise so large a sum, and some conferences report much less."

Nor was this a spasmodic benevolence, as the following will show. The amounts raised in India for our North India mission work, including property, press, school, preachers, itinerating expenses, etc., is for the years respectively as follows: For 1858, $2,125; for 1859, $6,228; for 1860, $6,922; for 1861, $7,306; for 1862, $8,573; for 1863, $9,310; for 1864, $14,718; for 1865, $21,344; for 1866, $19,585; for 1867, $16,555; for 1868, $23,085; for 1869, $22,585; for 1870, $24,478; for 1871, $28,837; for 1872, $27,373; for 1873, $23,003; for 1874, $25,444; for 1875, (estimated,) $25,000. Besides which there have been large contributions of property not herein included. These contributions, it will be remembered, were in British gold. It would be sufficiently moderate to place the cost of gold and exchange during five years of our war at one hundred per cent., and during the other years at twenty per cent., and thus this will be seen to approximate a contribution in our currency of half a million of dollars.

A somewhat careful estimate of the number of American missionaries on the field from the beginning till now will show that this sum would not only have paid all their salaries, but have left a very liberal margin for the support of native helpers.* Nor is our own Society exceptionally faithful and fortunate, for a summary of Mr. Scott Robinson's tables shows that the British Societies contributed to the Foreign Missions £900,000, and that more than £200,000 had been given by the missions themselves.

Brother Taylor says that appropriations to mission Churches "in advance will, in most cases, supersede indigenous resources," (p. 397,) and "hinder, if not preclude, a healthy development" (p. 157) of the work; and "one appropriation of funds from any missionary society would set upon us the brand-mark of existing Indian missions, and tend to bring us down to their dead level," (p. 164.)

There are no persons more open to suggestive criticism, nor

* The average has been fifteen missionaries. If all received the salary of married men, counted at the early appropriation of $1,080, and the later one of $1,200, for a man and his wife, it would leave more than $150,000 surplus.

more ready to improve their methods, than foreign missionaries and the managers of such societies in the home boards. Such look with great eagerness to all opportunities to economize their funds, and reap the speediest and most permanent return from expenditures. They have experimented with almost all possible methods, and have not unfrequently made important changes in the same. We are not, however, of conviction that, with exceptional cases, circumstances, and localities, they have failed in prudent administration of their funds, when judged even by the tendency to develop indigenous resources on foreign fields among converts.

The native Churches of Hawaii have contributed, since 1870, more than seventy thousand dollars to carry the Gospel to the Marquesas Islands. One single Church sustains five foreign missionaries in the field, and some Churches contribute an average of four dollars and ten cents per member. There are fifty-seven Churches in the Sandwich Islands which sustain seventeen foreign missionaries.* The Micronesian Islands have twenty Churches with a thousand members who contributed in their monthly missionary concerts, in one year, one thousand dollars, and sent ten catechists to labor among a population entirely foreign to them.

Fifty years ago there was not a native Christian in the Friendly Islands; yet the Rev. Mr. Dare said at the Round Lake Camp-meeting, in 1873, that during each year, for two years previous, the native Churches there had contributed twenty-five thousand dollars for the support of the Gospel among themselves, and fifteen thousand dollars for foreign missions; thus supporting fifty-two ministers and nine hundred catechists. We have seen their contribution stated much higher on good authority. In Australia the native ministry is entirely supported by native contributions, and the Tongataban (Wesleyan) Circuit, at the last quarterly meeting of 1875, had one hundred pounds surplus after paying eleven ministers and all other demands. The Tonguese raise seventy thousand dollars for religious purposes, twenty thousand of which is for foreign work. Ko-thah-byu was the first Karen baptized That was in 1828. There are now three hundred and forty

* Fourteen islands of the group with fourteen thousand Church members, gave forty thousand dollars in 1872.

seven self-supporting native Churches among the Karen Baptists. The London Mission of Hong Kong, China, has two hundred and sixteen members, who support, by voluntary subscription, two of their own native preachers, meet all Church expenses, and have a mission at Fanshan, founded by them without foreign aid, where they pay the salaries of a native pastor and a school teacher. Rev. C. H. Wheeler said in 1872: "Of the nineteen Churches about Harpoot, Turkey, fifteen are independent of foreign aid and the other four nearly so; while four other communities in which Churches will soon be formed already support their pastors, and six others where there are like prospects pay half the salaries, and in fifteen other communities the work of self-support has already begun." The mission Churches of the American Board in Asia contributed, in 1874, forty-five thousand dollars. When Bishop Kingsley visited China, in 1869, our Foochow Mission adopted the principle of estimating the ability of each circuit to support their Churches and pastor, and to make definite appropriation to meet the balance necessary for the support of the native preachers.

Nor is India wholly excepted from this general and satisfactory showing of the results of what Brother Taylor must consider to be "appropriations in advance," if they are to be found anywhere. The Basl Missionary Society in West India reports that "almost all heads of native families have an income of less than $5 per month, (to support say five persons,) and yet the communicants contribute on an average seventy-five cents per year. The London Missionary Society says of its missions on the Malabar coast: "Several of the Churches are self-supporting; the contributions have reached $7,000 a year, which, considering what is paid for labor in that country, is equal to $40,000 at least of our currency." The South India Mission of the Church of England Missionary Society contributed one year $13,582 gold. In Travancore the annual contributions per member were creditable, and in Madras the natives gave an average of seventy-eight cents, gold. Of Travendum Rev. J. Duthie said, as far back as 1866, that one thousand and sixty native Church members contributed during the year $1,146 50 for Church objects. This church is entirely self-supporting, and has for a number of years past paid the salary of

its pastor, two catechists, three school-masters, two Bible women, and one medical evangelist.

In our own Methodist Mission in North India the Amroha Circuit is presided over by a native preacher converted from Islam. The chapel and parsonage were paid for by the native Christians, and three years ago they contributed fairly toward their pastor's support. In 1873 Rev. C. W. Judd reported from Bareilly, "Almost all contribute something for the support of the Gospel in some way;" and from Budaon we read, "The membership is learning to give creditably for religious purposes." "Every year we shall put more men on the self-supporting column." Says Rev. E. W. Parker: "In a Quarterly Conference to-day (1874) a committee retired to determine the preacher's salary, and they will raise it." He also says, "The entire income of the native Christians not acting as preachers within the bounds of the entire India Mission does not amount to $6,000 annually." They say that whenever their preachers can be supported by the native Christians giving one twentieth of their entire income for this object they will withdraw all applications for assistance in that work.

In the Rohilcund District Conference, in December, 1873, there were eighty-two members present, who adopted an important paper setting forth that "such a thing as total dependence on foreign aid is unknown in any of our Churches," there being only partial dependence in any case. They say the profession of Christianity militates against them pecuniarily; that those capable of large business ventures, and who might thereby contribute largely, have been taken for mission work as evangelists, etc.; that the income of the majority of their number is per head scarcely a tenth of the lowest income of our American laborer; and that the tendency to improvement which Christianity provokes, increases their expenses without a corresponding increase at present of their income. They say though they support their pastors there are ten evangelists wanted for one pastor, and it is unreasonable to expect them to meet this expense. We might have shown the actual field of operations in the various missions have, with few exceptions, been greatly enlarged with but little increase of expenditure. In the case of the American Board between 1865 and 1875 the work increased forty per cent. and the cost but very little.

We do not see, taken all in all, that our Churches, mission boards, and missionaries, have any "occasion to distrust" their methods, or to be discouraged at the results of their labor.

We have not room to discuss the remaining economical questions raised in the book, which refer to the cost of missionary living, and the development of self-reliance and self-helpfulness of converts from heathendom. We regret that Mr. T. should say (p. 155) that a "social standing equal to that of an officer in the army" is considered essential to the success of a missionary, and propose that his preachers should "live on a subsistence allowance," as if that were exceptional economy. Living is exceptionally expensive in India, and yet the salaries of all the societies range from $1,000 to $1,200 for married men; in China from $800 to $1,000; in Bulgaria and Western Asia from $650 to $900; and for unmarried missionaries from one half to one third these amounts, sums which the most careful economy has proved to be only "subsistence allowance," and so proverbially below the salaries of Europeans in India as to give moral force to their teachings among the natives.

Our South India work, it is true, economizes by "supporting" only a celibate ministry as yet; but their work is only in a rudimentary state, and success and proper example and influence of the missionaries implies an increase of cost.

The spirit and purpose of the portion of the work which treats of "the Compound System," as he calls all efforts to help native converts temporally, we most heartily approve, though we deem his phrase unfortunately extreme. We cannot discuss the subject, but may hint that there are very many cases in which it would be impossible to "send them back to their friends and kindred," (p. 160,) or to remain in "whatsoever calling" they may have followed previously. For the full discussion of this theme we must refer our readers to the published Report of the Allahabad Conference, held in 1872. We can only illustrate our own assertion by the convert who has followed trade or arts connected with idol making or festivals of false deities, idolatrous sacrifices, and by instances where the form of taking possession of a legacy is connected with heathen rites, and the person is reduced to poverty if not obtained. As to returning them to their homes, etc., we may simply say, with the Indian Evangelical Review: "The course

he recommends is almost always simply impossible unless the young convert will either (in most cases) renounce Christianity, or else retain certain marks on his person or clothing which may be innocent in themselves, but which are always regarded by the people as the distinctive marks of the old religion."

No one system has, however, been found to be the best for all parts of India. There certainly have been evils connected with the methods of aiding persecuted converts, and those whose occupation is destroyed by their becoming Christians. But when gathered on co-operative farms or factories, such as our Panahpore Christian Village, they may become a light in the darkness about them; the missionary may give them better and more systematic attention, their children can be gathered into schools; they are more removed from the debasing influences of heathendom and are afforded pastoral care, and religious social privileges, such as they cannot have when living alone, or in little groups of two or ten. Besides, these converts, weak and ignorant, set off in heathen communities, are poor representatives of the Christian light and knowledge, and often even of its power.

Another of the great topics of missionary policy which we have not room to discuss is the Church relations of missions. The India missionaries long since entered into an unwritten compact to occupy separate portions of India, for the purpose of avoiding conflict among their converts, and for the more speedy and thorough evangelization of the land. Our own Methodist Episcopal Church assumed the responsibility of Oudh, Rohilcund, etc. The large commercial cities were left free to all missionary workers by common consent. Brother Taylor's work in some sense outside of these great cities would seem to conflict with this compact if it should succeed in the conversion of many natives, because he has organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in each place for the converts. The Allahabad Conference, however, seems to have conceded that his work was exceptional, and they did not condemn this feature of it.

This leaves only the question of the bearings of this widely spreading Church in its relation to the India Church of the future. There are those who think that the organized sects of Protestants ought not to seek to reproduce their various ecclesiastical

systems and polity into missionary fields, but seek to develop an indigenous and united Church in each land. Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his "New Model of Christian Missions," would have all Christian Protestant missions under one leadership. The attempt is being made in Mexico to establish "The Church of Jesus," and in Italy and Japan the blending of the denominations in Church organization is being attempted. Thus far, however, the result seems only to be to add another "Church" to the many already extant in these lands. It seems impossible at present to harmonize all in this movement, however desirable it may seem to be in some particulars. Meanwhile we have the assurance that the reproduction of these various denominational forms in heathen lands may show the heathen the oneness of Christians notwithstanding trifling differences; may teach them how to conduct that controversy and conflict of intellect which unfolds truth as it could not otherwise be discovered. Besides, even could we harmonize as sects in formal organization, it would not prevent the recurrence of the same diversity of theological view among the converts from heathendom, as the views of Christian theology which the sects represent are imbedded in the Scriptures, as in human psychology and metaphysics. Sect-forms may, perhaps, be credited with one advantage. In presenting the various creeds and polities, they have forestalled the reproduction of other distorted presentations of Christian theology, and the systematic and thorough representation of historical theology, made by them, has given us the most remarkable, yea, most astonishing fact, that no new heresy has arisen in connection with modern missions.

Besides the general defense which could be made for Brother Taylor in thus organizing every-where the Methodist Episcopal Church for the care of converts, there are specific ones which we cannot, for lack of room, enumerate. We believe the whole Christian Church, which recognizes vital godliness as distinct from ritualistic righteousness, may well rejoice in this movement and organization of our South India Mission. Some bold general aggressive work of the Christian Church looking to the presentation of spirituality as opposed to formalism, seems absolutely demanded to save Protestantism in India among the foreigners and middle English-speaking classes. The Church

of England in India has, of late years, become "High-Church" in its tendencies to an alarming degree. The various dissenting bodies of Europe do not seem just now ready to organize, and conduct a general and strong counteracting movement in India. Hence the sympathy which our mission commands among these persons in India, and the attraction it presents to those within the English Church who appreciate spirituality as opposed to formalism and ritualism.

We cannot fail to recognize the relation of all that is done in India to the work of evangelization of Asia. "India redeemed, Asia is the Lord's," was the sentiment and belief of Bishop Thomson, with which we heartily sympathize, and which lack of space alone prevents our attempting to explain, illustrate, and demonstrate. God bless William Taylor and the Methodist Episcopal Missions of all India! God bless all the missions of all the Churches in all places!

Art. IV.—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN METHODISM CONTRASTED.

As an exposition of Christian doctrine, the Methodism of Great Britain and the United States of America exactly coincides. Though separated, as we sometimes find them, by oceans, mountains, rivers, lakes, and prairies, the pulpits of the two great Anglo-Saxon families of Methodism invariably ring the same note. In each country the same triune God is adored, the same terrible apostasy is lamented, and the same glorious provision of divine mercy is offered for acceptance. In each country the distressed penitent is taught to look for relief, not to any meritorious works that he can perform or to any imaginary treasury of merit that fellow-mortals have accumulated for him, not to any sacerdotal efficacy lodged in certain officers of the Church, nor to any supposed virtue in the penances or sacraments which the Church may have enjoined, but to the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," and to him alone. In each country the believer is encouraged to expect the witness of the Spirit to his adoption,

and to strive for a state of grace in which his character and experience will be mature and complete. In each country he is comforted with the prospect of a future resurrection, and of a gracious recognition and approval at the bar of infinite justice; and in each country he is taught to anticipate, if faithful unto death, the eternal felicities of a world of unmingled purity, happiness, and glory.

But while these cardinal doctrines form the base of the theological structure of Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic, and are guarded with equal jealousy by each, there seems to have been, at least in former years, a lack of flexibility on the part of the Wesleyan Church in dealing with other views, some of which are not only outside of the denominational standards, but which are regarded by other evangelical Churches as matters which are open to further inquiry. Thus not many years have passed since a Wesleyan minister was expelled from the ministry for preaching what are understood as millenarian tenets. Within a still briefer period another shared the same fate for expressing in public the opinion that the offspring of sanctified parents partake of their moral purity; and only two or three years ago another was dealt with in a similar way, because he repudiated the class-meeting as a scriptural test of Church membership.

In each of these instances the accused parties displayed some pertinacity in the defense of their opinions, which, whether it arose from the strength of their convictions, or from carelessness as to their fate, certainly tended to accelerate their doom. A more liberal spirit, however, is now rapidly gaining ground in the British Conference, and in a few years these and similar acts of severity will be remembered with as little complacency as Calvin must have reflected on the burning of Servetus.

Regarding Methodism *as an ecclesiastical organization*, the points of diversity between the two branches are more numerous.

In the machinery of Wesleyan Methodism the class-meeting occupies a very eminent place. It is the primary cell from which the society, the circuit, the district, and the conference are evolved; it is the unit on which the whole fiscal economy rests; and, as has been intimated, it is the *sine qua non* of membership itself.

The importance attached to class-meetings by Wesleyan Methodists may be accounted for on historical grounds. Methodism was originally *a society in the Church of England.* It consisted of members of that establishment who failed to find in its formal services, and in the dry morality taught in its pulpits, that spiritual aliment which they required, and hence, while retaining their connection with it, availed themselves of the evangelical theology and devotional appliances provided by the Wesleys. By meeting in class such persons not only participated in that communion of saints which Scripture enjoins as the privilege and duty of believers, but afforded a sign that they concurred in the movement which the two brothers originated. Hence the class-meeting eventually became the test of membership—not in the Church, for many persons who disapproved of Methodism remained members of the Church of England—but the test of membership in the Wesleyan society; and though since then the relation which Methodism sustains to the Church of England has undergone a great change, especially since the "High Church" principles began to prevail in the latter, until Methodism shall openly renounce its association with it, and take its legitimate position as a distinct Church, the original test will probably retain its original significance.

American Methodism, on the other hand, commenced its astonishing career unfettered by tradition and unburdened by precedent. It adopted the class-meeting as a valuable means of grace, but regarded attendance on other means of grace, such as the ministry of the word and the sacrament, as of equal obligation.

In the ministry of Wesleyan Methodism, for reasons which will be afterward explained, the pastoral feature is to a great extent lacking. In order to supply this deficiency as far as possible, the preacher is expected to visit each class during the quarter, and after having heard the religious experience of those who are present, to give to each a ticket on which a passage of Scripture is printed, and on which the minister has written his own name and that of the member to whom it is handed. These tickets are the Church credentials of the holder. They secure admission to love-feasts, and similar social meetings; and as a new ticket is issued every three months, the possession of the one for the current quarter is a

sufficient guarantee that the holder of it is a recognized member of the body, in whatever part of the country he may happen to be. Though the distribution of these tickets involves a good deal of extra labor on the part of the preacher, the plan works well; and while objections have been raised against every other peculiar feature in the economy of Methodism, no one has ever assailed the ticket system. It possesses at least this advantage over the American method, that it requires every one who wishes to be considered as a member to come in contact periodically with the minister and Church members of the place where he then resides; and thus that anomalous state of things is rendered impossible in which a person may absent himself from the means of grace, withhold contributions for the support of the Gospel, and even live in a backsliding state, and yet claim membership with the Church on the ground that he has somewhere in his keeping a worn-out letter of dismissal, written months, or even years previously by some preacher of a distant conference in a remote region in the United States.

The duties of the *leaders' meeting* of the Wesleyan Methodist Society so closely resembles those which are discharged by the court of the same name in American Methodism, as to require no further notice.

The *quarterly meeting*, or, as it would be called in this country, the Quarterly Conference, is composed of the traveling preachers; the local preachers of three years' standing; the circuit, society, chapel, and poor stewards; the trustees and class-leaders; the superintendent preacher (or preacher in charge) taking the chair. At this meeting a circuit steward is annually elected, whose duty it is to keep the circuit accounts, to provide a comfortable and well-furnished house for the minister, and to welcome him on his arrival. He receives the moneys raised in the various societies, and pays the preacher the stipend which the circuit has fixed upon at previous meetings as its allowance. In some instances the receipts, when all accounted for, do not realize the sum agreed upon; but in such cases the circuit steward usually advances the deficiency from his own private resources, and such deficiency is regarded as a circuit debt. Gentlemen are usually elected to the office of circuit steward whose circumstances enable them to make such

advances without inconvenience; but should such circuit debt, after being carried to the following quarter, remain unliquidated, it is usual to assess the various societies in proportion to the average amount they pay in; and should this also fail, recourse is had to public collections, tea-meetings, lectures, bazaars, or some other method of raising money.

Such an officer as a circuit steward is not only considered honorable by the incumbents, inasmuch as it is a manifestation of the respect and confidence of the circuit, but is considered by the English preachers as exceedingly useful to themselves. In him, that authority which in America is divided among the whole board of stewards is centralized. Hence, the preacher on an English circuit is never exposed to the mortification, after "calling a meeting of officials," of finding himself the only one present. The circuit steward having authority during the interval between the preceding and following quarterly meeting to meet all legitimate claims which may be made upon the circuit, on arriving at a new field of labor he not only finds the lists of names, residences of members, and times and places of preaching, which his predecessor has left, but a "living epistle" in the person of the circuit steward, whose explanations elucidate all circuit matters far more effectually than writing can do, and whose hearty shake of the hand often helps to reconcile him to a field of labor which would be equivalent to what in the West would be considered as a "grasshopper district."

The division of circuits; the desirability of an additional preacher; the erection and enlargement of new places of worship; the examination and approval of local preachers; the examination of candidates for the ministry, and their recommendation to the district meeting, (as it is there called,) are all duties of the quarterly meeting; and although beyond its province, and severely censured by the stationing committee, many quarterly meetings of late have been in the habit of selecting and inviting preachers for the following year. This practice, which is becoming exceedingly prevalent, unless checked by wise legislation is likely at no distant date to be the source of trouble and perplexity, inasmuch as it is an assumption on the part of the laity of that liberty of choice which both they and the ministers voluntarily surrender when they give the

conference the power of appointing preachers to their fields of labor. The admission of the laity into conference, which seems likely to become a part of Wesleyan Methodist polity at no very distant period, will tend to rectify this evil, or at least deprive it of its most objectionable features.

The *district meeting* is second only to the Annual Conference in the power with which it is intrusted. It consists of all the traveling preachers in the district, whether on probation or in full connection. One day of the session, however, is open to circuit stewards, when purely financial business is transacted. In the district meeting charges against traveling preachers are examined and disposed of, applications for aid from distressed chapels and schools are considered, candidates for the itinerancy are approved or rejected, the numerical state of the several circuits ascertained and recorded, a representative to sit with the chairman of the district on the stationing committee at the following conference is elected, and a general examination is instituted respecting every department of the work within the bounds of the district.

There are two officers in whose prudence and general ability the efficiency of the district meeting mainly depend, namely, the chairman and secretary, both of whom are elected at the previous conference by the preachers in the district after the list of appointments has been finally read. It is the duty of the chairman to preside at district meetings, and to exercise a general oversight and superintendence over the whole work within the boundaries of his district; to attend quarterly meetings when invited to do so by the superintendent preacher of such circuit; to provide supplies for vacant charges; and should any emergency arise requiring the exercise of discipline in the interval between the district meeting and conference, it is his duty to call a minor district meeting, consisting of four ministers, two chosen by the accuser, and two by the accused, to try a preacher; and if found guilty, to suspend him until the ensuing conference, if deemed expedient.

It is the duty of the secretary of the district, as he is technically called "the financial secretary," to record the proceedings of the district committee; to obtain the various statistics from each circuit, and to arrange and tabulate them in such a way as to facilitate the business of the Annual Conference.

There are many advantages which Wesleyan Methodism derives from its district committee meetings. The advantage which the preacher in full connection derives from them are obvious. He thereby acquires a thorough acquaintance with the condition of every circuit in the district, and with the experience thus acquired is able to discharge the duties required of a minister more intelligently; he obtains an education which will qualify him for the office of a chairman himself, should it be conferred upon him; and if circumstances needing judicial investigation should occur, he can confidently expect that in the hands of persons who are in the district, many of whom are acquainted with the peculiarities of each point, a just and impartial verdict will be given. The advantage to the people consists in its inexpensiveness, and in its freedom from prejudice or partisanship. The chairman of the district, like the rest of his brethren, is appointed to a charge, and from it he derives his support; the slight traveling expenses which may be incurred by an occasional visit to another circuit being the only expense which the circuit he visits is expected to defray. The advantage to the chairman of the district himself consists in his being spared the toil and danger of constant traveling, and unnecessary visits to charges whose condition is such as to need no such interference. Considering that by the adoption of district meetings the General Conference has manifested a desire to approximate to the English system; considering that the political genius of the national government is in direct opposition to the centralization of power in the hands of individuals; considering the great expense which the system of presiding eldership entails upon the people; and considering the general dissatisfaction which prevails in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject, the time may not be far distant when the scaffolding of presiding eldership, which, however ornamental, adds no stability to the structure, and was only designed to be of temporary value, will be removed, and another appliance substituted bearing a close resemblance in its simplicity and effectiveness to that which from an early period has been tested by the Wesleyan Methodists of Great Britain.

The only court which remains to be noticed is the Annual Conference, the presiding officer of which is elected by the

asembled ministers at the commencement of its session. His term of office is for one year, and his duties during the sittings of the conference and during the following year correspond to those of the episcopacy in the American Church, except that he is not expected to be always traveling, nor to interfere in any way with the appointments of ministers. Furthermore, he is not relieved by his office from the labors and responsibilities of circuit work. It is usual, however, to appoint with him an extra preacher, (generally an unmarried man,) who acts as his secretary, and occupies his pulpit in his absence, and whose salary is paid out of the Contingent Fund.

The election of the president is immediately followed by the election of a secretary, who is permitted to select three or four assistants, and an equal number of letter-writers.

The general routine of business in the Annual Conferences of Wesleyan Methodism resembles in every respect that of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, except that in England, where General Conferences have not yet been adopted, the Annual Conference is invested with legislative as well as administrative functions. New regulations do not come into force, however, until they have been consented to by a majority of the quarterly meetings held during the ensuing year.

The "Legal Hundred" of Wesleyan Methodism consists of one hundred ministers, vacancies in whose number are filled up half by seniority and half by election. As all ministers in full connection who have obtained leave to be present from the district meetings have a right to vote in conference, the legal fiction is kept up merely to fulfill the conditions of the "poll deed," on which the property of Methodism in its places of worship rests, and to meet a possible contingency which might arise from civil commotion, or from the prevalence of some terrible disease, when it might not be prudent, or even practicable, for a larger number than a hundred ministers to meet in one locality.

The "appointing power" of Wesleyan Methodism rests with the whole conference. A stationing committee, consisting of the chairman of districts and the representatives chosen at the district meetings, meet a week previous to conference and prepare a rough draft of appointments, which is printed and cir-

culated freely among the preachers and the various circuits in the connection. During the sittings of the conference the committee is prepared to receive suggestions which may be made on either side, and which frequently lead to alterations in the list, after which it is read to the conference a second time. The stationing committee still pursue their toil, and toward the close of the conference the third reading takes place, after which no changes are made.

Complaints have been made in this country respecting the secrecy of presiding elders, and the hardship inflicted by it on the ministers at their disposal. The experience of the writer leads him to prefer the American system, supposing it to have such faults, which have been greatly exaggerated, to the English plan. The cases in which genuine merit is overlooked must, in the nature of things, be exceedingly rare. Of all genius it may be said that it "cannot be hid." And those in which it is suppressed and ignored through prejudice, or any other ulterior motive, it is charitable to hope are still less frequent. It is the interest of the appointing power to promote the welfare of Methodism as a whole, including the district, the circuit, and the preacher; and if the preacher is anxious that the right man should be in the right place, those who decide this matter are influenced by an equal amount of anxiety in the same direction. It has been observed that in cases where private influence has been brought to bear on the decisions of the cabinet the results have not been so satisfactory either to the preacher or the charge concerned as to encourage a frequent repetition of it. And though the finality involved in the American mode of appointment may sometimes press rather heavily on the preacher, there are serious evils which from time to time arise in English Methodism from a lack of it. Humiliating scenes have sometimes been witnessed in the English Conference when brethren have occupied its time and appealed to its sympathies in pathetic and tearful requests for better circuits on some purely personal grounds, and in cases where the incapacity of the petitioner would render a favorable reception of his plea destructive to the interests of the cause, all of which must have been exceedingly painful to the assembled brethren; and it seems to be the least of two evils, if such disappointments are inevitable, that any ebullition of

feeling arising from it should be confined to the privacy of the domestic hearth and the seclusion of the closet. Even if such appeals were partially successful, and, in consequence of them, a slight modification were made in the appointment in question, there would be room for the impression that a still more earnest appeal and a more persistent effort would have resulted in a still greater boon; and thus, while beginning by blaming his brethren, he would end by an equally futile condemnation of himself. On the other hand, the American preacher, knowing that after the stations are read off his destination is settled, soon settles down, and learns to look at the brightest side of that which is beyond his power to alter.

In the ministry of the "old country" the Presbyterian order alone is recognized, which is believed to include the diaconate and episcopacy. Junior preachers, who are on probation and have not been ordained, sustain the same relations, and discharge the same offices, as the deacons of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is usual to appoint two or more preachers to each circuit, one of whom is *primus inter pares*, and is called the "superintendent." It is he who prepares the circuit plan, and fixes the times and places where his colleagues are to preach. Circuit business of every kind is usually taken to him to be disposed of, or is reserved for the consideration of the preachers' meeting, which is held weekly.

The charges of the English preachers are all circuits. Stations in the American sense of the term are unknown. Strenuous efforts have been made recently, on two or three successive conferences, by a body of trustees in London, whose chapel was at that time burdened with a heavy debt, to create a station, of which a well-known and eloquent preacher and lecturer was invited to become the pastor; but, though they made most lucrative offers, the conference firmly declined to depart from their established usage. By Wesleyans generally itinerancy is regarded as the glory of Methodism. By itinerancy they mean not simply that provision in their ecclesiastical economy by which the residence of the preacher in a particular locality is limited to a term of years, nor the fact that his destination is in the hands of an appointing power rather than his own choice. They understand by itinerancy the work of itinerating. They understand by itinerating the perambu-

lation of "the great iron wheel" in contradistinction to snugly squatting at the hub. They understand by itinerancy in ecclesiastical science what the theory of Galileo is in the science of astronomy—the theory which gives orbits to its luminaries "forever *moving* as they shine," instead of that of Copernicus, which limits them to one spot in the expanse of night. They conceive that any system which confines a preacher all the year to one congregation, though it may be Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism, or Episcopalianism, is not Methodism, and that when its ministers cease to be traveling preachers, or "round preachers," as they have sometimes been styled, they will have abandoned a feature in their work which, though regarded by other sects as a singular eccentricity, is the only implement by which the world can be "turned upside down."

Local preachers in England find their office to be no sinecure. Some are employed every Sunday, and some have nine or ten appointments during the quarter. In many circuits there are only two or three traveling preachers, while there are a score or more of preaching places to be visited, hence it would be impossible to fill the pulpits without lay assistance. But the co-operation they meet with from this quarter is cordially rendered, and as a whole very efficient.

With respect to the amount and the reliableness of income, the Wesleyan preacher has a great advantage over the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Few preachers in England receive a smaller allowance than £150, ($750.) If he has a family he receives an additional sum of £10 for each boy, and £7 for each girl. Besides this amount, which is considered as quarterage, his house rent, fuel, and medical expenses are paid for him; and as each circuit not only provides a house, but a sufficient outfit of furniture, thus, though constantly on the tramp, he is at least well cared for.

In the American Methodist Church, on the contrary, where a comprehensive and connectional system of finance is wholly lacking, the greatest disparities exist. While some preachers enjoy a larger income than the most favored Wesleyan preacher, the great majority are poorly provided for, and many, it is feared, are in circumstances of great need.

The following is a summary of the sums received for pastoral support by eighty-four circuits in a conference which has

been considered thriving and prosperous, omitting contributions for the support of presiding elders:—

4	paid	$1,000	and over.		14	paid	$400 and less than	$500.
3	"	800 and less than	$900.		14	"	300 "	400.
6	"	700 "	800.		14	"	200 "	300.
2	"	600 "	700.		14	"	100 "	200.
4	"	500 "	600.		7	"	less than $100.	

It may be objected that in consequence of the grasshopper "raid," the report of the last year's income can scarcely be considered as affording a fair view of the average receipts. The following table, therefore, is supplied, which covers the same ground for the previous year:—

7	paid	$1,000	and over.		18	paid	$400 and less than	$500.
2	"	900 and less than	$1,000.		14	"	300 "	400.
4	"	800 "	900.		16	"	200 "	300.
5	"	700 "	800.		2	"	100 "	200.
3	"	600 "	700.		2	"	less than $100.	
8	"	500 "	600.					

Considering that in the whole conference referred to there are only thirty-four parsonages, and that in fifty circuits out of the eighty-four who gave in their reports there were fifty in which the preacher is required to pay house rent, and all other expenses whatsoever out of his income, the preponderance of ministerial comfort indubitably rest with the Wesleyan.

As a financial scheme, the chief source of supply in the Wesleyan Methodist Society is found in the contributions of the members in the various classes; the minimum sum which each is expected to contribute being one penny per week, and one shilling per quarter. Public collections are also made every three months at each preaching place, to afford those an opportunity of contributing to the support of the ministry who, though members of the congregation, are not members of the Society, and do not meet in class. There are every year an increasing number of cases, too, in which chapels become free from debt, and in such cases there is a surplus of income over expenses which is derived from pew rents, which is also brought to the circuit board and assists in paying the salaries of the preachers.

The Auxiliary Preachers and Widows' Fund was established for the purpose of affording a means of subsistence to preachers who through sickness or infirmity were laid aside

from their work, and their widows at their death. It is supported by contributions in the classes, each member being expected to pay at least sixpence annually for this object. According to the last plan sanctioned by the district meetings and conferences, supernumerary preachers receive annuities from this fund in the following proportion:—

Those	who have	traveled	12 years	are entitled to	£15 annually.
"	"	18	"	20	"
"	"	24	"	25	"
"	"	29	"	35	"
"	"	34	"	40	"
"	"	above 39	"	50	"

Widows are entitled to the following sums, according to the years named above, namely: £10, £12, £15, £16, £18, £20, £24.

The gross receipts for the year 1871 amounted to £17,138 7s.

The Contingent Fund is also maintained by subscriptions in the classes. From this fund grants are made to circuits which would be unable otherwise to support a preacher. The traveling expenses of preachers who are moved long distances; the purchase of furniture for additional preachers' houses; the relief of special cases of affliction, such as protracted sickness, funerals, etc.; the support of supplies for circuits which may become vacant during the year, are all paid from this useful fund. Its receipts during the year 1871 were £25,787. 6s. 2d.

The chief features of diversity between English and American Methodism have now been pointed out. It is right, however, to observe that such diversity does not affect the prosperity of the common cause. Both can point to noble benevolent and educational institutions which they have reared. Both are equally interested in the rising race, and are putting forth strenuous effort to render Sabbath-schools more numerous and effective. Both are equally zealous in propagating the Gospel by domestic and foreign missions. Both are laboring to afford the rising ministry the advantage of instruction in theological seminaries; and by the princely gifts which from time to time are thrown into the treasuries of the Churches by the self-denying devotion which the biographies of each Church commemorates, by the fidelity and spiritual growth of the people who are brought under their influence, and by the constant extension of the boundaries of the spiritual Zion which is per-

ceptible on both sides of the Atlantic, it is evident that the love of Christ is the grand constraining principle in the hearts of each.

There are no human schemes, however carefully devised and conscientiously carried out, which are exempt from imperfection. But the instances are not rare in which what appears to be imperfections are in reality adaptations of providence. So it is with Methodism. Each branch has its own work, and God has conferred on each the implements most suitable for its performance. There is work for the brother with the faultless coat and snowy neckcloth and courteous bearing, who labors in a country where precedent exerts an enormous sway, and where the limits of society are nicely marked and rigidly guarded; and in a country out of whose mighty forests the seats of future empires are being hewed, and on whose boundless prairies the homes of nations are being prepared, there is work for men who, though comparatively careless of conventionalities, are laboring with a stout heart and willing arm. But they have one creed, one object, one Saviour, one eternal home; and by faith they may stretch their arms over the great deep, and grasp each other with the grip of genuine sympathy and affection, for they are brothers in toil, brothers in tribulation, and brothers in triumph.

ART. V.—HUXLEY AND EVOLUTION.

The Direct Evidences of Evolution. Three Lectures in New York, September 18, 20, and 22, 1876. I. The Untenable Hypotheses; II. Circumstantial Evidence of Evolution; III. The Demonstrative Evidence. New York Tribune Extra, No. 36.

FOR the complete, authentic, and accessible form of the lectures cited above we are indebted to a phase of newspaper enterprise which is purely and creditably American. It is a pleasure to make acknowledgment of the great service rendered to science and literature in America by the cultured editorship of the New York Tribune, which discovers so large resources of "news" in the events and utterances of the world of science and letters.

The lectures themselves were widely heralded; every movement of the distinguished foreigner was made a sensation, and the whole country had been lifted to the tiptoe of expectation. The theme announced was one which had already agitated every thinking circle of two continents. Professor Huxley had long been distinguished as a bold leader in the advocacy of an hypothesis which required a reinterpretation of some passages of Scripture; and a vague expectation had been awakened that some sort of a skirmish between science and theology was impending.

It is fair to record the fact, however, that no conflict with the fundamental principles of religious faith was anticipated by any holding representative positions in science; nor were corresponding representatives of theological learning fearful, to the least extent, that any phase of science so sustained by evidence as to be generally accepted by the scientific, could contravene the accepted fundamentals of religious belief. The popular apprehensions existed, as they have always existed, in the minds of one class who have no adequate knowledge of the nature and force of scientific evidence, and of another class who rather enjoy the spectacle when theology gets a pelting, even if with mere "tufts of grass." Undoubtedly it is the depraved heart which prompts to a large share of the satisfaction felt in such a case; but there seems to be, also, a semi-humorous element in our nature which enjoys, as a mild sensation, any discomposure manifested by theology at being even unjustly accused of jealousy toward science.

It is fair also to record the fact that the three lectures of Professor Huxley do not contain a single expression avowing or intimating an atheistic belief; and all assertions to the effect that "he more than suggested that his aim was atheistic," have no other foundation than the opinion of their authors that the doctrine of evolution means atheism. On the contrary, Professor Huxley has expressed himself in such terms as to clearly indicate that he reserves a place for original creative agency. He says:—

> Though we are quite clear about the constancy of nature at the present time, and in the present order of things, it by no means follows necessarily that we are justified in expanding this generalization into the past, and in denying absolutely that there

may have been a time when evidence did not follow a first order, when the relations of cause and effect were not fixed and definite, and when external agencies did not intervene in the general course of nature.

And again:—

My present business is not with the question as to how nature has originated—as to the causes which have led to her origination, but as to the manner and order of her origination. . . . This is strictly an historical question. . . . But the other question, about creation, is a philosophical question, and one which cannot be solved or approached, or touched by the historical method.

The first of the above quotations is not wholly unambiguous. It seems that the lecturer must employ the term "cause" in a physical rather than a metaphysical sense. He directs our attention to a time when the present order of nature had not begun to exist, and the orders of sequence of physical effects had not been ordained. He must have contemplated an adequate efficiency for the inauguration of the present order. In admitting the conception of a different order he at least implies the conception of a power superior to the present order, adequate to begin or end its existence. The second quotation means clearly that the evolution hypothesis may be established, and yet leave every person free to satisfy himself in reference to both the efficient and the final cause of evolution. It means that the theist may posit a Creator at the beginning. It means, we think, more than this. If natural history cannot reveal the nature of causal efficiency at the beginning of the series, it can no more reveal the nature of the efficiency which manifests itself at every term of the series; that is, the hypothesis of evolution authorizes the believer in imminent divine power to posit such power in every term of the evolution. If the lecturer recognized such legitimate inferences from his language, it is greatly to be regretted that he was not more explicit. It would, indeed, have been a departure from strictly scientific method, (in distinction from philosophical,) but it would have been a courtesy appreciated, if not deserved, by the religious public. If, however, a scientist chooses to disguise his opinions on a theological question, it is probably his right to do so. There may be, nevertheless, a degree of reserve amounting to an affectation. But, it is to be hoped, in any

event, that American dissentients from Professor Huxley's scientific or theological positions will afford him no ground to complain of contemptuous criticism and misquotation.*

Before proceeding to the consideration of the "Direct Evidences of Evolution," as presented by Professor Huxley, we desire to enter our dissent from some of his preliminary positions:

1. *The Miltonic conception of the creation is not entirely the biblical one.* Professor Huxley, in his first lecture, has presented us two "hypotheses" concerning the origin of the existing order of nature, which he pronounces "untenable." The first is the theory held by many of the Greek philosophers —though not by the greatest of them, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, nor by the Stoics and Eleatics, nor indeed by Xeniades, Democritus, and Epicurus—that the order of the world is eternal. The lecturer showed, as has been done time and again by others, that the succession of events in the past history of the world, as revealed by geological science, is such as *necessarily implies a commencement*—a beginning of its organic history, and a beginning of its cosmical history. The second "untenable hypothesis" is that of "creation." For the purpose of making known his conception of the "creation hypothesis," he assumes that which is set forth in the epic of John Milton; and, after presenting Milton's graphic though grotesque picture of the origin of animal forms, proceeds to show that it is not scientifically exact. This was no difficult undertaking, since there was probably not an intelligent person in his audience, or in the city of New York, who maintained that Milton's picture is a representation scientifically exact. It is doubtful if the poet himself regarded it as a literal history of events in detail. Milton employed a warm and productive imagination, and it might be affirmed in advance that the poet's pen would produce a picture whose exuberance of metaphor would prove eminently distasteful to cold and rigorous science.

But the lecturer attempted also to show that the Miltonic

* Those who feel curious to know more of Professor Huxley's theology may read the article entitled "School Boards" in "Critiques and Addresses." It will be noticed by the readers of Huxley's writings that he employs the word "theology" to signify a body of ecclesiastical principles and practices, and not the science of God.

order of creation is not sustained by paleontology. Well, if the language of Milton means and implies what the lecturer claimed, we must admit that the scientific record diverges. But what was the necessity of setting up poor old John Milton and knocking him down amid the jeers of such an audience? It would have been an equal feat to indict and convict old Bishop Burnet for the showing of his "Sacred Theory of the Earth." We can discover no explanation of this exploit, save the lecturer's belief that the Miltonic conception of creation "is that which has been instilled into every one of us in our childhood, and that it is generally accepted as the most consistent form of the creation theory." He does not pretend that in overthrowing the Miltonic theory the cosmogony of Genesis falls to the ground. He says expressly: "I do not for one moment venture to say that it could properly be called the biblical doctrine," and admits that such assumption would "be met by the authority of many eminent scholars, to say nothing of men of science, who, in recent times, have absolutely denied that this doctrine is to be found in Genesis at all." He does give us clearly to understand, however, that the Miltonic theory is untenable, "whatever the source from which that hypothesis might be derived, or whatever the authority it might be supported by." Just so far, therefore, as exegesis may be able to show that the Miltonic hypothesis, as set forth by Huxley, is a correct interpretation of Genesis, so far the lecturer disputes the biblical record.

Now, though we do not propose to enter upon an exegetical examination, we desire to record a denial that the Miltonic theory, as held up by Huxley, does represent the teaching of Genesis, or the views of well-informed scholars as to that teaching. We need not inquire whether the lecturer correctly sets forth the Miltonic ideas. It is what he sets forth that is so clearly antagonized by the facts of paleontology. We deny that Genesis, in giving us the creation of plants upon the "third day," means "the plants which now live—the trees and shrubs which we now have." * The language refers to that order of existence exemplified familiarly in "grass," and "herb," and "tree." Hence, it is not necessary to infer a second creation

* This subject receives additional elucidation from a table which we hope to embody in a subsequent article.

of modern plants to which the record makes no allusion. We deny, again, that Genesis, in affirming the creation of terrestrial creatures familiarly exemplified in "cattle," "creeping things," and "beasts," has any reference to such an obscure, sparse, and incomplete terrestrial fauna as would be represented by a few snails, scorpions, and insects, breathing the air of Coal Measure times. Clearly, the fauna to which Genesis refers is a complete terrestrial fauna, eminently characterized by mammalia. Can Professor Huxley affirm that paleontology has found any "cattle" fossilized in our coal-beds? Now, a complete terrestrial fauna, such as included "cattle," did not appear until the period which geology has characterized as the "Reign of Mammals." Every geological tyro knows this. It is incorrect, therefore, to affirm that the biblical (or even Miltonic) "sixth day" must be held to begin "in the middle of the Paleozoic formations;" and hence the Bible does not raise a conflict with the facts by placing the advent of the cattle-fauna anterior to the advent of birds. We deny that the Bible declares the creation of "whales" upon the "fifth day," before the advent of birds. It proclaims the creation of *tanninim* (probably Enaliosaurs) and other marine creatures. We deny that the biblical scheme is to find its parallel—where Hugh Miller, Chalmers, Pye Smith, Silliman, *et al.*, sought for it disastrously—in that fraction of terrestrial history which has passed since the beginning of sedimentation. We hold that its reach is co-extensive with the scientific unfolding—from firemist to man. We maintain, finally, that the order of the biblical record is step by step parallel with the geologic; and that the method of origination depicted by Genesis is not at all incompatible with the hypothesis of evolution. We maintain, in fact, that the origination of new forms by descent is only creation by development; and while Professor Huxley's argument is good against the "creation-theory" which he holds up, it is the very foundation of another creation-theory more in accord with the sacred Scriptures.

2. *The evidences in support of the evolution hypothesis are not demonstrative.* We think Professor Huxley has been carried away by enthusiasm in affirming evolution inductively "demonstrated," or in any way demonstrated. The final conclusion is even beyond the reach of inductive evidence. The

data of induction may justify the conclusion that gently graduated series of animals have succeeded each other in past time; but this is no proof of a derivative relationship between them. The only possible inductive evidence of relationship would be examples of actual transition from species to species; but these, according to all observation, are facts of almost unparalleled infrequency, and, at best, are not of such observed frequency as to justify a generalization covering the whole field of life, past and present.

In spite of these exceptions to the breadth of Professor Huxley's claim, we are pretty strongly persuaded that the doctrine of derivative descent of animal and vegetal forms represents the truth. We have not been hasty to reach this conviction. We have pondered many a difficulty, and raised many a query; but we have seen old difficulties vanishing and new proofs perpetually arising. We have learned more of the wonderful resources of the hypothesis in explaining the current and the exceptional phenomena of life and organization.* We now think it is far safer to accept the hypothesis than to reject it. If it is safer for the scientist it is safer for the Christian. It is therefore time for him to seek how to co-ordinate his essential faith with the impending finality of science.

* Professor Huxley himself has undergone a similar change of opinion. In his address before the London Geological Society for 1862 he reviewed the paleontological evidences of progressive modification of types, and concluded with the following inquiry and answer: "What, then, does an impartial survey of the positively ascertained truths of paleontology testify in relation to the common doctrines of progressive modification, which suppose that modification to have taken place by a necessary progress from more to less embryonic forms, or from more to less generalized types, within the limits of the period represented by the fossiliferous rocks? It negatives those doctrines; for it either shows us no evidence of any such modification, or demonstrates it to have been very slight; and, as to the nature of that modification, it yields no evidence whatsoever that the earlier members of any long-continued group were more generalized in structure than the later ones."—*Lay Sermons and Addresses*, pp. 225, 226. In his address before the same society in 1870 he says: "When I come to the propositions touching progressive modification, it appears to me, with the help of the new light which has broken from various quarters, that there is much ground for softening the somewhat Brutus-like severity with which, in 1862, I dealt with a doctrine for the truth of which I should have been glad enough to find a good foundation. . . . When we turn to the higher vertebrata, the results of recent investigations, however we may sift and criticise them, seem to me to leave a clear balance in favor of the doctrine of the evolution of living forms, one from another."—*Critiques and Addresses*, pp. 186, 187.

It is not our purpose in this article to attempt any presentation of the facts which, in our judgment, as in that of the majority of scientific men, afford a strong balance of evidence in support of the doctrine of evolution through a material continuity. We may, however, indicate in a synoptical way the nature of the argument.

There is, first, what may be called the *geological evidence.* The discovered records of extinct life upon the earth, it must be admitted, are extremely defective, and offer many instances not in accord with the requirements of the doctrine, though there are no established facts irreconcilable with it. But there are two truths of prime importance which we must bear in mind: 1. The known record consists of but a few fragments of the actual history of extinct life. This is obvious when we consider how small a portion of the mass of fossiliferous rocks has been explored, and what rich discoveries continue to reward the exertions of geologists to extend their explorations. It is further obvious from the perishable character of organic remains subjected to the vicissitudes which the fossiliferous rocks must have undergone in the progress of the world's changes. 2. We have, in spite of these imperfections, a few instances of pretty complete graduation from type to type—as in the transition from reptiles to birds, and in the transition from the five-toed plantigrade quadruped to the one-toed and digitigrade horse; and in similar transitions to the type of the ox, the hog, the elephant, and the ape. Now, when we consider that it is a fact that every extension of our knowledge of extinct life shows a tendency to fill up the gaps which exist between known types, it seems reasonable to anticipate that if ever the lost record becomes completely restored, we shall be in possession of graduated series of forms leading from the existing highly differentiated types of life, back to some extinct forms; and that these extinct forms, instead of standing isolated, as many of them appear to stand, are similarly connected by gentle gradations, with forms still more ancient.

Next, we have the evidence of *variability of species.* Late researches have shown that it is much greater than had been generally supposed. Indeed, we are now acquainted with hundreds of cases in which forms that had been generally recognized as good species are found to be connected by interme-

diate forms. In fact the transmutations have recently been found to go so far as to constitute a passage *from genus to genus*. Thus, while the strongest geological evidence leaves us still free to deny any derivative relationship between the terms of the completed series of extinct forms, the established variability of animal forms, living and fossil, opens the way to believe that the serial terms revealed by paleontology have been genealogically connected.

Next we have the *embryological evidence*. This seems to us the most convincing of all; for it affords not only a picture of the succession of extinct forms, but it is a picture in which the successive terms are *known* to be derivatively related to each other. Trace any higher vertebrate—man himself, if you will—from a primitive condition in the ovum. How marvelous, how awe-inspiring is the unfolding! We have first the yolk, with its "germinative vesicle" and "germinative dot." Then both undergo a succession of segmentations, until there results a crowded mass of cells, ("morula," or "mulberry" stage.) Some of these dissolve, and the remainder arrange themselves as a hollow spheroid consisting of a single layer of cells ("planula" stage.) The single layer becomes double, with an opening at one pole of the spheroid, ("gastrula" stage;) and now appears a thickening on one side, in the midst of which is disclosed the "primitive furrow," afterward to be inclosed and become the spinal marrow. An enlargement is seen at one extremity; this is the forming brain; and the various segments of the brain appear as gentle swellings. At the opposite extremity is a tail. Transverse marks in the middle of the neural furrow indicate the approaching vertebral structures; while certain segments along the place of the neck are seen to receive blood-vessels from the provisional heart, and to sustain completely all the structural relations of the branchial, or gill arches in the type of fishes. Arms and legs bud out—as yet without digits, or they may be viewed as unidigitate, like the limbs of *Lepidosiren*. Stumpy digits afterward appear, like those of the so-called *Cheirotherium* of Triassic times. The face goes by degrees through the conditions seen in low sharks, amphibious and higher vertebrates. Step by step the internal structures advance toward their destined forms, functions, and positions. Thus, by a process of repeated

differentiations, the complications and special adaptations of the higher vertebrate come into existence.

But what of all this? Very much, indeed. This marvelous evolution which we see the higher vertebrate pass through is *absolutely identical* with the embryonic history of every other animal down to a certain point in its development. Every animal begins in the egg, and the eggs (we exclude shell and other accessories) of all animals are completely undistinguishable in structure. Every animal, except some of the very lowest, presents us, in its development, the morula stage. Every animal, with a few additional exceptions, passes also through the planula stage and the gastrula stage. Thus every vertebrated animal presents us the same primitive furrow, the same cerebral enlargements, the same segmentation, the same caudal continuation, the same vascular area, the same one-chambered heart, the same branchial arches and blood-vessels, the same progressive changes in the development of the brain, the same mode of formation of the enteric and abdominal cavities, the same beginnings of the formation of the face. This identity in embryonic histories may be unexpected; it may be amazing; it may be humiliating; but there is nothing better established in science.

This is not all. There are living creatures which represent these successive stages of embryonic development. There are some so low that they never pass beyond the structure of the egg—simple cells, often, like some eggs, capable of movement by means of prolongations of their substance. There are some which attain to the morula condition, and then are adult. Others pass to the planula stage, and still others, to the gastrula. Certain worms (*Turbellaria*) represent a succeeding stage, as the Ascidians are believed to picture a still later one. Thus on, from *Amphioxus* and the lampreys to the sharks, Amphibians, Monotremes, Marsupials, and Lemurs, at the bottom of the order of four-handed animals, we discover living forms which stand forth in the museum of Nature as pictures of the embryonic stages of the highest vertebrate.

Finally, the embryonic series finds its parallel not only in the embryonic history of other animals, and in the adult forms of animals presented as we range up and down the scale of life, but the succession of extinct types, as far as we have read it, presents us with another parallel.

Now, while we *know* the stages of the embryonic series to stand derivatively related, it seems reasonable to infer that the corresponding forms in the realms of actual and extinct life are also derivatively related. It would appear, at first view, that the nature of the derivation is fundamentally different in the two cases; but even this does not impair the meaning of the fact that, in both cases, we have *a material continuity from form to form;* and this is all which evolution requires. On reflection, however, the mode of the continuity in the case of the embryo appears substantially identical with the assumed mode of continuity in the succession of geological types. Ordinary embryonic development proceeds through the multiplication and specialization of cells stimulated by the nutritive plasma in which they are bathed. Generative development begins in the multiplication and specialization of a cell stimulated by contact with a cell specialized spermatically in the same individual, or in an individual sexually different. Propagation, moreover, may be viewed as simply a mode of perpetuating or renewing an individual which is bisexual, either monœciously, as in lower animals and most plants, or diœciously, as in most animals and certain plants. The progress noted in the succession of extinct forms is assumed to have resulted from some influence exerted upon embryos in the progress of their development. The development accelerated or prolonged, would end in an organism more advanced. This would be a new specific form appearing as a stage of embryonic history; and though many generations may have intervened while the embryo was arriving at this new specific type, we may view these generations as simply nature's expedient to continue the being in existence, in spite of the wastes of physical life. So what seems, at first, a mere analogy, resolves itself into a profound biological identity.

The presentation of the facts which sustain the argument thus outlined must be waived for the present. But the question of evolution cannot be dismissed by the philosopher and the theologian even when it shall have been proved: 1. That geological history presents us universally, series of nicely graduated forms; and, 2. That these forms are all genetically related to each other, and that, consequently, all living forms are genetically connected.

Supposing both these positions well established, we have only reached the determination of a certain order of succession, and a certain derivative relation. We have not yet discovered the agencies through which the derivation is effected, and the conditions under which those agencies are operative. Nor have we discovered the efficiency which operates the agencies, and the mode of its activity; nor the reason why all these things are brought to pass as they are. In brief, after we have discovered *what* takes place, it remains to learn *through* what it takes place, and *by* what it takes place, and *for* what it takes place. These are the ulterior questions which were not touched by Professor Huxley in his lectures. He did not ignore them, but he waived them.*

We shall do no more than bring these remaining questions into view, in order that the reader may have a proper apprehension of the breadth of the theme.

I. What are the Physical and Physiological Conditions (approximate causes) of Variative Derivation?

It is in the domain covered by this question that the various theories of derivation have sprung up. At the outset, a fundamental discrimination must be made. There are the organic activities appropriating material within reach, and building the organism according to a certain pattern; and there are the external conditions in the presence of which these activities are carried on. Whatever influence the environment may exert, it can obviously be no more than a conditioning influence, since whatever is done with the organic structure, is done in the organism and through physiological processes. Now, whatever may be the nature of the forces acting within, it is conceivable that they may be conditioned or determined in their activity by the quality and quantity of food, water, air, and rest. These belong to the environment. Variations in the supply of these requisites depend on two classes of influences. These are the *natural* influences, arising from daily,

* He says: "The cause of that production of variations is a matter not at all properly understood at present. Whether it depends upon some intricate machinery—if I may use the phrase—of the animal form itself, or whether it arise through the influence of conditions upon that form, is not certain, and the question may, for the present, be left open.—Page 23, "Tribune" ed. "My present business is not with the question as to *how* nature has originated, as to causes which *have led* to her origination."—Page 19.

seasonal, periodical, and secular changes in the supplies, and from the movements and migrations of the animal. These variable factors have been taken into the account by the older transmutationists, Lamark and St. Hilaire, and by the later Darwinists. Then there are the *artificial* influences (as we may style them) arising from the contests of individuals for the possession of the requisites of life. This is the "struggle for existence," which constitutes the peculiar feature of Darwinian derivative doctrine. The effect of this struggle is always the survival of the fittest, and a consequent tendency to improvement. It is thus that the environment may condition the organic activities of animals that have come into the world, and entered upon the struggle for self-support. But the most impressible period of life is the embryonic. To what an extent must requisite supplies during ovarian and uterine existence condition the physiological activities which are making the being what it is to be. It is certainly quite conceivable that favorable conditions should so accelerate embryonic development that higher results should be reached at full term, or that unfavorable conditions should so retard development that lower results should be reached. This idea is the peculiar feature of the derivative theory of Cope and Hyatt. It seems really to have struck upon a more fundamental and productive cause of derivative variation than the struggle for existence. It accounts for regress as well as progress. It addresses itself to the tissue-making forces at the time when the foundations of the tissues are being laid, and not when the organic structure has been already cast in its mold.

But now, independently of all external conditions, it is conceivable that the organism may be the subject of an inherent and unremitting nisus—a tendency, in spite of obstacles, to accomplish certain results, and attain to fitter conditions. It is our own conviction that here lies the secret force which works out the multifarious phenomena of organic life. Such a nisus was appealed to by Lamark; and Professor Huxley has more than once hinted the probability that it is a potent factor in vital phenomena.

II. What are the Efficient Causes of Variative Derivation?

Plainly it may become shown that the mode of activity of the organism, either conditioned or unconditioned by the

environment, is the means through which the vital phenomena of the world are brought to pass, and we may still be ignorant of the efficient cause of that activity. Now, even though an indwelling and persistent nisus should appear to be the principal impulse to activity, we have to seek after the source of the impulse. Does it originate in the tissue in which it acts? Is it a product of the tissue? These are the bottom questions, the solution of which possesses the highest interest for theology. We do not propose to enter here into any argument; but for our part, it seems perfectly clear that the efficient cause of physiological changes is objective to the organism in which they are revealed. Our conclusion is grounded, first, on our necessary conception of efficient cause; secondly, on the discernment reflected in the mode of activity of physiological causes. Efficient—that is, primitive, original, real—causation is the direction of adequate efficiency, through appropriate instrumentalities (if needed) toward a preconceived and desiderated result. If any supposed cause acts in any other way, then it is itself an effect, and the real cause remains to be sought. If physiological force does not thus act, then, in tracing results to such force, we have not found their cause. Such may be the "causes" with which science deals, but they are not reason's causes. In this case, we have to seek for the volition and preconception and motive back of physiological force. But if physiological force does thus act, then volition and preconception and motive are revealed in every vital change. Thus we argue, even when force acts without adaptiveness. But vital forces act *with reference* to external conditions, and *with reference* to ideal concepts. Here is double proof, then, of intellectual discernments. Whatever results, therefore, are produced by the slow, perpetual activities of physiological forces, conditioned, to whatever extent, by the environment, are the results of an ever-present, discerning efficiency; and the more we see the organism molded to the environment, the more clearly we see reflected the intellectual element of that efficiency. If the existing world is the genealogical result of primitive conditions, then the efficiency which the cycles of the past have witnessed, in the transformation of successive terms, has been enlightened by intelligence, directed by choice and impelled by will. We cast our glances back over

the awful chasm of the cosmic æons, and contemplate it as the theater of the display of an infinity of miracles, revealed in an unbroken, sustained, adaptive, and all-embracing system of evolution.

III. What is the Final Cause of Variative Derivation?

We are properly reminded by the nescientists that we must not presume to know fully the motives which actuate an infinite will. At the same time we feel fully persuaded that no intelligence acts without some motive—not even an infinite intelligence; for motive stands correlated to intelligence as such, and not to the greatness of intelligence. We feel it, therefore, perfectly legitimate to inquire after the motives which have controlled divine activity in the ordering of the world. We shall not, however, elaborate the inquiry here. The natural reason can never divest itself of the conviction that complicated and slowly maturing results, which respond to the wants of sensitive beings, were designed so to respond. Among the wants of intelligent beings are appropriate *stimuli* to mental activity, and appropriate rewards for mental effort. One of the highest and noblest *stimuli* to mental activity is the hope of attaining to the higher laws or modes of change and succession in the natural world. The law of evolution discloses itself as the highest generalization of the phenomena of the cosmos. If we discover that this law involves not only an ideal, but a physical, continuity, we seem to have attained, in cosmical dynamics, to that unity which has been the aspiration of all science and all philosophy. This, then, is the highest possible disclosure of the Supreme Intelligence which nature can yield; and we shall expose ourselves to no just charge of credulity, in thinking such a revelation of the Supreme Mind to be one of the final causes of the all-embracing scheme of evolution by continuity.

The world and its parts may be compared to a stately dwelling; and the scientist who investigates its constitution and the mode of its origin, is like a visitor from some realm where houses are not built. This intelligent visitor studies inquiringly every accessible part. He catalogues the parts, as the naturalist catalogues the members of the animal kingdom. He discovers a unity in the conception of the edifice, and says that its style is "gothic;" as the zoölogist says the style of a large

portion of the animal kingdom is "vertebrate." But our stranger has never seen an edifice in process of construction, and he conjectures the method in accordance with which its features might have been originated and combined. Evidently, he says to himself, one method would be the full completion of each portion of the building before beginning another portion, as a mud-wasp builds its cell. At length, however, he discovers an edifice in process of erection; as the biologist studies the building up of an animal from the egg. An excavation is first made for the foundations; this is the "primitive furrow." The basement walls are raised around it; the sills and the floor-timbers are laid; these are the "protovertebræ." Next the side-walls are raised and the roof is closed in. Thus the most general features of the structure first appear. The places of partitions and stair-ways are indicated by rough timbers, and the plan of the house is outlined. As the work proceeds the rough timbers are covered with flooring and lath; then the walls receive coats of brown mortar, and, lastly, a white finish. Still remain the casings and moldings, and paint and varnish. Now the house is complete, and our gratified stranger concludes that the stately edifice, the cathedral, the town hall, were all constructed according to a method of "evolution." He has discovered the method, the order of succession of the parts. Now he knows that all buildings are constructed according to a law of evolution; as the biologist has learned in reference to animals, and the cosmologist in reference to worlds. But our stranger could not for a moment imagine that the method or law of construction did the work of construction, nor can the biologist hold that the law of evolution accounts for the existence of the animal. The work in the edifice has been done by mechanics, with the use of tools and machinery. These are the physiological activities which build up the tissues and members of the animal. These mechanics act under the bidding of another will, and, in this relation, they are only a part of the mechanism which performs the work. Their hands are not the prime cause of the building—they are not the real cause. The building would never exist if there were not a prime mover in the will of the proprietor. That will is the cause of the edifice. But this will has not ordered this structure without motive. Whatever the

motive—for residence, for display, for a monument, for some caprice, or for some motive undisclosed—there has been a *why* of his determination.

Thus, in the contemplation of the universe, it is the part of science to catalogue the phenomena and learn their mode and order of occurrence, and the physical agencies concerned in their production. But there are profounder inquiries propounded by reason, and deeper longings felt by the soul. After science has accomplished her last work in her especial domain, reason draws aside the vail which obstructs the vision of science, and discovers the Supreme Efficiency working in all things, and working out the welfare of sentient beings; and the soul arises and adores the God whose presence it before had felt, but now rationally cognizes.

Art. VI.—THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE OF THE CHINESE.

The famous classical writings of the Chinese comprise nine works, treating of subjects kindred in their nature, and affording to the student of all ages a study of the deepest interest. Their authors and subjects will be briefly noticed before we proceed to speak of them collectively, our object being more particularly to show the unbounded and molding influences for good that these wonderful monuments of antiquity have exerted upon the Chinese race. To treat of the classics separately would necessitate the writing of nine volumes, so vast are the fields of thought traversed by each of them, so interesting the subject-matter, and so momentous and critical were the events and the times that conspired to produce these remarkable specimens of literature. To these classical writings this immense empire owes her existence and her present degree of civilization; and to them her millions have looked during numberless ages for guidance in their political policy and for instruction in their daily lives.

As will be seen from the brief digest of subject-matters below given, six of the classics are attributed to the sage Confucius, (552–479 B. C.) Although he did not, in reality, write the whole

of these six works, yet those which were originally written by others were so completely altered, remodeled, and rewritten, that Confucius is most justly regarded by the Chinese as the common author of the entire six. Furthermore, the subjects treated of by these original authors took such a tinge in passing through the mind of Confucius that they were no more the work of others; and it is by virtue of their Confucian character alone that these writings have become immortalized. The three remaining classics were written by Tseng Sin, Kung Kich, and Mencius, the most renowned among the disciples of Confucius.

These four sages, then, are the philosophers of China, the authors of the nine Classics, and upon their lips have hung, for twenty-four hundred years, the billions of this empire. Contemporaneous, in sacred Scripture, with Ezra; in history, with Cyrus; in the oratorical world, with Demosthenes; and in the philosophical, with Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus; we are constrained to wonder at the perfection and the original and practical character of the productions of the four philosophers, whose land it pleased God to place so remote from "the cradle of civilization." The nine Classics are named as follows: 1. The Book of Changes; 2. The Book of History; 3. The Book of Odes; 4. The Book of Rites; 5. The Spring and Autumn Annals; 6. The Great Study; 7. The True Medium; 8. The Confucian Analects; 9. Mencius.

The Book of Changes was composed in prison by Wen Wang about 1150 B. C., and is one of the most ancient books extant. It treats of general philosophy, and the First Cause as taught by Fuhhi. His institutes were founded upon the eight diagrams from which has been deduced a system of ethics. The work was completely rewritten by Confucius about 500 B. C.

The Book of History presents us with a history of China between the dates 2350 and 770 B. C. The internal evidence establishes the conclusion that Confucius acted as editor of documents existing in his day; but the precise alterations that these ancient writings underwent in his hands cannot now be ascertained.

The Book of Odes is one of the most ancient collections of odes extant. There is nothing of an epic character in the work, nor even any lengthened narrative. The book contains

about three hundred odes, and the internal evidence clearly assigns their composition to the period included between the dates 1765 and 585 B. C. The several authors of these poetic effusions are unknown. The work was compiled by Confucius, who, finding the odes current among his countrymen, embellished and versified them. Their prosody is unique. Most of them are composed in lines consisting of four syllables, each syllable being a word, as Chinese is a monosyllabic language. Although this is the regular meter, yet poetical license permits frequent departure therefrom; and we find lines numbering from one to eight syllables, but no more. The quatrain is the favorite verse; but we also find stanzas consisting of from two to seventeen lines each. The rhyme is peculiar and varied. Thus we have stanzas of from two to twelve lines rhyming in succession; stanzas of from four to twelve lines rhyming alternately; stanzas of entirely irregular rhyme; and also a few in blank verse. These departures from the quatrain, however, only enhance the beauty of the poetry, which would otherwise become somewhat tedious. The odes were sung in China as the compositions of the earliest European poets were sung in ancient Greece. Their style is simple and their subjects various; and they represent, in the purest manner, the habits of thought of the ancient Chinese.

The Book of Rites was written by an ancient prince, named Chou, who drew his materials directly from the lips of Confucius, thus acting, in reality, as the amanuensis of the sage. The work gives directions for all actions of life, referring not only to the external conduct, but being interspersed with excellent observations regarding mutual forbearance and kindness in society, which are regarded as the true principles of etiquette.

The Spring and Autumn Annals is an historical work written by Confucius himself, and is so named because "its commendations are life-giving, like spring, and its censures life-withering, like autumn." It contains a congeries of historical incidents extending from 802 to 560 B. C.

The Great Study was written during the fifth century B. C. by Tseng Sin, one of the most eminent of the disciples of Confucius. It is a genuine monument of the Confucian school, and its author faithfully reflects the teachings of his master. The argument of the work is briefly summed up in four heads:

The improvement of one's self; the regulation of a family; the government of a State; and the rule of an empire.

The True Medium was composed by Kung Kich, the grandson of Confucius, and its date is about 390 B. C. The work has a noble, independent character, and is well worthy of being treasured in the library of the world's classics. Its plan is to illustrate the nature of human virtue, and to exhibit its conduct in the actions of an "ideal man of immaculate propriety," who always demeans himself correctly, in which alone consists true virtue.

The Confucian Analects consist of dialogues held between Confucius and his disciples, and were compiled by the sage himself. The date of the work has been fixed at about the beginning of the fifth century B. C. Its aim is to exhibit the duties of political government as those of the perfecting of one's self, and of the practice of virtue by all men.

Mencius consists entirely of the conversations held between the sage Mencius and the princes and grandees of his time. It was written by Mencius himself, and its date is about 330 B. C. The object of the work is to tranquilize the empire, to rectify men's hearts, and direct their minds to heaven.

Such, in brief, are the subject-matters of the classics. A careful perusal will show that the nine works are imbued with the same spirit for the amelioration of man. The subjects and aim being thus collateral, it will be as unnecessary as impossible for us to enter upon the fields presented by each of the works, for they are too vast for treatment in a review. It is proposed, therefore, merely to take a general survey of the classics, and to show in what a wonderful degree these writings have benefited a third part of the earth's population. The unbounded admiration felt for the classics and their remarkable authors has caused these writings to become still more famous from the unequaled influence they have exerted in the formation of the Chinese character. They are held in great veneration for their antiquity and their excellent philosophy. Scholars commit them to memory, and writers quote largely from this inexhaustible source; for the arguments, illustrations, and sentiments are all but unexcelled.

These remarkable bequests of antiquity have not only had the most practical effect upon the manners and life of the Chi-

nese, but they have furnished them with a model of government to which they have scrupulously adhered for more than two thousand years. The six Central Boards in Pekin, as well as the system of Government throughout the empire, are founded upon and modeled after the plans enjoined in the Classics. The religion of State is founded upon them, and the people are instructed from their earliest childhood in all the details they contain respecting conduct toward the aged, their rulers, and their parents. A critical examination of the works will discover the molding principles which operate on Chinese youth from earliest years. Nor is it difficult to account for the wonderful influence which the Classics have had upon the Chinese character. Those who are most aware of the excellences of the precepts and the incomparableness of the dogmas are those who have had experience in the tortuous dealings of the human heart, and have the power to enforce obedience upon their juniors. By the time these latter are qualified to take their place in the upper rank of the social system, habit leads them to exercise their sway over the rising generation in the same manner, and thus it is that the teachings of the Classics have been perpetuated.

The works are replete with the practical observations which distinguish the writings of the sages, and their principal object in writing them was to compare the misgovernment and anarchy which characterized their own times with the excellent and peaceful reigns of the ancient monarchs, and thereby to enforce those principles of good government on which they consider the welfare of the State to depend. The writings are interspersed with examples of ancient imperial ordinances, mandates addressed to the high ministers of State, plans and instructions prepared by statesmen for the guidance of their sovereign and the princes, imperial proclamations admonishing the people, and vows taken before God by the monarchs when going out to battle. The principles of administration laid down are founded on a regard for the welfare of the people, and would, if carried out in their perfection, insure universal prosperity. "If the exemplary ruler would teach and govern his people, let him employ eulogism and authority. Let him rather not execute the laws against criminals than punish an innocent person. Let him render his children virtuous, and

preserve them from whatever can injure life and health. A virtue that delights in preserving the lives of the subjects gains the hearts of the people."

The seeds of all things that are valuable in the estimation of the Chinese are found in the Classics. They form the basis of their political system, their history, and their religious rites; and from them are evolved the principles of their "tactics, music, and astronomy." Here we have expressions drawn either from the recesses of feeling or descriptive of the state of public affairs, unexpected metaphors and illustrations, exemplary precepts of government, and clear intimations of the knowledge of the one true God; which, together with the acknowledged antiquity of the works, encircle them with a lasting interest. Upon a careful perusal of these ancient writings, one cannot but be convinced that these Chinese moralists, though destitute of any adequate knowledge of the one true God, began at the right place in their endeavors to reform their countrymen, and that they did not fully succeed was owing to causes beyond their reforming power. They displayed remarkable originality of thought, inflexibility of purpose, and extensiveness of views, and are among the greatest men Asia has ever produced. Their writings not only prove them to have been masterly dialecticians, but show the shrewd insight they had of the character of their countrymen when they began as reformers and teachers by reviving the instructions of the ancients, and then gradually merging these into their *own* views. Had they acted otherwise, their moral teachings would have been lost entirely. Their writings abound in irony and ridicule directed against vice and oppression; and, clothed in their *reductio ad absurdum* garb, they sweep every thing before them.

The characters of the four sages present remarkable exceptions in the Asiatic world, and they were ready to sacrifice every thing to their principles. "I love life," says Mencius, "and I love justice; but, if I cannot preserve both, I would give up life and hold fast justice." Again: "Although I love life, there is that which I love more than life—goodness; although I hate death, there is that which I hate more than death—wickedness." In native vigor and carelessness of the reproaches of their compatriots, they closely resembled the more eminent disciples of our Lord. These philosophers divided

mankind into three classes: Those who are good *without* instruction, those who are good *after* instruction, and those who are bad *in spite of* instruction. Their estimate of human nature is high, they believing that it was originally good, and that "all men have compassionate hearts—all feel ashamed of vice." They exhibited the nature of human virtue in the conduct of an ideal man, who, having arrived at self-completion, conducts to the completion of other men and things. "He descends to nothing low or improper. In a high station, he feels no contempt for his inferiors; in a humble situation, he fawns not upon his superiors. He corrects himself and blames not others. He satisfies completely all the requirements of duty in the various relations of society and government. He murmurs against neither heaven nor man. Hence, he dwells at ease, entirely awaiting the will of God." This is their standard of excellence; but, alas! unattainable by human strength *alone*.

Among the leading features of their philosophy are subordination to superiors and upright dealing with our fellow-men. Political morality must be founded on private rectitude. Filial duty, reverence for the ancient books and rulers, and adherence to old usages, are duties of prime importance. Their philosophy recognizes uprightness as the basis of all things, and harmony as the all-pervading principle of the universe. When there are no movements of the passions, this is equilibrium or uprightness; when the passions have been moved and they all act in due degree, this is harmony. When uprightness and harmony have been extended to the utmost, the universe will be at rest; and when they exist in perfection, there will result sincerity. Sincerity is *absolute* when *intelligence* results from *it*, and *acquired* when *it* results from *intelligence*. Sincerity conducts to self-completion, and possesses all the qualities which can be predicated of heaven and earth.

Man has received his nature from heaven; and, the nature being moral, conduct in accordance therewith constitutes what is right and true. By virtue of this moral nature, man becomes constituted a law to himself; over it he requires to exercise a jealous watchfulness; and, as he possesses it, he becomes invested with the highest dignity and power. A strict accordance therewith is called the *path*, and the regulation of the path is called *instruction*. The path of duty is to be pursued

every-where and at all times, while yet the secret spring is in the Heaven-conferred nature. "The path is not far from man. If man tries to pursue a path that is far from him it cannot be *the path.* When man cultivates to the utmost the moral principles of his nature and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is in the path. Do to others nothing that you would not have them do to you."

Man is *by nature good.* If the heart be once rectified, little else will remain to be done; and then it is that we recognize the *goodness* of the nature. Man is born for uprightness; and, since the nature of man is good, there are in him the natural principles of righteousness, benevolence, propriety, and apprehension of moral truth. The several passions and affections, which are distinct both from benevolence and self-love, in general contribute and lead us to public good as really as to private. There is, furthermore, a principle of reflection in man, by which he distinguishes between, approves and disapproves, his own actions. Man follows his nature to a certain degree, but not entirely; his actions do not come up to the whole of what his nature leads him to; and he often violates his nature. There is no part of himself which a man does not love; and as he loves all, so he must nourish all. In order to determine whether his manner of nourishing be good, let him decide *by reflection where* it should be applied.

The immense love of the philosophers for humanity dominated over all their other sentiments, and has made of their philosophy a system of social perfectionating which has never been equaled. It sets forth the higher and more extensive principles of moral science which come into use in the conduct of government. Its object is "to illustrate illustrious virtue, to love the people, and to rest in the highest excellence." The method reaches from the cultivation of the person to the tranquilization of the empire; and the intermediate series involves the investigation of things, the completion of knowledge, the sincerity of the thoughts, the rectifying of the heart, the cultivation of the person, the regulation of the family, and the government of the State, culminating in the empire tranquilized.

The object of government is to make its subjects good and happy. Rulers should love the people, governing only for the

good of those over whom they are exalted by Heaven. They have no divine right but what springs from the discharge of their duty. The insisting on personal excellence in all who have authority in the family, the State, and the empire, is a great moral and social principle. This excellence must be rooted in the state of the heart, and be the natural outgrowth of sincerity. "As a man thinks in his heart so is he."

In the administration of government the ruler is exhorted to cultivate his own character, to honor men of virtue and talent, to love his relatives, to respect the great ministers, to treat the whole body of officials in a kind and considerate manner, to cherish the mass of the people as children, to encourage all classes of artisans, to show indulgence toward men from a distance, and to affectionately cherish the princes of the empire. Hence are evolved five duties of universal application: Those between sovereign and minister, husband and wife, father and son, elder and younger brother, and friends. These are carried into effect by the three virtues—knowledge, benevolence, and energy; and the one thing by which these virtues are practiced is sincerity, which is benevolence by which a man's self is perfected, and knowledge by which he perfects others.

Filial duty figures prominently in the administration of government, and holds the highest place in the list of virtues and obligations. It is the root of virtue and the stem from which instruction in moral principles springs forth. Its observance is inculcated upon children from their earliest years, and hardly can a blacker crime be conceived of than disobedience to parents. Filial duty commences in attention to parents, is continued through a series of services rendered the State, and is completed in the reflection of glory upon our ancestors by the honorable elevation of ourselves. "When ministers disregard the monarch, then there is no supremacy; when the maxims of the sages are set aside, then the law is abrogated; and so they who disregard filial duty are as though they had no parents. These three evils prepare the way for universal rebellion."

The will of the people is the supreme power in the State, and the relation between ruler and people is clearly referred to the will of God. Heaven having produced the people, appointed for them rulers and teachers, in order that they should

be assisting to God. Heaven gives the empire, but Heaven does not speak. It therefore evinces its will only by man's personal conduct and his conduct of affairs; therefore Heaven sees and hears according as the people see and hear. These principles, as exemplified in the classics, are indisputable; but their application must be attended with difficulty. The sentiments, however, have operated powerfully to compel the good behavior of the rulers of the empire for more than two thousand years, and the government of China would, were it not for them, have been a grinding despotism. The people are feared by their rulers on account of the great popularity and justice of these expressions, for in them it is claimed that the people are ready and anxious to be governed by a good ruler. "If the ruler be righteous the people will flock to him, and, though he wished to abdicate, he could not."

The two chief elements of benevolent rule are that the people be made well off, and that they be educated. When the people have been made numerous through righteous government, then enrich them; and when they have been enriched, then teach them. Upright rulers will secure peaceful administrations, by which the first step is attained; admirable regulations for agriculture and commerce are then proposed, by the faithful carrying out of which the second step is attained, and with this attained the people are fitted to profitably devote themselves to learning, which they could not do were their lives embittered by miserable poverty. And as these ancient philosophers proceed in their discussion of these two elements, and gradually develop the principles involved, we are astonished to find that their minds comprehend, especially in the latter one, what was not advocated by minds of our own prided civilizations until twenty-four centuries later.

The classics abundantly confirm the conclusion that the ancient Chinese had a knowledge of God, who frequently appears in them as "The Ruler of the Universe," "The Supreme Ruler," "The Great and Sovereign God," and "The Bright and Glorious God." He appears especially as the Ruler of men, giving them all things that they can desire. In producing the multitudes of the people he gives to them a good nature: but few of them are able to keep it so. He is perfectly just, and will of himself injure no one. He combines

omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. He watches particularly over the conduct of rulers, while they reverence Him and administer their high duties in his fear, and with reference to his will, taking his ways as their pattern. He maintains them, smells the sweet savor of their offerings, and blesses them and their people with abundance and general prosperity. When they become impious and negligent he punishes them, takes from them the throne, and appoints others in their place. Sometimes he appears to array himself in terrors, and the course of his providence is altered. The evil in the State is ascribed to him. He is called unpitying. But this is his strange work, in judgment, and to call men to repentance. He hates no one, and it is not he who really causes the evil time; that is a consequence of forsaking the old and right ways of government. Sacrifices were offered to God by the sovereigns in praise, supplication, and thanksgiving. They were preceded by fasting and various purifications. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, and the victims correspond to what we find were offered to God in the Bible times.

While the ancient Chinese thus believed in God, and thus conceived of him, they believed in other spirits under him. These frequently made their appearance on earth, and some of them were good and some evil.

A belief in the immortality of the soul has been a characteristic of the Chinese from their first appearance in history. Many persons, who had led holy lives, are represented as being "on high, bright in heaven, ascending and descending on the right and left of God." Though the Chinese have always believed in a future state, yet it is portrayed as a future for the better, for these ancients appear to have shrunk from the contemplation of an eternity of woe. They believed, however, that in the future the felicity of souls would depend upon their probationary lives; those who had led the holier lives being nearer the throne of God, while the evil-doers would be further from the throne, and enjoy a felicity diminishing in proportion to the wickedness of their lives.

As moralists, the writers of the classics stand almost unequaled. In their view of human nature, there is nothing contrary to the teachings of our Christian Scriptures. It does

not cover what we know to be the whole duty of man, yet it is defective rather than erroneous. They had no means of obtaining an adequate knowledge of God or of the fall of man; nevertheless God is always spoken of as the Supreme Ruler of the universe, through whom all things have been, are, and will be, and in whom are involved the divine personality and supremacy. They were without the light which revelation sheds on the whole field of human duty, and the sanctions which it discloses of a future state of retribution. They, therefore, indicate no ardent wish to penetrate futurity and ascertain what comes after death.

Compared with the precepts of Greek and Roman sages, the general tendency of these writings is good; while in their general adaptation to the race and the society of the Orient of their times, they exceed even those of western philosophers. Instead of dealing exclusively in sublime and unattainable descriptions of virtue, these sages taught rather how the common intercourse of life was to be maintained, and in this respect their writings are distinguished from those of all philosophers in other countries. The classics have, furthermore, exerted such an incomparable influence over so many billions of minds, that the works of Greek and Roman genius appear *merely* as monuments of literature, while these writings of China's sages are invested with an interest which no book but the Bible can claim. One of their most remarkable features is their entire freedom from any description or language that can debase or vitiate the heart. The classics of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans teem with glowing narrations of amours and obscenities; and the purity of the Chinese classics in this respect is most remarkable. Their moral tone is unexcelled, and there is nothing in them that will not bear the most scrupulous perusal.

The period that gave birth to the classics was one of great turmoil—one of social and political demoralization. Wars were rife between the several States into which the empire had become divided, and degeneracy and disintegration pervaded all of them. The sages, therefore, wrote their works because "the world was fallen into decay, and right principles had dwindled away." They directed their maledictions particularly against vice among the rulers of the people who thus

came to fear the books on account of their popularity, and were consequently compelled to administer their rule in a far less tyrannical manner than they otherwise would have done. The morals of the empire were, at this time, in a deplorable condition. The teachings of a system of philosophy resembling, yet worse than, the epicurean had been commenced by the philosopher, Yang Chu, the substance of whose writings was: "Let us eat and drink; let us live in pleasure; gratify the senses; get servants and maidens, music, beauty, and wine. When the day is insufficient, carry it on through the night. For the being ends at death."

This system of philosophy had gained a footing, and was rapidly hurling the empire to destruction. Rulers and people grasped eagerly after its seductive teachings; and, in the course of a few years, China witnessed some of the most licentious times that have marked a nation's history. Then fell emperors; then came wars from within and without, and pestilence. The land was drenched in blood, and the empire was divided into innumerable States, carrying on an endless warfare with one another, when suddenly there glimmered through the dreadful darkness of those times the teachings of the classics. Their immortalized philosophers traveled over the country doing good among the people; rebuking the warring princes; exhorting to virtue and a unity of the empire; to purity in private and public life; yet always preserved from the wrath of princes by the reverence for them that was rapidly taking hold of the people. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and fidelity were inculcated. A bulwark of human nature formed for virtue was raised up. The current was stayed. The empire became united. Ameliorating influences pervaded society; and the philosophers of the classics did all that men, without an adequate knowledge of God, could have done to improve their fellows. The people were directed into the paths of truth and duty, and the empire was passed on for twenty-four hundred years further; and here she stands, wrapped in reverence at the feet of those philosophers to whom she owes her greatness and her existence, and lost in admiration at the tones of those voices that have come down through twenty-four centuries.

The classics are as remarkable for their beautiful solemnity

and lordly composition as they are for their intrinsic worth as moral guides. The great sages and philosophers have here condensed the grandest utterances of their wisdom, and the severest lessons of their virtue. The pathos of some portions of the works will draw floods of tears, the agony depicted in other portions will cause the reader to tremble in terror; while the calm, gentle flow of still other portions will bear him into a peaceful sea of oblivion, where he remains entranced until the waves of recollection wash him back upon the shores of reality. Lessons of virtue and morality are blended with exhortations to rulers and people to clothe themselves in humility, to search diligently after learning, and to repose in the pure excellence of virtue. "Grieve not that men know you not, but rather be grieved that you are ignorant of men." "Learning without reflection will profit nothing; reflection without learning will leave the mind uneasy and miserable." "Without virtue, both riches and honor are like the passing cloud. No man esteems virtue as he esteems pleasure." "The perfect man is never satisfied with himself; he that is satisfied with himself is not perfect." "Sin in a virtuous man is like an eclipse; all men gaze at it and it passes away. He mends, and the world stands in admiration of his fall."

The good that has been wrought by these writings is almost incredible; and when we consider that they were in those ancient times intrusted to silk and tablets of wood, bamboo and stone, and that they were so miraculously preserved from destruction during the long reign of the infuriated emperor, Chin Shih Huang, who issued the proclamation for the burning of the books and the destruction of the *literati* in 212 B. C., we are constrained to believe that a designing Providence alone permitted them to be transmitted to posterity unimpaired. They have been cherished by the emperors, the national historiographers, and the imperial music masters. They have promoted the cause of good government and virtue; they give us faithful pictures of the politics of the country and the social habits of the people, and, above all, they have exerted a wondrous influence for good throughout the masses of the empire. At their antiquity we gaze in astonishment, and their primitive beauty binds us fast in admiration. They echo through myriad ages the customs, lives, trials, joys, and fortunes of the

most ancient nation in existence in its integrity, and cast rays of light upon centuries when the world was slumbering. But is there no dark side to this picture? Has the government of China been perfect during the past two thousand years, or have her masses been renowned for their virtuous manners? Has her civilization not remained almost stationary for twenty-four centuries? Has she not been lashed by intestine wars? Have no foreign hordes swept through the land? Have no dynasties risen and fallen in seas of blood? Has the history of any nation been so crowded with battles, sieges, and massacres as China's? Alas, that we cannot answer these questions as we could wish! And why? The philosophers of the classics were without the divine writ. They had no means of obtaining an adequate knowledge of the living God. The Redeemer had not yet sacrificed himself for lost humanity, and their minds were not enlightened by the splendor of the revelation.

The authors of the Old Testament were possessed of a living knowledge of the Supreme Being; the authors of the New Testament were flooded with the light of revelation. The Almighty, in his infinite mercy, has cast our lot among Christian nations. Are the governments of those nations perfect? Have their millions attained to the pure excellence of virtue? Have sanguinary wars, in which very brothers have gloated in each other's kindred blood, been wanting? What then? Do we assume that man is no better off for having received the will of God? or do we venture to compare that precious writ with the writings of the sages? The Bible reflects the mind of God. In it we trace his grandeur and his simplicity, his exaltedness and his condescension. In his wondrous love for fallen man the Almighty has here revealed his will. He has sacrificed his only Son, and, having placed before us the standard, he leads us onward step by step toward perfection. But men are prone to sin, hence the evils that befall us. In exact proportion, however, as we follow his teachings and throw ourselves upon him, we are blessed and prospered. Hence it is that Christian countries have progressed so far beyond the civilization of China.

Until within a very few years China has been without the Bible. Her classics have been the sole guide of her masses,

and men being prone to sin, many evils have befallen the empire. Her civilization has remained stationary, for she has been without the revivifying influences of the Gospel. Her philosophers submitted excellent plans and ideals, but for the execution of and compliance with them they depended upon human strength alone. On account of this, then, it was that they failed in bringing their countrymen up to the standard of our Christian civilization. Not that we would say that they could have done better than they did, for we believe they could not. Destitute as they were of the divine word, they did all that could have been done by unaided mortals to improve their fellows. They reared a monument of filial piety, mutual forbearance, improvement of self and fellows, human virtue, ideal government, private and public rectitude, uprightness, sincerity, morality, and humility; then drew their fellow-men by cords of family affection, kindness, and benevolence to gaze upon it through the vista of righteousness, propriety, knowledge, energy, peace, purity, fidelity, truth, duty, and religion. What else was wanting to give life to this vast fabric? Nothing but the moving spirit of the Almighty and the permeating influences of the Gospel.

The missionaries of the cross are at work, but the field is boundless. Occasional spires point heavenward, as ships upon the deep. A few thousand have been saved from among these twenty score of millions. The field is too vast for the number of the laborers. The progress is slow, almost discouraging; but the energy and perseverance of these self-sacrificing philanthropists in a measure atone for the fewness of their numbers. They have left home, friends, familiar scenes, Church endearments, their native civilization, and all the Christian influences under which they have been brought up, to sacrifice themselves for the Redeemer's cause in this distant land. In their devotedness they travel through the interior, scattering the words of salvation broadcast, and, at the risk of their lives, lifting up their voices in the multitudes and pointing toward the bleeding cross. And how many have nobly perished with that immortal, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," upon their lips! Would that Christian nations would redouble their efforts and send more such laborers to this field to bring to these perishing millions the Bread of Life, and rescue

them from an eternal death! Let the lands of our nativity exert themselves to make some slight recompense for the innumerable blessings which a merciful Father has showered upon them, and strain every nerve to hasten the glorious time when salvation shall be within the reach of all. *Then* will the huge idol of Chinese superiority and superstition be shattered; *then* will China take her place in the family of occidental civilizations; *then*, clothed in righteousness, will she sit at the feet of Jesus; and *then* will a new generation of thinkers arise, to whom the classics will be a study, but not a guide.

Art. VII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Although peace had been secured to the Protestants of Germany, by the treaty of Augsburg, in 1555, the state of the country was still unsettled, and new disturbances were anticipated. The Papists, who had lost so much ground, were waiting the opportunity to recover something back; while the Protestants were intent on keeping all they had gained, and on making, if possible, further encroachments.

Charles V. was succeeded by his brother Ferdinand, and he by his son Maximilian, both of them amiable and upright rulers, who were disposed to observe their treaty obligations, and to regard their subjects, whether Protestants or Catholics, with kindness and impartiality.

Rudolph II., son of Maximilian, was a different character. He was a bigoted Catholic and a persecutor, who involved himself and his house in great trials, and died leaving little of imperial authority except the name. He was succeeded by his brother Matthias, who had long been in contest with Rudolph, and had taken from him most of his dominions. But *his* reign was not peaceful or prosperous, and having no direct heir to succeed him, the government descended to Ferdinand of Gratz, another branch of the Hapsburg family, known in history as Ferdinand II. He was crowned at Frankfort in 1619. He had before been appointed, though not inaugurated, king of Bohemia. The Bohemians were unwilling to accept him as their king, and chose in his stead the elector palatine, Fred-

erick V. But Ferdinand succeeded in driving Frederick into exile, and was at length acknowledged king of Bohemia. This Ferdinand had been educated by the Jesuits, was guided chiefly by their councils, and was, for long years, a principal cause of the troubles which affected Germany.

The Thirty Years' War originated in Bohemia, in 1618, a little previous to the commencement of Ferdinand's reign. Its origin was on this wise: By the existing laws, as understood by the Protestants, they had a right to build new churches, not only in their own provinces, but wherever they were needed throughout the kingdom. In accordance with this right, two churches were erected in the year 1617, one of which was torn down by the Catholics, while the other was closed, and its proprietors imprisoned. An appeal was made to the existing authorities; but these, so far from restraining the aggressors, the rather encouraged them, and Ferdinand, though not yet king of Bohemia, was very severe upon the Protestants.

Enraged by these proceedings, a convention of Protestant delegates assembled at Prague in May, 1618, determined to preserve their own rights, and to take vengeance on their enemies. In this assembly were several Catholics, and among them two, Martinitz and Slavata, who, by various oppressive acts, had made themselves particularly obnoxious. These the Protestant delegates seized, and hurled them out of a three story window. The men were not killed, but a great excitement followed. Anticipating a retribution, the Protestants flew to arms, and, under direction of Count Thorn, took possession of every city in Bohemia which was not occupied by the imperial troops. They had a brave ally in the person of Count Ernest of Mansfeld, who came to their assistance with three thousand men.

Count Thorn advanced with his army upon Vienna, and fired even upon the imperial castle, where Ferdinand had taken up his quarters. The situation of Ferdinand at this time seemed almost desperate. His enemies talked of confining him in a convent, and training up his children in the Protestant faith. But his own firmness did not forsake him; and he was speedily and unexpectedly relieved by the arrival of a body of imperial cavalry. Count Thorn was obliged to retire; and Fer-

dinand hastened to Frankfort, where he was chosen emperor of Germany, as before stated, in 1619.

Sad for Bohemia was the punishment which the new emperor and king soon inflicted on it. Forty-eight of the Protestant leaders were taken prisoners on the same day, and twenty-seven of them were condemned to death. Their property was confiscated, as well as that of many others, among whom was the brave Count Thorn. By degrees the Protestant clergy were all driven out of Bohemia, and an order was issued that no person should be tolerated there who did not adhere to the Catholic religion. It is stated that thirty-thousand families were at this time forced to leave the country, the most of whom went to Saxony and Brandenburg.

To all human appearance, the contest now seemed to be about decided. Bohemia was subjugated, its late king was dethroned and in exile, and Ferdinand had every thing in his own way. But Count Mansfeld was still left to the Protestants, who was an efficient helper, and who employed his forces somewhat independently, as Providence might direct. In a short time he had collected an army of twenty thousand men, and was able to confront Count Tilly, whom the emperor had left to keep the field. Mansfeld did not attempt, however, to recapture Bohemia, but marched his forces into other parts of Germany. In connection with Christian, Duke of Brunswick, he spread desolation among the Catholic bishops on the Rhine. After devastating the Rhenish provinces, they marched together into Holland, and joined the brave Netherlanders in their struggle against the Spaniards.

It now seemed as though peace might be restored to Germany if the victors were inclined to act with moderation. But Ferdinand had no thought of halting in the midst of his revolutionary movements. He considered himself as called upon in providence (to use his own language) "to crush all the seditious factions which had been stirred up chiefly by the heresy of Calvinism;" and he recognized in the success which had thus far crowned his efforts an intimation that God was with him. He succeeded, at this time, in getting one more vote in the college of electors, which placed the majority in the hands of the Catholics.

In these circumstances the Protestants, not being able by

their disjointed efforts to maintain their ground against the Catholics, chose Christian IV., king of Denmark, for their commander in chief. He promised them effective assistance, and England did the same. On the other hand, the emperor found a powerful helper in Albert of Wallenstein, a man of vast wealth and unbounded ambition, who, encouraged by the stars, in which he had great confidence, thought himself able to carry the whole country with him. He attached himself to the emperor, and marched with a troop of cavalry, raised at his own expense, to assist him in an expedition against Venice. For this and for other services Wallenstein received, in 1622, the territory of Friedland, in Bohemia, together with the title of duke. He also purchased about sixty estates of the Bohemian nobility, which had been confiscated after the battle of Prague, and thus made a great addition to his wealth. He soon had an army of no less than fifty thousand men, to be employed in the service of the emperor. But as it had been raised and equipped at his own expense, he had it under his entire control.

Wallenstein was born to command. His eyes were bright and piercing, and his figure proud and lofty, so that his very appearance inspired reverence and awe. In the autumn of 1625 he marched with his new army into lower Saxony. Count Tilly, though engaged in the same cause, was afraid of him and refused to join him. In 1626 he defeated Count Mansfeld on the bridge of Dorsey, and this able defender of the Protestants soon after died. In the same year died his friend, the Duke of Brunswick, and thus were the Protestants deprived of their two ablest generals. At the same time, the king of Denmark, who had been appointed their commander in chief, was able to do but little for them. He was not born to be a military leader, and in the same year was defeated by Tilly, and lost all his artillery. In the following year (1627) Wallenstein marched against him, and drove him out of Germany. It was now seriously contemplated to dethrone him, and appoint Ferdinand king of Denmark.

Meanwhile the army of Wallenstein had increased to one hundred thousand men, and the princes of Germany—even the Catholic princes—were afraid of him. Tilly hated him, for he monopolized for himself all the fruits and the credit of their

joint victories. The emperor himself was no longer able to control him. He lived in a style of pomp and splendor exceeding that of the greatest monarchs, while thousands of wretched beings around him were literally dying of starvation. At the same time, he brought heavy accounts against the emperor for sums which he had advanced in prosecuting the war. His charges amounted to more than three millions of florins, which the emperor being unable to pay, he made over to his proud ally the territories of the duke of Mecklenburg in consideration of the debt. Wallenstein thus became a prince of the empire.

From Mecklenburg Wallenstein turned his eyes to the neighboring province of Pomerania. He wished to get possession of the city of Stralsund, that he might establish a garrison there. But the citizens of Stralsund refused to receive him; and, being assisted by the kings of Denmark and Sweden, they were able to make a formidable resistance. This moved the wrath of the imperious warrior, and he is said to have given utterance to the following oath: "If Stralsund be linked with chains to the very heavens, I swear it shall fall." He was unable, however, to take the city, and having remained before it several weeks and lost twelve thousand of his men, he was obliged to abandon the object and retire.

At this time the king of Denmark desired peace; and, contrary to all expectation, Wallenstein advised the emperor to grant it. The probability is that, being now a prince of the empire, he did not wish to destroy further the power of the German princes. A very advantageous peace was concluded in 1629, by which the king of Denmark recovered all his lands, without being obliged to bear the expenses of the war. But this peace was of short duration, and could hardly be called a peace while it continued. The Roman Catholics thought the opportunity too favorable to be neglected, and resolved to push their claims as far as possible. They demanded of the Protestants the restitution of all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the treaty of Passau in 1552, and the emperor decided that their claims must be granted. "At this order," says a distinguished historian, "the Protestants were completely paralyzed; while the more short-sighted of their enemies hailed it with delight." It produced, as we shall see, not only the greatest confusion, but unutterable calamities all

over Germany. To enforce it the two grand armies of the emperor were kept in the field, and continued their depredations on friends and foes. Wallenstein's army in particular, which had always lived on plunder, caused so much disaster and ruin, that the emperor himself could no longer shut his eyes or his ears against it. His brother, Leopold, wrote him a long letter giving him a most harrowing description of the pillage, the conflagrations, the murderous outrages, and other shameful oppressions which the army inflicted upon the peaceful inhabitants. Such testimony overbalanced all the arguments which the friends of Wallenstein had hitherto urged; and at an assembly of the electoral princes, in the summer of 1630, it was demanded that he should be deprived of the chief command, and to this the emperor was obliged to consent. To the surprise of all, the haughty Wallenstein submitted to the order. He had learned from the stars that it was now time for him to retire. He quietly withdrew to his duchy of Friedland, there to await the progress of events in Germany.

The period on which we are now advancing introduces us to one of the noblest monarchs and bravest warriors of the seventeenth century—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. In 1611 he succeeded to the Swedish throne; and, influenced partly by injuries received from the emperor and from Wallenstein, partly by compassion for his suffering and all but prostrated brethren—the Protestants of Germany—but more, perhaps, by what he regarded as his manifest destiny in Providence, he declared war against the emperor Ferdinand. On the 24th of June, 1630, he landed on the coast of Pomerania with fifteen thousand Swedes. No sooner had he touched the shore than he dropped on his knees in prayer, and his example was followed by his whole army. With but small and limited means, he had undertaken a mighty enterprise; and how could he succeed in it but by the help of the Almighty? By the Catholics of Germany his coming was regarded with indifference, and even contempt. He was called "the petty king of the north," and "the snow king, who would soon disappear under the rays of the imperial sun." Even the Protestant princes of the empire seemed quite undetermined as to the manner of receiving their new ally. Some were afraid, and dreaded the vengeance of the emperor; some were jealous

of all foreign interference; while others preferred to remain faithful to the existing government, rather than incur the hazard of a change. In vain Gustavus urged them all to unite with him. "Our situation," he said, "is like that of a vessel in a storm. In such case it does not suffice for a few only to labor for the general safety, while the rest fold their arms and look quietly on. If we would succeed we must all work together, and each must perform with his might the particular part assigned to him." But the Protestants in general possessed no such spirit of earnest union, nor did they exhibit that conscientiousness of purpose which was so needful in their circumstances.

Gustavus, being reinforced by a large number of enlisted troops, advanced with rapid marches through Pomerania, beating and putting to flight all the imperialists that stood in his way. He was anxious to press forward to Magdeburg, a Protestant city, which was already besieged by the forces of Count Tilly; but he was hindered by the indifference and opposition of Protestants, until the enemy were successful and the city was lost. And in the sack of this city were witnessed some of the more terrible incidents of the Thirty Years' War. Men, women, and children, the aged and the young, all were massacred alike. Infants at the breasts of their mothers were seized, stabbed, and hurled into the flaming ruins of the city. This scene of horror continued from ten o'clock in the morning until night, nor would Tilly give orders even then that the butchery should cease.

After the capture of Magdeburg, Tilly was very anxious to have a drawn battle with the king of Sweden; but Gustavus was not ready yet. He wished first to restore his cousins, the banished dukes of Mecklenburg, to their rightful possessions, which had been taken from them and given to Wallenstein, and in this he was successful.

Tilly next turned his eyes upon the rich province of Saxony, and advanced upon Leipsic. This brought the elector of Saxony to his senses. He had hitherto stood aloof from Gustavus, but now he joined him without reserve. He entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, and united his army to that of the king. The battle of Leipsic immediately followed, in which Gustavus was victorious. It was a hotly contested

struggle. Tilly lost seven thousand of his men, and came very near losing his life.

This victory was of great importance to the king of Sweden every way. It gave him confidence and strength, and established his reputation as a warrior throughout Europe. From this time he pressed forward more boldly and rapidly, achieving in his progress one continued triumph. The most important cities fell into his hands, some of them voluntarily, and others after a slight resistance. Tilly, though still at the head of an army much more numerous than that of the king, was unwilling to attack him. But after a time he was forced into a battle in Bavaria, where he was mortally wounded and lost his life. The greater part of Bavaria now fell into the hands of Gustavus, and the elector was forced to seek refuge in Ratisbon. The Saxons meanwhile had entered Bohemia and taken Prague.

Ferdinand had now lost the fruits of a twelve years' war. And, worse than this, he found himself threatened even in his patrimonial estates. This was a crisis for which he was in no way prepared. It came upon him like a thunder-clap. In these circumstances he saw but one means of extrication, and that was the recall of Wallenstein.

Nor was this an easy task. This proud man, offended and indignant at being dismissed from the service, now lived in mortified retirement, though in great splendor, brooding over the past. He received the emperor's deputies coldly, and it was only after the most earnest persuasion that he consented to raise for his imperial master an army of thirty thousand men, and of these he was to have the sole and supreme command. He also received additional largesses and promises from the emperor—enough to satisfy his almost boundless ambition.

Wallenstein's first exploit was to recapture Prague, and drive the Saxons out of Bohemia. Joined by the duke of Bavaria, he next made an advance upon Nuremberg, one of the most considerable places in the possession of Gustavus. Here both armies intrenched themselves, each intending, by disease and famine, to force the other to quit its stronghold. Tired of the delay, and sick of the distress and ruin which he saw around him, Gustavus at length abandoned his position, and marching

with sound of trumpet past the enemy, who dared not attack him, he retired into Bavaria.

Wallenstein now left his encampment, set fire to it, and marched into Saxony. The king hastened to meet him and afford relief, and reached Nuremberg on the 11th of November. The good people welcomed him as a deliverer from heaven, and even offended him by the fulsomeness of their adulations. "I fear," said he, "that God will punish me for the folly of these people. It seems as if they were making an idol of me."

As the weather was becoming cold, Wallenstein did not think it advisable to commence hostilities before spring. Gustavus, however, had no thought of delay. He advanced immediately to Weissenfels, and on the 15th of November took his position in front of Wallenstein's army, near Lutzen. On the morning of the battle a thick fog covered the plain, and the Swedes sang Luther's celebrated hymn, "A mighty rock is our God;" also a hymn composed by the king, "Fear not, thou little flock." After a short prayer, when the sun was just emerging from behind the clouds, the king mounted his horse and said, "Now onward! May our God direct us! Help me, O God, this day to fight for the glory of thy name!" Then throwing aside his cuirass, with the words, "God is my shield," he led his troops at once to the front of the imperial army, which was intrenched on the paved road leading from Lutzen to Leipsic. Here occurred one of the most deadly fights that ever took place in the history of the world. I have no time or inclination to trace the particulars of it. Suffice it to say that the Swedes were left in possession of the field, but their beloved monarch lost his life. Owing to his short-sightedness, he was led to advance too near to a squadron of the imperial horse, where he received a shot in the arm and another in the back. With the exclamation, "My God! My God!" he fell from his horse, and was dragged by the stirrup some distance on the ground. His corpse was not discovered till the next day, when it was found so disfigured by the hoofs of the horses, and covered with blood issuing from eleven wounds, that it could hardly be recognized. It was carried first to Weissenfels, and thence, by the desire of the queen—who had followed her royal consort into Germany—it was removed to Stockholm, where it was buried.

Thus passed away, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, Gusta-

vus Adolphus, one of the best and bravest soldiers and sovereigns that ever lived. His courage was the result of his faith. He trusted in God, prayed to him, and gave him the glory of all his achievements. In this respect he resembled Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus; and, in more recent times, the prince of Orange, Oliver Cromwell, and our own Washington. The Germans do well to honor the memory of their great deliverer. A worthy monument marks the spot where he fell; the day of his death is devoutly celebrated; and a society for the spread of the Gospel, bearing his name, is scattering its blessings throughout the earth.

Gustavus Adolphus did not live to close the war in Germany; but he inflicted blows which hastened its termination, and is worthy to be regarded as, under God, the Protestants' deliverer. After his death the Swedish Council, to whom was intrusted the guardianship of his daughter, resolved to continue the war, and appointed his friend, Chancellor Oxenstiern, to fill his place.

Wallenstein, who might have availed himself of this critical moment to push the war to a conclusion, was mysteriously inactive. He busied himself, through the winter, in trying and executing some of his principal officers to whom he attributed the loss of the late battle. He then recruited and reorganized his army; but instead of marching against the Swedes he went into Silesia, where he captured old Count Thorn, one of the early leaders in the war. But instead of executing him, as every one expected, he gave him his liberty.

Bavaria was at this time hard pressed by the Swedish generals, and Wallenstein was entreated to hasten to its relief, but he declined doing so. Indeed, the old man was half dead with the gout, and had become an object of suspicion to the emperor, and of hatred to the German princes generally. A conspiracy was secretly formed against him, and he was murdered at the house of the burgomaster of Eger in the winter of 1634. His vast estates were confiscated after his death, a portion being given to his enemies, but the greater part retained by the emperor.

Ferdinand, son of the emperor and king of Rome, was now placed at the head of the imperial army, and for a time he met with some success. He attacked the Swedes in Franconia and

defeated them. Twenty thousand of their troops were slain or captured, and among the latter was one of their generals. This was a stunning blow to the Protestants. Several of the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony among the rest, made their peace with the emperor, hoping in this way to obtain some relief from their sufferings.

But divine Providence still guarded the cause of truth, and relief at length came from a quarter where it was least expected. The French minister, Richelieu, had long observed with satisfaction the misfortunes of the house of Austria, and the moment, he thought, had now come when he might vend his services to the Protestants of Germany at a profitable rate. While he was torturing and destroying the Huguenots of France, he would cripple the emperor by granting assistance to the Protestants of Germany. Accordingly he made a treaty with Chancellor Oxensteirn, regent of Sweden, by which efficient aid should be afforded. By the help of French money an army was raised, and placed under the command of the duke of Weimar. The Swedes had a brave leader in field-marshal Bannier, who attacked the Saxons—now the allies of Ferdinand—and entirely defeated them. The time had come, too, when Ferdinand himself, so long the principal disturber of Germany, must retire from the scene. He died on the 15th of February, 1637, at the age of fifty-nine, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III.

From this period the war in Germany presents but a continuation of gloomy, disheartening scenes; for, wanting, as it did, a leader of noble genius, and influenced, as its agents were, by motives merely personal and selfish, its whole character assumed an ignoble and mercenary appearance. The duke of Weimar, who was at the head of the Protestant forces, made some important conquests along the Rhine. But he did not live long to enjoy them. He died, under a suspicion of poison, in 1639, at the age of thirty-five.

Efforts had been made for several years to bring about peace, but without success. Richelieu enjoyed seeing Germany cut to pieces by its own people, and encouraged the Protestants to carry on the war. Bannier, the Swedish general, had been committing terrible devastation in Bohemia, but he died in 1641. He was succeeded by Leonard Torstenson, who, though feeble

in body, was, next to Gustavus Adolphus, the most active and talented of any of the generals in this war. He had a series of successes over the imperial troops in Silesia and Moravia, and in one instance approached so near to Vienna as to make the emperor's capital tremble. In the autumn of 1642 he attacked the Austrian commander, Piccolomini, at Leipsic, and entirely defeated him. This was the greatest battle fought in the last period of the war.

In the spring of 1644 the Swedes advanced again into Germany, and defeated the imperial general, Gallas. In the following year Torstenson defeated the Austrian troops in Silesia, capturing one general and killing another. His victorious army now marched upon Vienna, and threatened its capture. But the health of Torstenson failed, and he was obliged to give up the command of the army.

He was succeeded by Gustavus Wrangle, who continued the war with success. He was assisted by a French army under Turenne and Condé. They subjected the whole of Bavaria, so that the elector was constrained to give up further hostilities. Several other of the German Catholic States were led to follow his example, and the emperor was left almost alone to contend with his enemies. The allies were preparing to follow up their successes, when the ears of all concerned were rejoiced with the happy news of peace from Westphalia.

Negotiations had been in progress for several years with a view to peace, but difficulties were encountered which it was hard to overcome. The foreign nations which had interfered, particularly the French and the Swedes, presented their claims, and these must be adjusted. Then the possessions of the several German States, and their relations to the empire, which had been much disturbed during the long struggle, came under discussion and must be settled. But the most difficult subject of all, that which had originated and protracted the war, was that of religion. There need have been no war, and it might have subsided at almost any time, if the Catholics had been willing to concede to the Protestants their religious liberty and rights, and these, in the end, they were obliged to concede. The decrees of the peace of Augsburg, passed in 1555, (and which were ample,) were eventually renewed. They were as follows:—

"1. The Protestants who follow the Confession of Augsburg shall, for the future, be considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of Romish bishops.

"2. They are at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship.

"3. All the inhabitants of the German empire shall be at liberty to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that Church whose doctrine and worship they think the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of pure Christianity.

"4. All those who shall injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, or on account of their opinions, shall be proceeded against as enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace."

It was further ordered in the new treaty of Westphalia that the Protestants should retain all the ecclesiastical property in lands and churches which they possessed in 1624; also, that no sovereign prince should oppress any of his subjects whose faith differed from his own; and that the imperial council should be composed equally of Protestants and Catholics.

By these regulations the peace of Westphalia became a fundamental law of the empire, and under it the minds of the people were gradually and generally tranquillized. The Protestants had gained all that they contended for, and the Catholics were obliged to sit down defeated and discouraged.

In this same memorable year (1648) the independence of the Dutch Republic was acknowledged in the treaty of Munster, and all claim of sovereignty over it, on the part of Spain, was forever relinquished.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Liberalistic View of the Public School Question. 2. Pantheistic Theories of Soul. 3. The Bismarck of the Eighteenth Century. 4. Symbolism of the Cosmos. 5. Fashions and Principles in Poetry. 6. Can the Immateriality, Spirituality, and Immortality of the Human Soul be Demonstrated? 7. A Partisan Assault upon the Catholic Church.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. Doctrinal Contents of Christ's Teaching in the Synoptical Gospels. 2. Modern Evolution Theories. 3. Comparative Religion. 4. The Life of Dr. Norman Macleod. 5. Baptist Doctrine and the Pulpit. 6. Life and Teachings of Sophocles.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, December, 1876. (New York.)—1. The Monism of Man. 2. The Influence of Geographical Position on Civilization in Egypt and Greece. 3. Lord Macaulay and his Writings. 4. The Comedies of Plautus. 5. Curiosities of Ancient French Jurisprudence. 6. The Physiology of Lunar Light. 7. The Ancient Scythians and their Descendants. 8. The Bombastic Element in Education.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Chinese Immigration and Political Economy. 2. As to Roger Williams. 3. The Inward and the Outward; or, the Concrete in Nature, Morals, and Art. 4. Science in the Pentateuch. 5. The Folly of Atheism. 6. John Stuart Mill. 7. Woman's Voice in the Church. 8. Anderson's Histories of Foreign Missions. 9. Horace Bushnell. 10. The New Philosophy of Wealth.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1877. (Boston.) 1. Sketch of the Life of the Hon. Millard Fillmore. 2. Probable Parentage of the Rev. Hugh and Messrs. John and Matthew Adams. 3. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–9. 4. Notes on American History. 5. Hollis, N. H., in the War of the Revolution. 6. The Star Spangled Banner. 7. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, 1776. 8. Services of New Hampshire during the Heroic Age of the Republic. 9. Memoranda from the Rev. William Cooper's Interleaved Almanacs, 1728–30. 10. Seals from the Jeffries Manuscripts. 11. Documents from the Gerrish Manuscripts. 12. Marriages in Pembroke, Mass., Solemnized by the Rev. Thomas Smith. 13. The Slave Trade in Massachusetts. 14. Records of Hull, Mass. 15. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 16. Thomas Hale, the Glover, of Newbury, Mass., 1635, and his Descendants. 17. Letter of the Secret Committee of Congress to Silas Deane in France, 1776. 18. Descendants of John Alger, of Boston. 19. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 20. List of Innholders, etc., in Boston, 1714.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, January, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. The Four Gospels. 2. Women of the Revolution. 3. Louis IX., King of France. 4. The Graphic Arts. 5. Vindication of our Philosophy. 6. A Matron and Maid of Greek Romance. 7. Terms of Communion. 8. The Rose in Poetry. 9. Bishop M'Tyeire's Decision.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, January, 1877. (Gettysburg.)—1. Bishop Butler and his Sermons. 2. The Denial of the Cup. 3. Semi-Centennial Necrological Address. 4. The Organic Structure and Prerogatives of Primitive and Apostolic Churches. 5. Our Present Knowledge of the Sun. 6. Confession. 7. The Origin of Life, or the Germ Theory. 8. The Mission of the Church. 9. Lutheran Church Polity.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1876. (Andover.)—1. The Origin of the Concept of God. 2. Theological Education. 3. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 4. Implements of the Stone Age a Primitive Demarcation between Man and other Animals. 5. Horae Samaritanae; or, a Collection of Various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other Ancient Versions. 6. Governmental Patronage of Knowledge. 7. Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language. 8. The Slavic Races and Panslavism. 9. Dr. P. Asmus on Indo-Germanic Natural Religion. 10. John the Baptist. 11. Professor Max Müller and his American Critics.

In article third it is maintained, with a good deal of ingenuity, that the *tohu* and *bohu* of the first chapter of Genesis, rendered "without form and void" in our translation, does not describe a chaos or a nebula, but solid ground. By an induction from all the passages in which the words are used it seems to be shown that they signify *desolation* and *emptiness;* and not only this, but a *desolation* of a land once occupied with structures, and an emptiness or vacancy of a land once occupied with inhabitants, a "*de-structure ing* and a de-people-ing." The inference is that the "creation" of the primitive work was a recreating or renewing. The earth had been occupied by previous races. The writer does not in the present article indicate at what point in geological history this repeopling took place, or what the nature of the previous inhabitants. We may remark that Delitzsch and others maintain that the notices in scripture of the fallen angels indicate such inhabitants, and they trace the desolation of the earth to their sin.

In the fourth article Dr. Thompson emphasizes the fact that the appearance of implements in the strata of the earth marks the distinct appearance of man on the stage.

"There is no instance on record of any animal making an implement for a special use or end. There are animals and birds that use the materials of physical nature with much ingenuity and skill in building their houses and nests. It is enough to instance the intelligence of the beaver in adapting stone, wood, earth, and water to his wants, and in surmounting the obstacles to his task in some less favorable site. There are tribes of *Simiae* that use stones and sticks for cracking nuts or as weapons of defense. But all this is far removed from the making of implements for a purposed use. The beaver chooses his stones, and breaks or twists his sticks; but he never shapes a stone with which to cut and shape a stick. The chimpanzee takes a stone to crack a nut; but he takes it up a stone, and lays it down again a stone; he never shapes it

to a hammer, fits it with a handle, to be reserved for this special use. The baboon throws a stone to wound or frighten his enemy. He never shapes the stone to a spear-head or a battle-ax, to be kept by him for the service of war. No animal goes beyond using the crude material that nature furnishes. He may use this skillfully and well, adapting it to his own necessities; but he does not improve upon nature; does not change the form of her crude material, making of this an instrument for higher ends; does not make an implement in the sense which we attach to that word in the hands of man. Hence the implement is a line of demarkation between man and other animals."

But since it may be objected that advanced apes may have made tools and have been destroyed by developed man in the rivalry of life, the following reply is given:—

"In the present state of scientific knowledge there is no tangible evidence of the existence of any such higher kind of apes. The links between the highest known species and man must have been many and long, but no trace of these has yet been found. True, this is a merely negative reply. But the existence of such species of apes is a pure *assumption* based upon analogy. Now the want of *data*—that is to say, negative evidence—is logically valid against an assumption. Since, then, the links of connection are wanting, this anthropoidal pedigree of man must be held in suspense as only an hypothesis. Darwin presents it with his accustomed modesty. But Haeckel goes so far as to say, 'We must necessarily come to the conclusion that *the human race is a small branch of the group of Catarrhini, and has developed out of long since extinct apes of this group in the Old World.*'"

The reviewer does not indicate at what geological era the implements first appear. Probably he puts the era far earlier than we should. His argument is, therefore, good against the deduction of man from the lower animals, but not for the Hebrew or Septuagint date of the origin of man.

The Bibliotheca Sacra has lately contained two very able articles on Darwinian Evolution, by Rev. George F. Wright, balancing the argument, but giving the preponderance for evolution. Yet man's creation might have been a miracle just like the incarnation and the deeds of Jesus.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1877. (Boston.)—1. Points in American Politics. 2. Daniel Deronda. 3. Richard Wagner's Theories of Music. 4. Bret Harte. 5. The Triumph of Darwinism 6. The Eastern Question.

March–April, 1877.—1. The Electoral Commission and its Bearings. 2. Demonology. 3. Christian Policy in Turkey. 4. William Henry Seward. 5. English Arctic Expedition. 6. Poetry and Verse-making. 7. The Insurance Crisis. 8. The Centenary of Spinoza. 9. The Silver Question.

The venerable North American has ceased to be a Quarterly! It seems, also, to have ceased to be the political organ of what John Randolph piquantly called "The House of Braintree," the Adams family. The change is manifested in the first number by the fact that the political article comes from the hand of Richard H. Dana, Jun.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. Mahommed and Mahommedanism. 2. Genesis and its First Four Chapters. 3. The Fruit of the Vine in Palestine. 4. John of Barneveld and the Synod of Dort. 5. The Moral Argument for Christianity. 6. Vatican Influence in the Sixteenth Century. 7. The Doctrine of the Westminster Confession on Scripture. 8. Unitarian Christianity in Creed and Worship.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. Julian's Letters. 2. The Poetry of the Old Testament. 3. Alexander Vinet. 4. Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament. 5. Herbert Spencer's Sociology: its Ground, Motive, and Sphere. 6. Guizot's History of France. 7. The Servian War.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. The Turkish Power —its Origin, History, and Character. 2. Roman Catholic Literature in China. 3. Indian Pantheism. 4. Charles G. Finney. 5. The Hidden Life in the Colossian Epistle. 6. Arctic Heroes. 7. The Anglo-American Churches of the United States. 8. George Eliot and Comtism.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877.—1. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. 2. Old Norse Mirror of Men and Manners. 3. Dr. Carpenter's Mental Physiology. 4. English Policy in South Africa. 5. Geographical and Scientific Results of the Arctic Expedition. 6. A French Critic on Milton. 7. Mohammed and Mohammedanism. 8. A Ramble Round the World. 9. The Eastern Question and the Conference.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1877.—1. A Ministry of Justice. 2. The Warfare of Science. 3. The Factory and Workshop Acts. 4. The Life of the Prince Consort. 5. The Turkish Question: Russian Designs and English Promoters of them. 6. John Locke. 7. The Financial Difficulties of the Government of India.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Eleventh Year. Strahan & Co., Paternoster Row, London.

NOTES TO ARTICLE FOURTH.

As Catholicism in Maryland is constantly quoted as a case of toleration, the following article was furnished by Mr. E. D. Neill to test the history. After quoting Cardinal Wiseman's

boast and Bancroft's eulogistic history of the supposed toleration, Mr. Neill first gives

A Biographical Notice of Lord Baltimore.

If we would understand the principles of the Maryland Charter, it is desirable to know something of the man in whose interest it was framed. Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, it is said, was the son of a respectable Yorkshire grazier. At an early age he became a student of Trinity, Oxford, and in February, 1596–7, graduated. His talents, industry, and executive force quickly gave him position under Sir Robert Cecil, the efficient Secretary of State. He had just attained manhood when, in 1606, he represented Bossiney, Cornwall, in Parliament. About the year 1608 he was made clerk of the Privy Council, where he attracted the attention of the pedantic as well as coarse-mouthed King James; and in 1612 assisted his royal master in writing the tractate against Vorstius, the successor of Arminius in the University of Leyden.

Five years later he was made a knight, and in 1619 he became a Secretary of State, and thus learned much relative to the colonization of America.

As early as April, 1619, he informs the Virginia Company of London that the king wishes to transport a man suspected of deer-stealing, and the following November is in earnest consultation with the members relative to the speedy dispatch of fifty convicts in Bridewell to the new settlements on the banks of the James River.

After meeting with considerable opposition because he was the king's secretary and a non-resident, he was in 1626 elected a member of Parliament for Yorkshire. The session began January 30, 1620–21, and from the first day he stood up as advocate of the royal prerogative, in opposition to Pym, Coke, and other leaders of the party of the people. It was at this period, before he became a Roman Catholic, that he began his Newfoundland plantation.

In the year 1622 the death of his wife, and the marriage of his eldest son, Cecil, to Anna, the beautiful daughter of Arundel, a Roman Catholic earl, caused the formation of new associations, which had a potent influence upon his future. From that time he grew more intimate with Gondomar, the Spanish, and Tillieres, the French embassador, and was much occupied in preparing articles of agreement for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain. When this plan failed Calvert became increasingly unpopular with the majority of Parliament, and it was necessary for the king to make him less prominent. "Secretary Calvert," says a letter written on August 7, 1624, to Sir Dudley Carleton, "droops and keeps out of the way."

A royal favorite a few months later, he was permitted to sell his secretaryship, and about two weeks before the death of James I. was created Baron of Baltimore, with a grant of land in the county of Longford, Ireland. Goodman, once the Protestant

Bishop of Gloucester, after he joined the Church of Rome, writing of Calvert, said:—

"As he was the only secretary employed in the Spanish match, so undoubtedly he did what good offices he could therein for religion's sake, being infinitely addicted to the Roman Catholic faith, having been converted thereto by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel, whose daughter Secretary Calvert's son had married."—Pages 617–619.

Omitting his attempt to colonize Newfoundland, we trace

His Landing in Virginia.

He found John Pott, a Master of Arts and physician-general, the acting governor, and probably the same person who with him and Thomas West, afterward the Lord Delaware, had in 1605 received the degree of A.M. at Oxford. As he desired to settle, the colonial authorities offered to Baltimore the usual oath of allegiance, which he declined. The Virginia officers report to the council in England:—

"According to the instructions from your lordships and the usual course held in this place, we tendered the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to his lordship and some of his followers, who, making profession of the Romish religion, utterly refused to take the same, a thing which we would not have doubted in him, whose former employments under his late majesty might have insured a persuasion he would not have made a denial of that, in point whereof consists the loyalty and fidelity which every true subject oweth unto his sovereign. His lordship offered to take the oath, a copy whereof is included; but in true discharge of the trust imposed upon us by his majesty, we could not imagine that so much latitude was left for us to decline from the prescribed form, so strictly exacted and so well justified and defended by the pen of our late sovereign, king James, of happy memory."

Baltimore's determination to dwell in Virginia was not dampened by this rebuff, and he proceeded to England to confer with his friend Charles I. The Duke of Norfolk, the brother of his son Cecil's wife, the same year contemplated a settlement, and the Virginia Legislature, in acknowledgment of the intention, created the present county of Norfolk. In 1631 Baltimore obtained a grant of land south of James River; but the opposition of Francis West, who was Lord Delaware's brother, and others, was so decided that it was canceled. He still persevered, and in 1632, just before his death, was promised a charter for lands alleged to be unoccupied by Englishmen north and east of the Potomac River.

When Charles I. asked what the country ceded should be named, Baltimore said that Carolana, a good name, had been already given to the province of Attorney-General Heath. "Let us then," said the king, "name it after the queen. What think you of Mariana?" He was reminded that this was the name of the Spanish historian who taught that the will of the people was greater than the law of tyrants. Still disposed to compliment the

queen, the king then said, "Let it be Terra Mariæ," which is translated Maryland.—Pages 619–620.

No Toleration in Baltimore's Charter.

When we examine the Maryland charter it is found to contain *neither the elements of civil nor religious liberty*, but to be just such an instrument as the friend of James and his son Charles would wish.

To him and his successors is given full and absolute power to ordain, make, and enact laws, with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the province; but they could not meet without his permission, and until they met he was empowered to make wholesome laws. He had authority also to appoint all judges, justices, and constables.

There is not a line in the whole instrument which indicates toleration in religion. In all charters of that age granting lands in uncivilized countries there is a reference to the extension of Christianity. The Virginia charter of 1606 was given by King James, to use its words, because

"So noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The instructions to the first Virginia expedition conclude thus:

"Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

In the Maryland charter there is only a slight reference to the extension of Christianity, and that is a transcript of the Carolana charter of 1629:—

Carolana.	Maryland.
"Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, Sir Robert Heath, our Attorney-General, being excited with a laudable zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith."	"Whereas our beloved and right trusty subject, Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, etc., being animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion."

But the Maryland charter, while recognizing Christianity in general terms, *confined its development within the Church of England.* The proprietary had the patronage of all Churches, "*and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England.*" This examination clearly proves the error of those who assert that by this charter "equality in religious rights not less than in civil freedom was assured."

We will now proceed to consider the inaccurate statements concerning the first company of Maryland settlers.—Pages 620–621.

His Maryland Colony was chiefly Protestant.

It was not until the autumn of 1633 that Cecil, Lord Baltimore, gathered a company to begin a plantation.

On October 29 one hundred and twenty-eight persons were on board of the *Ark* at anchor near Gravesend, and to them Hawkins, the searcher for London, administered the oath of allegiance. This vessel of three hundred and fifty tons, and the *Dove*, a pinnace of fifty tons, sailed in November, with about three hundred persons, including the crews.

At the Isle of Wight, where there was not a close watch, they stopped, and here came on board the Jesuits, Andrew White and John Altham, *alias* Gravener, with two associates, John Knowles and Thomas Gervase, as assistants. White was over sixty years of age, but still vigorous. Gravener and Gervase had both been members of the Jesuit college at Clerkenwell, which had been broken up by the English authorities. Before the vessels reached Chesapeake Bay, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, on January 10, 1633–34, writes to Wentworth:—

"I have, by the help of some of your lordship's good friends and mine, overcome these difficulties, and sent a hopeful colony into Maryland, with a fair and favorable expectation of good success, however, without any danger of any great prejudice unto myself in respect that many others are joined with me in the adventure. There are two of my brothers gone, with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men, well provided in all things."

This statement is very different from that of modern historians. Grahame magnifies "very near twenty gentlemen," both Protestant and Roman Catholic, into "about two hundred gentlemen, of considerable rank and fortune, professing the Roman Catholic faith." Bancroft, more guarded, says, "Two hundred people, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen, and their servants."

The number that took the oath of allegiance, and other facts, prove that from the first the colony *was chiefly Protestant*. On the voyage twelve died, but only two confessed to the Jesuits, and acknowledged that they were Roman Catholics.

The two commissioners of the colony were Thomas Cornwallis and Jerome Hawley. They were the leading minds—men of experience. Cornwallis, described in a pamphlet of that day as "a noble, right valiant, and politic soldier," was the son of Sir William, and grandson of Sir Charles, once embassador to Spain. He was the father of the Rev. Thomas Cornwallis, rector of Ewarton, Suffolk, whose son and grandson also became presbyters in the Church of England. This Cornwallis, of Maryland, was also the ancestor of the gifted and learned authoress of "Small Books on Great Subjects," Frances Cornwallis, who died in the year 1858. Hawley was the brother of the governor of Barbadoes, and was soon made treasurer of Virginia.

Leonard Calvert and his associates reached the mouth of the

Potomac in March, 1634, and the *Ark* and the *Dove* stopped for a few days at an island.—Pages 621, 622.

Maryland Itself was Protestant.

Maryland had already been explored, and to some extent occupied. About the year 1610 Ensign Savage explored the Chesapeake Bay. Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," states that Edward Palmer, of Leamington, who died before 1625, resolved to found an academy in Virginia, "in order whereunto he purchased an island called Palmer's Island," which was in that bay, near the mouth of the Susquehanna River. Kent Island, in the same bay, was represented in the Legislature of Virginia before Calvert's arrival. The waters of the Potomac also had for years been resorted to by New England vessels. Henry Fleet, a Protestant, had for ten years established trading posts at Indian villages, and Calvert, in the pinnace, went up the river to ask his advice. Fleet came back with him, and recommended Yoacomaco as a place for settlement, an Indian town, one of his old posts. Hither the colonists came, and, before the first of April, all had landed, and the town was henceforth called St. Mary.

At an early period Lord Baltimore and the settlers came into collision. Like their Virginian neighbors, they enacted in their Assembly a body of laws, and sent them to England for his approval, but he showed that he had the same views as to the rights of the people as when a leader of the king's party in Parliament, and rejected them. He courteously upheld the position of James I.: "It is the king that makes the laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the commonwealth;" and pointed to the monarchical power of originating all the laws vested in him by the charter.

It was not until 1638 that they were allowed to have another assembly to advise and consult on the affairs of the province. It met on the twenty-fifth of January, and the Rev. John Lewger, formerly a rector of the Church of England, now a Roman Catholic, lately arrived, appeared as the first secretary of the province.

Laws, prepared by Baltimore, were presented, and the independent colonists refused to receive them, and the body dissolved. In February they came together again, and Cornwallis led them in opposition to Governor Calvert, and they decided to separately consider each law proposed, and it was at last resolved that all laws should be read three times, on three several days, before a vote was taken, and declared their wish that all bills for acts should emanate from a committee of their own body.

Lord Baltimore, finding he could not exercise the arbitrary power claimed, in 1639 called a third assembly, and they emphatically declared that the colonists of Maryland were to have all the liberties Englishmen had at home, and then adopted the statute of England that "Holy Church shall have all her rights and

liberties." The holy Church was that of the charter, *the Church of England.*"—Pages 622, 623.

Machinations of the Romanists.

The political agitation seemed more prominent than the religious, because no Church of England ministers accompanied the colonists.

The only ecclesiastics appear to have been those already mentioned. They were active, devoted servants of their order. They taught that there was no salvation outside of the Church of which the Pope was the visible head. With the governor in sympathy, they could not have had a more desirable field, and they used their opportunity. Even the Indians were influenced by their teachings. They relate the following story in their narrative lately printed by the Maryland Historical Society:—

The chief of the Piscataways, who lived but a few miles below the present city of Washington, the capital of the Republic, told Father White that he dreamed that he saw his dead parent worshiping a dark and *hideous spirit;* then appeared a ludicrous demon, accompanied by one Snow, "an obstinate heretic from England." At length Governor Calvert and Father White came, in the company of a beautiful god of exceeding whiteness and gentle demeanor; and since that time, said the Indian warrior, he had been drawn by the cords of love toward the black-robes, the Jesuits. The interpretation of the dream was plain. The hideous and repulsive spirit was heathenism, the ludicrous demon was Protestantism, the tender divinity of exceeding whiteness was Romanism. The "obstinate heretics" were not satisfied with the condition of things, and as early as December 26, 1635, at a meeting of the Privy Council at the palace of Charles I., Archbishop Laud being present, it was reported that one Rabuet, of Saint Mary, had declared that it was lawful to kill a heretic king, and that public mass was held in Maryland.

But the Jesuits did not abate their zeal. Their Journal says:—

"On Protestants as well as Catholics we have labored, and God has blessed our labors, for of the Protestants who came from England this year [1637–8] almost all have been converted to the faith, besides many others, with four servants that were bought for necessary use in Virginia; and of five workmen we hired, we have in the meantime gained two."

When the news reached England of the open violation of the laws by the Jesuits there was a good deal of indignation at their tampering with the religion of the colonists, and it received the attention of Parliament.

In the remonstrance of the House of Commons on December 1, 1641, presented to Charles I. at Hampton Court, the complaint was made that he had permitted "another State molded within this State, independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of religion."

After this Lord Baltimore acted as if he thought the zeal of the Jesuits was without knowledge, or ashamed of his friends, for on March 7, 1642, quite in the intolerant spirit of that age, he wrote these words:—

"Considering the dependence of the State of Maryland on the State of England, unto which it must as near as may be conformable, no ecclesiastic in the province ought to expect, nor is Lord Baltimore nor any of his officers, although they are Roman Catholics, obliged in conscience to allow such ecclesiastics any more or other privileges, exemptions, or immunities for their persons, lands, or goods, than is allowed by his majesty or other officers to like persons in England."

The next year also he sends to Boston and invites the Puritans to settle in Maryland, but none accepted the offer.—Pages 623, 625.

The Real Authors of the Act of Toleration were Protestants.

After Charles I. was imprisoned Lord Baltimore began to curry favor with the dominant [Puritan] party in England, and he displaced the Roman Catholic governor of Maryland, and appointed William Stone, of Virginia, a strong Protestant, and a friend of Parliament, in his stead. The new governor entered into negotiations with the Puritans of Nansemond, who consented to settle in Maryland upon the conditions that they should have liberty of conscience, and choose their own officers. Soon after they arrived on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, in April, 1649, the Legislative Assembly met and passed the memorable Act of Toleration, embodying the spirit of "that golden apple, the ordinance of toleration," passed by Parliament, to which their former pastor, Harrison, alludes in a letter to Governor Winthrop.

It has generally been supposed that Lord Baltimore prepared the act, but in the statement of his case, published at London in 1653, it is distinctly asserted that this and other laws *were first enacted in Maryland, and were not engrossed and approved by him until August*, 1650.

The members of the Assembly of 1649 *were largely Protestant, and the majority Puritan.* Hammond, a Baltimore partisan, asserts that it consisted of Puritans and other Protestants, and "*a few papists.*" The Assembly of 1649 also "overhauled the oath of fidelity," says another writer of the day, and added a clause that liberty of conscience should not be infringed.—Pages 626, 627.

From all this it appears that Baltimore was under a Protestant sovereign; that the toleration act was passed by Protestants; and that Baltimore had no hand in its passage, but signed it in England because he could do nothing else. Baltimore was the pet and tool of Charles I., and deserves no reverence from mankind. Thus ends the romance of "Catholic toleration in Maryland."

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1877. Second Number. *Essays:* 1. KÖSTLIN, State, Law, and Church in Evangelical Ethics, (Second and concluding Article.) 2. WIESELER, A few Remarks on the Roman Documents in Josephus, (*Antiq.*, 12, 10, 14, 8, and 14, 10.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. TOLLIN, Servetus' Dialogues on the Trinity. 2. KOENIG, The Remainder of the Works of Baruch. *Reviews:* 1. ACHELIS, The Sermon on the Mount, (Die Bergpredigt nach Mathäus und Lukas, Bielefeld. 1876,) reviewed by SCHMIDT. 2. KOEHLER, Irvingism, (Het Irvingisme,) reviewed by SCHWARZ. *Miscellaneous:* 1. Programme of the Haag Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion. 2. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society at Haarlem for 1877.

The article by Professor Köstlin on "State, Law, and Church," concludes the interesting discussion on the limits of State jurisdiction. It treats especially of the right and duty of the State Government with regard to social life and to religious denominations. In our own country only one aspect of this question —the rights claimed for the State with regard to public instruction—has enlisted the national attention, and is rapidly increasing in importance, many being even inclined to look upon it as one of the great political questions of the future. In some countries of Europe, and especially in Germany, two other questions constitute at present the subject of most exciting controversies. The one is the demand of the Socialists, that the State Government should take charge of all the material labor to be performed within the State, execute it by means of an immense common capital, distribute it among individual citizens according to their individual capacities, and reward every individual according to his merit. In the United States the Socialists as a party are almost unknown. The great newspapers hardly take notice of them, and at the political elections they do not yet make their appearance as an organized party. In Germany the entirely unexpected strength developed by the social democracy at the new election of a German Reichstag in January, 1877, has thus far been the greatest sensation of the present year in the political world. In no less than thirteen districts they elected their candidates by a majority of all the votes cast, and in a still larger number their candidates polled the largest vote next to the successful candidate. In the kingdom of Saxony the aggregate votes received by their candidates by far exceed the vote cast for the candidates for any of the other parties. The outlook

appears sufficiently critical to induce distinguished writers of all political and religious parties to give at length their views on the condition of society, on the improvement of the situation of the laboring classes, and on the aversion of the great dangers which, in the opinion of many, threaten to subvert the entire fabric of the present society. The recent German literature on this subject is quite considerable, and the extracts given from some of the principal works by Professor Köstlin very interesting. Among the more important works of this class are Schmoller, "On some Fundamental Questions of Law and Political Economy," (1875;) Treitschke, "Socialism and its Patrons," (1875;) Martensen, "Socialism and Christianity," (1875;) Meitzen, "The Joint Responsibility of the Educated and Wealthy Classes for the Welfare of the Working Men," (1876;) Geffken, "Socialism," (1876;) Thiersch, "On the Christian State." None of these writers sympathize with the political and atheistical radicalism of the socialist party. Some, however, make to them the concession that on the part of the State Government more might and should have been done in behalf of the poorer, and, in general, of the laboring classes; and that the State Government may greatly extend its spheres of action in this direction. A distinguished Protestant theologian, Bishop Martensen, of the Lutheran Church of Denmark, goes so far as to demand that the State from time to time fix the laborers' wages, and adopt suitable measures for restricting the undue power of capital. This wish relative to capital Professor Köstlin regards as quite reasonable, but he finds fault with Martensen for not showing how the State can realize it, and he believes that all that the State will ever be able to do will be little in comparison with what Christian capitalists can and should do. As regards the relations between State and Church, Professor Köstlin, as may be expected, favors the continuance of a union between Church and State as it now exists in most of the European countries, though he deems the establishment of ecclesiastical self-government, by means of Church synods, for the regulation of all questions of a religious character, as indispensable for the preservation of the evangelical Church. The recent literature on this subject is also extensively quoted and thoroughly reviewed.

In addition to the Book of Baruch, which is one of the Biblical Apocrypha of the Old Testament, there are now known to theologians two works bearing the name of Baruch, which belong to the class of so-called pseudepigraphal books. The one is the *Apocalipsis Baruchi*, which was published in 1871 by Fritzsche, in an appendix to his *Libri Apocriphi Vet. Test.;* the other is "The Remainder of the Words of Baruch," which Dr. E. König, of the Thomas School of Leipsic, has translated in the present number of the "Studien" from the Ethiopic. It appears to be the first translation into any of the modern languages. The Ethiopic translation was for the first time published by Dillmann, in 1866, in his *Christomathia Æthiopica;* and a Greek version, in 1868, by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana.* A careful comparison of the Ethiopic and Greek versions, made by Dr. König, showed considerable difference, and made it probable that the Ethiopic version resembled the original (which is as yet unknown) more than the Greek. As the publication of these two pseudepigraphal books does not go back farther than 1866, neither of them could be mentioned in the first volume of M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, (articles Apocrypha and Baruch,) which bears date of 1867, but the printing of which was begun even before 1866.

The review of Köhler's work on Irvingism, (*Het Irvingisme*, Hague, 1876,) by Schwarz, is an interesting contribution to the recent history of Irvingism, or, as it is officially called, the Catholic Apostolic Church. This remarkable sect was first introduced into Holland, in 1863, by a German minister, Schwartz of Berlin, who had been appointed "apostle of the Netherlands" by the Berlin prophet, Henry Geyer; while an English apostle, Woodhouse, who differed from Geyer's views on the continuance of the apostolate among the Irvingites, excommunicated him. The sect soon gained in Dr. Isaac Capadose, the son of the celebrated Jewish convert Capadose, an able and influential representative. Capadose resigned a high office in the colonial ministry, became, in 1865, priest, and in 1868 angel-evangelist. Though a number of members have since been gained, congregations of any importance have only been organized in Hague and Rotterdam. (Köhler estimates their total number at five hundred.) Chiefly owing to

the indefatigable zeal of Dr. Capadose the sect has recently gained a footing also in Denmark, though their number is unknown, as the members are advised to remain nominally connected with the Lutheran Church, although on joining the Irvingites they must look upon the State Church as the "synagogue of the antichrist." In the country of its origin (England) the sect appears at present to make no progress. In March, 1851, it numbered thirty-two Churches and four thousand nine hundred and eight adherents. Since then no reliable statistics have been published. In Prussia the sect had, according to the latest statistical reports, seventy-four congregations and five thousand and seventy-nine members. The congregation in Berlin numbers nine hundred persons, and has two chapels.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History. Edited by Dr. Theodore Brieger, Professor of Theology at Marburg. Third Number.) *Researches and Essays:* 1. HARNACK, On the So-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, (Second Article.) 2. GASS, Contributions to a History of Ethics; Vincent of Beauvais and the Speculum Morale, (First Article.) 3. RITCH, On the Two Principles of Protestantism. *Critical Reviews:* Works on Church History published in 1875. III. History of French Protestantism. By Th. Scott. *Miscellaneous:* 1. DUMMLER, Jewish Proselytes in the Middle Ages. 2. TSCHAKERT, Pseudo-Labarella's "Capita Agendorum," and their True Author. 3. LENZ, An Ecclesiastical Political Work on Reform from the Œcumenical Council of Basel. 4. BENRATH, On the Letter supposed to have been written by Melanchthon to the Venetian Senate. 5. Two Letters of Dr. Eck published by E SCHULTZE. 6. EUBAXIAS, Statistical Report of the Church of the Kingdom of Greece.

The third number of this Journal for Church History will greatly strengthen the high reputation which this new representative of German Theology has already acquired. The titles of the articles as quoted above attest their interesting character, and the names of the authors are a sufficient guarantee for their intrinsic value. The critical review of entire sections of the recent literature on Church History continues to be specially interesting. The article in the present number does not strictly confine itself, as the heading announces, to works published in 1875, but treats in an exhaustive manner of all the recent literature on the subject. The Reformed Church of France is uncommonly rich in documents relating to her early history, as the discipline of the Church directed each Church to record all ecclesiastical occurrences of importance. The careful and extensive study of these documents in modern times is chiefly due to an excellent Protestant Society, the *Société de l'histoire*

du Protestantisme français, which was founded in 1852, and has always counted among its directors a number of distinguished men. Among the present members we find, among other distinguished authors, the names of Charles Waddington, Maurice Block, the best statistician of France; F. Schickler, Jul. Delaborde, Jul. Bonnet, H. Bordier, Charles Read, E. Sayous. The society causes, at its own expense, researches to be made in libraries and archives, publishes inedited manuscripts and valuable works which are out of print, and proposes prize questions which have led to the completion of a number of valuable works, as for instance, "A. Court: *Histoire de la Restauration du Protestantisme en France, au xviii siècle d'après des documents inédits*, by E. HUGUES, Paris, 1872. This society has given an interesting outline of its history in the treatise, *Notice sur la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 1852–1872, (Paris, 1874,) and it possesses an excellent organ in the monthly *Bulletin historique et literaire*, (vol. 24, 1875,) which is edited by its secretary, Jules Bounet. The society also possesses a library which was founded Nov. 10, 1865, and contains by far the best collection of books, (now more than 7,000,) engravings, German reviews, manuscripts, medals, photographs, etc., relating to the history of Protestantism in France. The society has recently begun a new and enlarged edition of one of the chief works produced by French Protestants, the "France Protestante" of the brothers Haag. An account of this new edition has already been given in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review. The publication of three other important works is contemplated by the Society, a history of French Protestant literature, a French Protestant bibliography, and a geography of French Protestantism, all of which are greatly needed, for the immense abundance of material on individual localities and persons makes the compilation of general works all the more difficult. Even a comprehensive and exhaustive history of French Protestantism is still wanting, as the well-known work by the late Professor De Felice, *Histoire des Protestant, de France*, (sixth edition continued from 1861 to the present day by Professor Bonifas, of Montauban, Toulouse, 1875,) is only a compendium; and the greatest work on the subject by the late German General Von Polenz (*Geschichte des Französischen Calvinismus bis zur Nationalversamm-*

lung im Jahre, 1789, 5 vols., Gotha, 1857–1869) has not been completed. After this account of the *Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français* and its literary activity, the author of the critical review enumerates a very large number of works published in France or Germany relative to the history of French Protestantism. Many of them are only of local interest, and we can only notice briefly some of the more important ones. Of the excellent edition of the complete works of John Calvin which is published by Professors Baum, Cunitz, and E. Reuss of Strassburg, vols. 13 and 14, containing the letters of Calvin from 1548 to 1553, appeared in 1875. A work on this reformation in Geneva before Calvin, by Pietschker, (*Die Lutherische Reformation in Genf*, Cöthen, 1875,) is of importance, as a Protestant reply to the Catholic work by Kampschulte on Calvin (Leipsig, 1869) was generally felt as a great want. A posthumous volume of the celebrated work by Merle D'Aubigné (*Histoire de la Reformation en Europe au temps de Calvin*, tom. vi, Paris, 1875) treats of the appearance of Calvin in Geneva, the disputation in Lausanne, the banishment of Calvin and his colleagues, his marriage with Idelette de Bure, his controversy with Sadolet, and his approaching return to Geneva. The history of the principal Protestant colleges is treated in a series of articles published in the *Bulletin*, (1873, 1875,) by Gaufres; the history of the Reformed pulpit orators, and chiefly of J. Saurin, in a work by Berthallet, (*J. Saurin et la predication Protestante jusqu'à la fin du regne de Louis XIV.*, Paris, 1875;) the history of Alexander Vinet, the greatest Protestant theologian of French Switzerland, in a work by Rambert, (*Vinet, histoire de sa vie et de ses ouvrages*, Lausanne, 1875.)

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) September, 1876.—1. E. DE GUERLE, Edgar Quinet, (First Article.) 2. E. DE PRESSENSE, The Bible and Conscience. 3. FRANK PUAUX, Some Remarks on Germany.

October, 1876.—1. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, Groen van Prinsterer. 2. E. DE GUERLE, Edgar Quinet, (Second Article.) 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, The New Temple of Strasburg, (First Article.)

November, 1876.—1. STAFFER, The Essenian Sect. 2. PENEL, Primary Instruction in Paris. 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, The New Temple of Strasburg, (Second Article.) 4. H. S., The Day of the Innocents at Westminster Abbey.

December, 1876.—1. BOUVIER, Esaie Jaso. 2. CH. WADDINGTON, Bonnet's "Last Accounts of the Sixteenth Century." 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicles.

January, 1877.—Pressensé, The Philosophical and Religious Crisis. 2. E. W., Macaulay. 3. Recolin, A Reception at the Academy.

February, 1877.—1. BONNET, Reminiscences of Augustin Thierry. 2. REY, John Stuart Mill, (Third Part.) 3. F. PUAUX, Paris and Montauban, (First Article.) 4. F. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicles.

In the preface to the number of December, 1876, the editors announce that during the next year (the twenty-fourth of its publication) it will publish articles from E. de Pressensé, on "The Actual Mission of Protestantism," "A Christian Worship at Alexandria at the Time of Origen," and on "Christian Doctrines;" from Eug. Bersier, on "Final Causes," according to the book of M. Janet; from E. de Guerle, on "Charles de Remusat;" from Ruffet, an historical essay on "Bernardino of Ochino;" from Sabatier, on "Baur and the Tübingen School;" from Staffer, an essay on "Judaism at the Time of Jesus Christ;" from Francis de Pressensé, on "Lord Palmerston and the Eastern Question;" from Jules Bonnet, on the "Reminiscences of the Last Years of the Life of Augustin Thierry." Articles have also been promised by Ernest Naville, Lichtenberger, Ch. Waddington, A. Matter, F. Puaux, and other contributors whose names are familiar to the regular readers of the "Review."

M. Penel, in the November number, gives an interesting abstract of an important work on "Primary Instruction in Paris and the Department of the Seine," by M. Gréard, one of the Inspectors General of Public Instruction. A census taken in 1873 showed that there were in Paris 105,331 children from two to six years, and 186,693 children from six to fourteen years, or, in all, 292,024 children from two to fourteen years. On the other hand, the number of children registered

in the *salles d'asiles* and in the public and free schools was 184,646. Supposing, therefore, that from 1873 to 1874 the school population remained about stationary, it would follow, from a comparison of the two figures just quoted, that there were 107,378 children between the ages of two and fourteen who did not attend either any school or *salle d'asile*, and the number attending the one or the other class of educational institutions was 184,646. From this number we must, however, deduct 10,112 pupils of schools who are older than fourteen years, and thus the actual attendance of the schools and *salles d'asiles* was reduced to 174,534, and the aggregate number of children not attending any of these institutions is found to be 117,490. This apparently very large number of illiterate children fortunately admits, however, of very large deduction. There are 11,147 pupils of lyceums, colleges, and free secondary schools; and, contrary to the general supposition, a very large proportion of these pupils are the children of Parisians. The number of children who receive private instruction at home is estimated at 45,500, and the number of those who attend irregularly, and are not included in the school register, at 28,000. The aggregate number of these three classes of pupils being 84,647, the number of children from two to fourteen years receiving no instruction would be 32,843. Of these, 14,527 are children from two to six, and 18,316 children from six to fourteen years. Although a considerable number of children still remain without any instruction, the seating capacity of the public *salles d'asiles* and the public schools is still insufficient for all the children registered, the latter exceeding the former by 38,886. Great efforts are, however, now made by the municipal government of Paris to remedy this want, and by comparing the school statistics of Paris with those of other large cities, as Geneva, Vienna, Dresden, Washington, and New York, M. Gréard shows that Paris can already stand a comparison with a number of these cities. The progress made since 1830 is astonishing, and it may be hoped that under the wise administration of the present Minister of Public Instruction, M. Waddington, the efforts made by the advocates of educational progress will be successful. M. Gréard, the Inspector General of public schools, whose work on primary education in Paris has called forth this article of

the "Christian Review," deserves a prominent place among the promoters of public education. Besides the work already mentioned, he has published a very useful collection, in three volumes, of all the French laws, decrees, etc., relating to primary instruction, under the title, *La Legislation de l'Instruction Primaire en France, depuis* 1789, *jusqu'à nos jours.* (Paris, 1874.) The first volume contains, in chronological order, the legislation from 1789 to 1848, the second that from 1848 to 1874, and the third a very complete analytical table, giving the substance of all the laws in alphabetical order.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHURCH OF GREECE.

A THEOLOGIAN of the national Church of Greece, A. Papalukas Eutaxias, who has studied theology at one of the German universities, communicates to the *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte* an interesting account of the condition of his Church. As reliable information on the Eastern Churches is by no means abundant, we extract from this article the most interesting facts:—

A new epoch for the Church of Greece began to dawn as early as the beginning of the present century. The oppression by the Turks had somewhat relaxed, and the favorable opportunity was at once seized to improve the condition of the Church. In the preceding centuries the examples of theological learning among the higher clergy had been isolated; but now, after a certain authorization had been obtained from the Turkish Government to establish schools of a higher grade in the large towns, the cases of ignorance became rare. The war of independence proved a great turning-point. The Church of Greece regarded it as her first task to provide for a better education of the clergy, and (as efficient measures for the immediate education of the entire clergy could not at once be taken) especially for that of the higher clergy, the bishops and the itinerant ministers who were to assist the former. A first attempt made by the Government of Capodistrias to establish a seminary on the island of Paros failed. During the reign of King Otho I., in 1837, the University of Athens was founded, which contained among its faculties one of theology, which soon shaped itself, so far as circumstances would allow, after the model of the faculties of Protestant theology of Germany. Since then the bishops and the itinerant clergy have been chiefly taken from the ranks of the students of the theological students of the University of Athens. This practice of the Church of Greece was imitated by the Greek Church of Turkey, as soon it received a higher degree of liberty through the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane, (1839,) and the Hatti-Humayum, (Feb. 18, 1856.) As there were not sufficient resources for found-

ing a complete university, the Church had to content herself with the establishment of two theological seminaries, (*Θεολογικαὶ Σχολαί,*) the one upon the island of Khalke, not far from Constantinople, the other at Jerusalem. Unfortunately, both resemble more the Roman Catholic seminaries of France, Belgium, and Italy, than the Protestant schools of Germany. These two seminaries, likewise, are chiefly intended for the education of the higher clergy, and in one respect the Church in Turkey has even gone ahead of that of Greece, as an ecclesiastical canon expressly provides that for obtaining the office of a bishop it is indispensably necessary to have studied in one of the seminaries, or, at least, to have as good knowledge of theology as the graduates of the seminaries. For the lower clergy neither the Church of Turkey nor that of Greece has as yet made sufficient provision. The former is only now meditating to establish for this purpose ecclesiastical seminaries wherever it is practicable. The Church of Greece is already in possession of a few, but as yet very little has been accomplished by them. The earliest of these schools was the "Ecclesiastical Rizarrian School" at Athens, so called because its foundation is due to the liberality of the brothers Rizaris. This seminary was followed by three other "sacerdotal seminaries," (*Ἱερατικαὶ Σχολαί,*) one upon the continent of Greece, in Khalkis, one for the Peloponnesus, in Tripolis, a third for the islands, in Hermopolis, upon the island of Syra, to which more recently one has been added upon the island of Corfu—all erected and supported at the expense of the Government. All of them resemble the Roman Catholic seminaries of the Middle Ages, which have also been taken as models in Russia. The best among these seminaries, the Rizarrian school, has recently received considerable improvement, for which it is chiefly indebted to the indefatigable zeal of its present director, the learned Archimandrite Socrates Koliatzos, who several years ago made a journey through western Europe, especially Germany, in order to make himself thoroughly familiar with the condition of the theological schools. It must, however, be admitted that, in spite of all these efforts, a notable improvement of the scholarship of the lower clergy has not yet taken place. The number of pupils of the theological schools who actually enter the priesthood is still very small. The principal reason for this must be found in the lamentable financial situation of the lower clergy. For the higher clergy the Government provides fixed salaries: for an archbishop, about 300 marks (1 mark=23.8 cents) a month; for a bishop, 250 marks; for an itinerant minister, 150 to 160 marks—sums which are small enough, if compared with the revenues of the bishops of other European countries, but which are, nevertheless, sufficient to make their financial position tolerable. But no provision has on the part of the State Government been made for the lower clergy, who wholly depend on the fees received for their ecclesiastical functions. As these are utterly insufficient for the support of a family, (in the Church of Greece the habit prevails to appoint only married clergymen as parish priests,) the priests are compelled to carry on some business in addition to their cler-

ical office. In most cases this is agriculture. The pupils of the sacerdotal seminaries show, therefore, a great inclination to prefer to the thorny office of priest another career which promises them a more comfortable and more profitable position in life. The lower clergy has, therefore, to a large extent to recruit itself from the ignorant classes of the people. Their ignorance is, however, at present much more dangerous to the Church than it was formerly. Even the small amount of learning which the priests possessed formerly, and which was generally limited to Bible history, the catechism, and the study of the liturgical functions, sufficed for the modest claims of their congregations. Now anti-ecclesiastical, and, in general, anti-christian and irreligious doctrines have been widely disseminated throughout the land by the many young Greeks who have been educated in western Europe, and against these influences an ignorant clergy is entirely powerless. Infidelity threatens, therefore, to undermine the whole basis of the Church, if the Church does not succeed in obtaining the services of a thoroughly educated clergy. More fortunate the Church of Greece has been reviving theological scholarship in her midst. A large number of young men have been sent to Germany to study at the Protestant universities; and these students now occupy several episcopal sees, and almost all the professorships of the Rizarrian school, and of the two theological schools in Turkey. They have not only fostered the study of theological science, but have also advocated the introduction into the Greek Church of such institutions of the German Protestant Churches as appear to be compatible with the character of the Greek Church. Thanks to this influence of German Protestantism, the Church of Greece already possesses an interesting theological literature. The oldest professor of theology at the University of Athens, Dr. Constantinus Kontogenes, is the editor of an excellent theological journal entitled the "Evangelical Preacher, (Εὐαγγελικὸς κήρυξ,) and has published an outline of Hebrew Archæology, an Outline of an Introduction into the Old and New Testaments, a Patrology, (in two volumes,) and a Manual of Church History, of which thus far only the first volume has appeared. To the late Dr. Panagiotes Pempotes, professor of theology and court-pastor of the Queen of Greece, the Church is indebted for manuals of the Biblical History of the Old and New Testaments, of Dogmatic Theology, of Ethics, and of Liturgies, all of which exhibit a great depth of thought and lucid arrangement. Of the younger theological professors of the University of Athens, one, Dr. Nicholas Damala, has begun a very thorough work on the literature of the Greek Church relative to the New Testament; while another, Dr. Anastasius D. Kyriakos, has published a very valuable compendium of Church history. A work on the Church law of the Church of Greece has been published by John Papalukas Eutaxias. Another work by a Greek theologian, the first complete edition of the Epistles of Clement of Rome by Dr. Philotheus Bryennius, now Metropolitan of Serres, (in Macedonia,) made last year a sensation in the theological circles of all Christian countries, and has already been noticed in the Methodist Quarterly Review.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A NEW "Bible Work for the People" (*Bibelwerk fur die Gemeinde*, Leips., 1876) has been begun by Professor R. F. Grau, who has already made himself known by several works as a theologian of the strictly orthodox school. As its title indicates, it is especially written for non-theologians. The New Testament will be completed in two volumes. It contains, besides the revised Lutheran translation, a twofold series of explanations, namely: 1. A series of notes on the language and the sense of the text; and, 2. A free reproduction of the contents in a language adapted to the understanding of the people.

Professor J. Bachmann has published the first volume of a comprehensive work on the life and writings of Dr. Hengstenberg, (Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, Gutersiohe, 1876.) Another theological biography is a life of the late Professor G. F. Oehler by Jos. Knapp, (Tübingen, 1876.) Professor Oehler was a prominent theologian of the kingdom of Wurtemberg. His two principal works, a theology of the Old Testament and a manual of symbolic theology, (a comparison of the doctrinal systems of the principal divisions of Christendom,) were published after his death, the latter by Professor Joh. Delitzsch. Professor Delitzsch also died before the work was issued, and the revision of the work was completed by Professor Franz Delitzsch, the father of the reviser.

An Introduction to the Old and New Testament, by Dr. Kaulen, (*Einleitung in die heil. Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testamentes*, Freiburg, 1876,) is recommended, even in the journals of Protestant theology, as one of the best recent publications of Roman Catholic theology. The same praise had been bestowed upon a former work of the author, on the history of the Vulgate, which appeared in 1868. His present work constitutes volume ix of the *Theologische Bibliothek*, published by the well known Catholic publishing house of Herder in Freiburg.

A work published under the title *Nach Rechts und nach Links*, (Towards the Right and Towards the Left, Leips., 1876,) by one of the oldest and most prominent theologians of Protestant Switzerland, Alexander Schweizer, Professor in Zurich, gives interesting information on the theological controversies of the last thirty years.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Philosophy of Trinitarian Doctrine: A Contribution to Theological Progress and Reform. By Rev. A. G. PEASE, Rutland, Vt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

Mr. Pease is a Congregational clergyman, who, being exiled from the pulpit by years of ill health, has taken refuge in his study, and the present he describes as the first-fruits of his studious labors. He is a subtle, though sometimes fanciful, thinker, and a graceful writer. He is not "orthodox" according to the Edwardian standard; he is a free thinker within the sympathy of the Evangelic Church. He seems rather Arminian, we might say Coleridgian, than Calvinistic; and on the Trinity his doctrine would, perhaps, square more nearly with the personal views of Athanasius himself than with the utterances of the so-called Athanasian creed.

He holds the doctrine—the doctrine of Arminius, John Wesley, and Richard Watson—of the co-eternity, co-divinity, consubstantiality, but not co-equality of the Son to the Father. The Son is divine by an eternally derived divinity. The son is the eternal divine Son of an eternally producing Father. And he truly shows this to have been the doctrine of Athanasius himself; but if we rightly apprehend him, he supposes that this doctrine is lost at the present day, and that now, as formerly, Athanasius is "Athanasius contra Mundum." And in one or two respects this, perhaps, is true.

In the days of early Christianity, and earlier, it was a great problem: *How can the Infinite produce the finite?* Between cause and effect there must be a congruity; but nothing is more incongruous, more out of possible community with each other, than the Infinite and the finite. The separating abyss is itself infinite, and cannot be crossed by any wing, or spanned by any bridge. The same impossibility is asserted in our own day among skeptical philosophists, and is at the bottom of their denial of the possibility of creation, rejection of theism, and outcries about anthropomorphism. The true infinity of this separating abyss became more and more perceptible to the Hebrew mind after the captivity in the vast plains and under the clear skies of Babylon, enlarged its conceptions of the true vastness of infinity, and enabled it to feel what it meant when it called God *omnipresent.* Then the very *Name* of God became so solemn that the true vowels of the word Jehovah were lost in perpetual silence. It was then that the conception of the Logos gradually came into thought.

This conception culminated among the cultured and philosophic Jews of Alexandria, by whom the problem, if not the solution, was bequeathed to the Neo-Platonists of the second and third centuries. It culminates most specifically in the writings of Philo. This conception it is which St. John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, appropriates and defines to Christian use, by applying the term Logos to Christ, and then throughout his Gospel picturing Christ as Logos. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, evidently a reader of Philo, in his first chapter, prefers the term Son, but presents simply a varying phase of St. John's doctrine.

The true successor on this point of St. John, and of the writer of Hebrews, is Athanasius. It was his view that Christ, the eternal son, solved the great problem, and bridged the infinite abyss. A congruity, effective of causation, was established by him between the Infinite and the finite. Creation had its pathway opened, and a universe was possible. Athanasius then saw that the Son must not be, like that universe, a created thing. He must be a middle term between the Infinite and the creation. Says Neander, (quoted by Mr. Pease,) "If we consider the connection of thought and ideas in the doctrinal system of this father, we shall doubtless be led to see, that, in contending for the Homo-ousion, he by no means contended for a mere speculative formula, standing in no manner of connection with what constitutes the essence of Christianity; that, in this controversy, it was by no means a barely dialectic or speculative interest that actuated him, but in reality an essentially Christian interest. On the holding fast to the Homo-ousion depended, in his view, the whole unity of the Christian consciousness of God, the completeness of the revelation of God in Christ, the reality of the redemption which Christ wrought, and of the communion with God restored by him to man. 'If Christ,' so argued Athanasius against the Arian doctrine, 'differed from other creatures simply as being the only creature immediately produced by God, then he could not bring the creature into fellowship with God, since we must be constrained to conceive of something still intermediate between him, as a creature, and the divine essence which differed from him, something whereby *he* might stand in communion with God; and this intermediate being would be precisely the Son of God in the proper sense. In analyzing the conception of God communicated to the creature, it would be necessary to arrive at the conception of *that which requires nothing intermediate in order to communion with God; which does not participate in God's essence as something foreign from itself, but which is itself the self-*

communicating essence of God. This is the only Son of God, the only being who can be so called in the proper sense. The expressions Son of God and divine generation are of a symbolical nature, and denote simply the communication of the divine essence."—P. 35.

Mr. Pease prosecutes this doctrine to results which he does not attribute to Athanasius, and yet we suspect are truly Athanasian. If the Son be the middle term between God and creature, then the Son is the conduit of life from God to man. And then God, the Son, and man form what he calls a vital "organism." The life of God is in the Son, the life of the Son is in, or rather, *is* the spirit of man. Hence says Christ, "As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, even so he that eateth me shall live by me." "Because I live ye shall live also." "He that believeth on me shall never die." Mr. Pease, assuming that these phrases of life and death, scattered through the Gospel of John, refer to the conscious life and death of the spirit, attains the conclusion of "conditional immortality." Christ is the vine, and we are the branches, and separate from the vitality of the vine the branch perishes. Hence the doctrine not so much of annihilation as of cessation. The being perishes by the limitations of his own nature. Thus read, the Gospel of John bears a new aspect. But Mr. P. is aware that an exegetical battle is necessary over the meaning of the words life, death, perish, before this reading is established.

Whether Athanasius really held the doctrine of "conditional immortality," and whether he attained it by the same route as above described, Mr. P., who claims to have studied that author, doubtless knows better than we. But Mr. Hudson, in his scholarly work, "Debt and Grace," furnishes a remarkable extract from that illustrious father, which sounds very much like it.

On the doctrine of Original Sin the writer appears to be Coleridgian. The following extract from Coleridge is so related to the discussions of the hour that we present it to our readers:—

"We have the assurance of Bishop Horsley that the Church of England does not demand the literal understanding of the document in the second (from verse 8) and third chapters of Genesis as a point of faith, or regard a different interpretation as affecting the orthodoxy of the interpreter; divines of the most unexceptionable orthodoxy, and the most averse to the allegorizing of Scripture history in general, having adopted or permitted it in this instance.

"And, indeed, no unprejudiced man can pretend to doubt that if in any work of eastern origin he met with trees of life and of knowledge, or talking and conversable snakes, he would want no other proof that it was an allegory he was reading, and intended to be understood as such. . . . It cannot be denied that the Mosaic narrative thus interpreted gives a just and faithful exposition of the birth and parentage and successive moments of phenomenal sin, that is, of sin as it reveals itself in time and as an immediate object of consciousness. And in this sense most truly does the apostle assert that in Adam we all fall. *The first human sinner is the adequate representative of all his successors.* And, with no less truth may it be said that it is the same Adam that falls in every man, and from the same reluctance to abandon the too dear and undivorceable Eve, and the same Eve tempted by the same serpentine and perverted understanding which, formed originally to be the interpreter of the reason and the ministering angel of the spirit, is henceforth sentenced and bound over to the service of the animal nature, its needs and its cravings, dependent on the senses for all its materials, with the world of sense for its appointed sphere: *Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.* I have elsewhere shown that as the instinct of the mere intelligence differs in degree, not in kind and circumstantially, not essentially, from the *vis vitæ*, or vital power in the assimilative and digestive functions of the stomach, and other organs of nutrition, even so the understanding in itself, and distinct from the reason and conscience, differs in degree only from the instinct of the animal. It is still but *a beast of the field*, though more subtle than any beast of the field, and therefore, in its corruption and perversion, *cursed above any*, a pregnant word," etc., etc.

The Book of Psalms. A New Translation, with Introduction and Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Canon of Llandaff. From the third London edition. 8vo., 2 vols., pp. 534. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1876.

Two noble commentaries of the Psalms have recently been issued from the Andover press: that of Murphy, briefly noticed in a former Quarterly, and this of Perowne. Valuable as the former of the two is, the present work is the more elaborate and complete. Both are the results of thorough scholarship, are written in the style of attractive literature, and are carefully adapted to the wants of the merely English reader and the critical Hebrew scholar. With an express view to this double end, Dr. Perowne places

his philological discussions at the end of the Psalm, while the running notes, which are clear, spirited, and copious, are enjoyable by the reader who has never nibbled a Hebrew root.

Dr. Perowne's Introductions at the commencement of the work are fresh and rich. The topics are: David and the Lyric Poetry of the Hebrews; The Use of the Psalter in the Church and by Individuals; The Theology of the Psalms; The Position, Names, Division, and probable Origin and Formation of the Psalter, and the Inscriptions of the Psalms. The Psalms are lined in poetic form.

It was the rare lot of David the King to be first chorister of the Jewish and Christian Church through thousands of years. He is pre-eminently the Psalmist, often giving name to the whole collection. He had followers who were largely his imitators, though none his equals, in the psalm book of Israel. And his psalm book, more than any other book, has united the Jewish and Christian Church in one spirit, flowing down through the hearts and voices of the people of God in successive generations. Those emotions of the human spirit that belong especially to the region of the spirit are so deeply and truly expressed, that, as Athanasius says, a man "reads as if they were his own words, and he who hears them is pricked at the heart, as if he had said them himself." "Nowhere," says Luther, "will you find more happily or more significantly expressed the feelings of a soul full of joy and exultation, than in the Psalms of thanksgiving, or Psalms of praises. For there you may look into the hearts of the saints, as you would into paradise or into the open heaven, and note with what wonderful variety there spring up here and there the beautiful blossoms, and the most brilliant stars of the sweetest affections toward God and his benefits. On the other hand, nowhere will you find described in more expressive words, mental distress, pain, and grief of soul, than in the Psalms of temptations or lamentations, as in the sixth Psalm, and others like it. There death itself, hell itself, you see painted in their proper colors; there you see all black, all gloomy, in view of the divine anger and despair. So likewise when the Psalms speak of hope or of fear, they so describe these feelings in their own native words, that no Demosthenes, no Cicero, could express them more to the life or more happily."

From the Jewish Church the Christian Church learned to sing, and David is here still our king. Reverently to him, we call our efforts not *psalms*, but *hymns*. We have shaped the hymn to an

exacter rhythm and rhyme; we have invented instruments of great power; new ages and new institutions have added great new themes; but still we go back with ever new delight to the fountain of David. Here is no imitation, but inspiration itself. No wonder that the best talent and richest learning of the Church should rejoice in the work of giving to the world fresh editions of the old anthology to bring its original power to bear on the public mind of our own day.

The chapter on the theology of the Psalms embraces, among other points, the Messianic and the Imprecatory Psalms. There is in the Psalms a king higher than any earthly king; there is a just man more perfect than any human just man; there is a prophetic sufferer who endures agonies as a representative of Israel: these are not in the Psalms united in a single individual, and they remain a problem until Christ comes and unites them all in himself. Yet Dr. Perowne denies that each entire Psalm is Messianic. It is only in the superhuman traits in the human individual subject that the Messiah is shadowed. Hence he denies that the Psalmist's confessions of sin are Messianic, and justifies his denial on the unsuitableness of such confession to the sinless one, and especially upon the fact that such passages are never applied to Christ in the New Testament. The solution that some have given, namely, that these confessions are attributed to Christ, not personally, but as the representative of sinners, he peremptorily rejects. Upon the Imprecatory Psalms there is, we think, a right interpretation which he does not give. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord;" and if there be an inspired personator of divine justice, would not his Psalms be imprecatory? Is it not the wrath of the Lamb that says, "Depart, ye cursed?" Is there not a deep truth roughly expressed by Henry Ward Beecher when he said, "I go as heartily with David when he curses and swears, as I do when he prays?" Some years since Professor Park furnished in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" an article showing how the voice of modern civilization, condemning the barbarous war of the Sepoys against England in India, was expressed in the imprecations of David.

And even while we are writing, England and Europe are turning with disgust from the political apologies made by Disraeli for the cruelties of Turkey toward her Christian subjects, and demanding the expulsion of the Turk from the soil of Europe. David represented in a dark period the cause of a pure theism, the hope of a Messiah, in whom rested the future civilization of the world and the redemption of the race. His enemies were the obstacles

of advancement, the sons of darkness, the real foes of God and man. And even in the New Testament the picture of the Messiah riding forth to conquer the world (which we view as symbolizing the same battle of Christian civilization through the Christian ages) has strokes of equally vindictive severity. (Rev. xix, 11–21.) Terrible is the hostility of goodness against badness; and terribly does it become avenged under the government of Jehovah.

We have from Dr. Perowne a few paragraphs on the use of the divine names, Jehovah and Elohim, upon which theorists have built their systems, dividing the Psalms into Jehovistic and Elohistic, and assigning them in accordance to different ages and sources. Dr. Perowne says: "No probable explanation of this phenomenon has yet been given." Does it, in fact, need any explanation? Suppose some critic should take the Methodist Hymn Book and separate the hymns that speak of Jesus from those that speak of Christ and from those that speak of God, and classify them into Jesusistic, Christistic, and Godistic, would the "phenomena" need any "explanation?" We apprehend that all the "phenomena" would be found requisite for constructing just as plausible theories as ever came from an Ewald or a Colenso, based on the use of Hebrew divine names in the Old Testament.

We see no valid reason for conceding the existence of Maccabean Psalms. That the canon was closed with the close of the prophetic period, when Malachi uttered its last syllable, is the ancient and true ground. All attempts to invalidate that great signal fact in which the Jewish Church, the New Testament, and the early Christian Church so well agree, we promptly discard as neology and pseudo-criticism.

The Epistle to the Romans in Greek: in which the Text of Robert Stephens, third edition, is compared with the Texts of the Elzevirs, Lachmann, Alford, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Westcott, and with the chief Uncial and Cursive Manuscripts; together with References to the New Testament Grammars of Winer & Buttmann. By HENRY A. BUTTZ, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Drew Theological Seminary. 8vo., pp. 42. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

This, the first-fruits of Prof. Buttz's scholarly labors in New Testament Greek, is also the first production of a Greek text from either of our three leading theological seminaries, and the first specimen of a Greek book ever, we believe, issued from a Methodist press in England or America. It is a noble, if not a very large, commencement.

Its ample title-page explains its character. It intends to furnish a method and a means for laying a thorough foundation in original

New Testament study. This will, indeed, be sought only by the few even of our well-read ministry; but that few are to be warmly valued in their place, and supplied with every facility for prosecuting their studies to perfection. The immediate purpose of the work is to supply a class-book for the seminary. And, if it prove an encouraging success, the entire New Testament, in some similar form, will be carried to completion and issued from our Book Rooms.

We trust in the accuracy of the Professor's eyes as a proof-reader, and so believe in the perfect accuracy of the text. The type is clear and strong, but not sufficiently new. As a first attempt it is, we believe, creditable and hopeful; but it will not yet quite stand comparison with the Andover issues. Warren F. Draper's Greek and Hebrew cannot be surpassed, because they are about perfect. But, if our press prosecutes the work, our publishers expect to surpass all but the unsurpassable.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By JAMES M. M'DONALD, D.D., Princeton, New Jersey. Edited, with an Introduction, by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. 8vo., pp. 436. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

This is a learned and elaborate work, intended to perform the work for St. John which Conybeare and Howson's volumes did for St. Paul. It is very largely a fresh commentary upon the Gospels and a complete commentary upon the writings of the Apostle. The author places the date of the Apocalypse in the time of Nero, and gives an exposition of its visions after a theory of his own. It is finely illustrated with twenty-five maps and cuts. Without indorsing all the author's opinions, we accept his book as a valuable contribution to Christian literature, and as a standard work upon the life, character, and writings of the illustrious subject.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Vol. vii of the Old Testament, containing Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. .

This volume completes the Historical Books of the Old Testament, written during the period of the reconstruction of the theocracy, after the return from exile. CHRONICLES is annotated by Dr. Otto Zöckler, and translated, with additional notes, by Dr. Murphy, of Belfast, Ireland, author of Commentaries on Genesis, etc. EZRA is by Dr. Schultz, of Breslau, translated by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, New York. NEHEMIAH is annotated by Dr. Howard Crosby, Chancellor of the University of New York.

ESTHER, by Dr. Schultz, is translated and edited by Dr. James Strong, of Drew Seminary. Dr. Strong has translated the frequent Latin citations, added the Textual and Grammatical notes, enlarged the list of exegetical helps, and furnished an excursus of the Apocryphal additions to Esther, and another on the liturgical use of the book among the Jews. Dr. Schaff cheerily descries the close of his monumental work. "The remaining three," he tells us, "of the twenty-four volumes of this Commentary are in the hands of the printer, and will be published at short intervals."

The Apologies of Justin Martyr. To which is appended the Epistle to Diognetus. With Introduction and Notes by BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph.D., (Gött.,) LL.D., Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. 8vo., pp. 289. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

This is one of the select Douglas Series, which we have repeatedly noticed and welcomed in our Quarterly. The series is judiciously selected and admirably edited. Professor Gildersleeve's Introduction is finely written. The Epistle to Diognetus, though not Justin's, is a favorite with Christian scholars; and we are gratified that the Professor did not "resist the temptation to insert it."

This volume will be followed by the Confessions of Augustine, edited by Prof. Crowell, of Amherst, and by Chrysostom, prepared by Prof. D'Ooge, of Michigan University.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Norse Mythology; or, The Religion of our Forefathers, containing all the Myths of the Eddas, Systematized and Interpreted. With an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. ANDERSON, A.M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin. Author of "America not Discovered by Columbus," "Den Norske Maalsag," etc. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. 473. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

Professor Anderson is a thorough enthusiast on the subject of Norse Mythology, and claims to have made in this volume the first complete and systematic presentation of it in the English language. He believes in Odin and Thor and the whole Gothic pantheon. He thinks the Norse system grander and nobler than the Greek, though they are "twin-sisters," while the Roman is little more than imitation. Even Shakspeare could accomplish but little until he had broken his "Roman chains" and let loose the spirit of Gothdom which was in him. He holds that in the Eddas are to be found abundant themes for the poet, the painter, and the sculptor, and is rousingly indignant that Teutons shall seek their subjects among the loathsome nudities of Greek art rather than in the pure and chaste Odinic myths. And, truly, here is a broad

field for an original genius whose soul and hand can unite in putting the old Norse Sagas into enduring marble.

A full introduction of a hundred and fifty pages prepares the way for an exhibition of the Norse mythology by a discussion of some questions that naturally arise in the mind of a student. Professor Anderson holds to an original Teutonic mythology, common to all the Teutonic peoples before their migration from South-eastern Russia, which, variously modified by the changed conditions of life in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, France, Germany, and Iceland, lived and flourished until Christianity uprooted and destroyed it every-where except in Norway and Iceland. "It is in Icelandic alone," says Max Müller, "that we find complete remains of genuine Teutonic heathendom. . . . Iceland was discovered, peopled, and civilized by Norsemen in the ninth century; and in the nineteenth the language spoken there is still the dialect of Harold Fairhair, and the stories told there are still the stories of the Edda, or the Venerable Grandmother." That Odin and Balder and Thor must die was a part of the system: the missionaries had only to proclaim that they were dead to give them the Gospel, and at the same time leave them the grand poetry of their old faith.

The body of the work is in three parts, the first entitled "The Creation and Preservation of the World;" the second, "The Life and Exploits of the Gods;" and the third, "Ragnavok and Regeneration." Here the system is fully unfolded, and illustrated by numerous and full passages of the Eddas.

But, as among the Greeks, so was it with the Norsemen. The nobler souls among them believed in an *unknown God*, whose name they might not speak, and who was the Great Supreme. And an inquirer into the origin of the system will doubtless find that to its originators it was simple poetry in which nature and its forces were personified, and that afterward, God being forgotten, these imagined persons were endued with life and actuality, and became objects of reverence and worship.

Professor Anderson is fully master of his subject, and will prove a most pleasant companion and guide to those who will consult his pages.

Principia of Political Science. Upon a Reverent, Moral, Liberal and Progressive Foundation. By R. J. Wright, Professor of Ethics, Metaphysics, and Church History in the Christian Biblical Institute. Third Edition, Revised. 8vo., pp. 432. Published and sold by R. J. Wright, Tacony, Philadelphia. 1876.

The author of this thoughtful work was led by the events of the recent rebellion to a searching and extended study of political and

social questions, resulting in the projection of a series of volumes, of which this is the first. It is, we believe, the first attempt at a broad scheme of Social Science based upon truly American and Christian principles. While it is not at all likely that the plan here laid open will ever be adopted, except, perhaps, on a very limited scale, there are given many important suggestions which ought to have great weight with thinkers of all classes. It is certainly an advance to take the science out of the hands of infidels, professional politicians, and mere physical scientists, and to insist that any true exposition must base it upon a foundation which is metaphysical and moral, as well as physical and secular. In essential characteristics, therefore, Mr. Wright differs from Comte, Carey, Paley, Spencer, and Mill, while Fourier's ideal is impracticable. He also differs from all previous writers in his theory of the Six Units, namely, that human society, and, therefore, Social Science, consists of six fundamental elements, or Units—Individual, Family, Social Circle, Precinct, Nation, and Mankind. The problem is to so order and harmonize these units in their relations one to another, that the greatest prosperity and happiness of each and all shall be secured. The four Books, entitled respectively Introduction, Precinct, Nation, and Corporation, constitute an elaborate discussion, with much valuable information, rendering the volume an important contribution to political philosophy.

The Geographical Distribution of Animals. With a Study of the Relations of Living and Extinct Faunas, as elucidating the past changes of the Earth's Surface. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, author of "The Malay Archipelago," etc. In two volumes. With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

To Mr. Wallace belongs the honor of having anticipated the fundamental principle of Darwinism, and some have claimed that to him rather belongs the main honor. But with genuine modesty he defers to his superior, and speaks with a tone of almost *allegiance* to the man who has given the idea of genetic evolution an almost epochal importance. If these two stately volumes shall be able to bear a similar relation to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," as Mr. Darwin's "Animals and Plants under Domestication" does to the first chapter of that work, his highest ambition is satisfied. Both are men of genius in earnest pursuit of scientific truth, both are men of pure moral character, and both write in a style of transparent and fascinating simplicity. To Mr. Wallace belongs the honor of not being cheated by his science out of his religion, or daunted by association from a free and bold assertion of his unshaken faith in God.

The volumes present us with a distinct step of advancing science. Zoology has heretofore ranged over the animal forms that meets our eye upon the earth's surface, has analyzed their peculiarities, and made attempts at classification. It has made us acquainted with existing animal life. Paleontology has dug into the earth's surface to find what has existed in past ages, and has exhumed a wonderful variety, a rapidly increasing variety, of related primordial forms. Uniting the results of these two fields of investigation, we attain a new completeness of zoological science. With more or less confidence we pronounce upon the great genera. We find the geological starting-point where a given genus commences existence, and trace a rude biography. We trace, with some distinctness, how and where it grew; we note its means of spreading over the surface of the earth of its time; we ascertain the extent of its prevalence, the greatness of its predominance, and its present prospect of prosperity and power. We look at an individual dog and think how surely he is descended by a long pedigree of *canidæ* from a far-gone geological age. If antiquity is nobility, he is the aristocrat, and man the plebeian.

The volumes are regal in size, type, and illustrations. The maps and pictures are beautiful, and richly suggestive.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Mikado's Empire. Book I. History of Japan, from 660 B. C. to 1872. A. D. Book II. Personal Experiences, Observations, and Studies in Japan, 1870–1874. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, A.M., Late of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan. Crown 8vo., pp. 625. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Did Professor Griffis, in this magnificent volume, only lay open to the world the history of the old Japan which, for ages, had so persistently shut itself in from the knowledge of mankind, he would have made an important contribution to literature, and won for himself a lasting honor as well. But the new Japan that has shaken off the burdensome yoke of centuries, and is struggling to build itself up in the freer, grander life of the Western civilization, is doubtless the more interesting to us, partly because of the Asiatic peoples she is our nearest neighbor, yet chiefly because of our instinctive sympathy with every genuine effort of men or nations to improve their condition. Professor Griffis has had ample opportunity for the research and observation requisite for accurate delineation and statement. For six years he was in constant intercourse with intelligent Japanese. The present Japanese Minister at Washington, and also the President of the Imperial

University of Japan, were among his pupils at New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was the organizer of the Scientific School at Fukui, at the end of a year was transferred to the Imperial College at Tokio, and for three years and a half was in constant intercourse with the most cultivated and scholarly men of the nation. The old feudalism was in full force when he went to the country, so that he was a witness of the mighty changes accomplished by the revolution.

Japan is no longer a *terra incognita*. Our geographers have hitherto misled us in giving to the main island the name of the empire. "Dai Nippon, or Nihon, means Great Japan," and is the name given by the natives to the entire empire; while the name of the largest island is Hondo, and not "Niphon," as most foreign writers give it. Upon its 150,000 square miles, two thirds of which is mountain land, dwell 33,000,000 of people, whose real character has, until recently, been almost unknown. Even Commodore Perry, in 1853, was cheated into treating with the general of the mikado, believing him to be the emperor himself; but he never saw "the august sovereign of Japan," any more than the mikado ever saw the presents sent him by the United States. The two emperors, one spiritual and the other secular, were a fiction. "There never was but one emperor in Japan," says Professor Griffis; "the shogun was a military usurper, and the bombastic title 'tycoon' a diplomatic fraud."

Japanese history has its twilight of fable, yet the historic period proper is of twenty-five centuries' duration. Shintoism, the ancient national religion, differs not much from the ante-Confucian Chinese. "Its principles, as summed up by the Department of Religion, and promulgated throughout the empire so late as 1872, are expressed in the following commandments: '1. Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country. 2. Thou shalt clearly understand the principles of Heaven and the duty of man. 3. Thou shalt revere the mikado as thy sovereign, and obey the will of his court.'" It became corrupted by Buddhism and Chinese philosophy, and largely supplanted by the former, but the reformers of the day are attempting to restore it in its original purity. This ancient paganism which made the mikado the descendant and representative of the gods, is seeking a union with the revolution which has proved him a man. It cannot succeed. New Japan must become Christian or fail. Not with such Christianity, however, as was introduced into the country by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, leaving no trace of good influence upon the

moral life of the people, and is to-day every-where at war with the principles of the nineteenth century.

Our author very carefully exhibits the influences which led to the revolution whereby the mikado was brought out from the seclusion of centuries and made the real sovereign of the nation. The ancient feudalism was suddenly broken down, and an entirely new system inaugurated. What the outcome will be is as yet an unsolved problem, yet the fact that three millions of the population are in school is full of promise. The whole of this story of the mikado's labors to perform his oath, voluntarily made in 1868, that "intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the empire," is very full of interest, as is, indeed, the entire volume.

Memorials of the Wesley Family. · Including Biographical and Historical Sketches of all the Members of the Family for Two Hundred and Fifty Years; together with a Genealogical Table of the Wesleys, with Historical Notes, for more than Nine Hundred Years. By GEORGE J. STEVENSON, author of the "Methodist Hymn Book and its Associations," "City Road Chapel and its Associations," "Sketch of the Life and Ministry of C. H. Spurgeon," "The Origin of Alphabetical Characters," etc. 8vo., pp. 550. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Doubtless the reader of the three goodly octavos of the Rev. L. Tyerman's "Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists," said, or thought, as he closed the last volume, "This is all; nothing more can be written about the Wesleys." But lo! here comes another goodly octavo, plethoric with matter, much of which will be new even to the readers of Tyerman. The author tells us how he came into possession of the materials which form the basis of his work. By the last will of John Wesley all the letters and papers relating to his family were left in the custody of Rev. Henry Moore, who kept them safely till his death, in 1844, but made no use of them, and, perhaps, never even examined them. Mr. Moore's executor placed the papers in the hands of Mr. Stevenson, and the richness of the materials therein contained, and the recent discovery of other letters and documents connected with the Wesleys, impelled him to undertake a biographical sketch of every member of the Epworth family.

It seems that the Wesleys were what would be called, even in England, an old family. Almost a thousand years ago (A. D. 938) there was a Guy of Welswe, in Somerset, who was made a thane, or baron, by Athelstan, a Saxon king of England. The family name assumes various forms as the history proceeds: Welswe, Welswey, Westley, Wellesley, Wesley, and Westleigh.

The genealogical table exhibits a formidable array of titles and dignitaries, civic, military, and ecclesiastic.

The biographies proper begin with the Rev. Bartholomew Wesley, who was born about the year 1595, and died in 1680. He was rector of Catherton, Dorsetshire, in 1640, with a parsonage, four acres of land, and the tithes of the parish, the whole income being worth £13 10s. To this was afterward added the "living" of Charmouth, two miles distant, which added £22 to his stipend. But he lived in troublous times. The Puritans, under Cromwell, overthrew the monarchy, and established a republic, which lasted eleven years, and then monarchy was restored. With the restoration came new laws, establishing High Church prelacy, and binding Church and State in closest alliance. In 1662, an Act of Uniformity made it unlawful for any man to receive or hold any ecclesiastical office unless he had been ordained by a Bishop, assented to every thing in the Church prayer book, and believed in the divine right of kings. Bartholomew Wesley was one of the two thousand clergymen who at once abandoned their churches and parsonages rather than submit.

His son, John Wesley, the grandfather of the founder of Methodism, was born in 1636, and died in 1678. He was educated at Oxford, entered the ministry, and in 1658 became vicar of Winterborn—Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire. Unlike his father, when the Act of Uniformity was passed, he quietly submitted, and yet fell into disrepute among the clericals of his times, because of the "irregular" methods of labor into which he was led by his zeal for the salvation of souls.

His son was Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, the father of a still more famous son, whose name is now familiar to the world. Biographies, more or less extended, are given of the various members of the Epworth family. Samuel Wesley, his wife Susanna, their seventeen children, and six grand-children. The Wesleys seem to have been all very decided characters, and their historian does them justice. The work is well written, clear, candid, truthful, free from the vice of over-laudation, and equally free from the opposite vice, the peculiar blindness which sees nothing in the sun save the spots. In the department of literature to which it belongs, the book is one of the best.

The Chinese in America. By Rev. O. GIBSON, A. M. 12mo., pp. 405. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

We, Caucasians, have a vast deal of trouble with the "inferior races," races "guilty of a skin not colored like our own," but

which persist in carrying a black, a red, or a yellow visage, much to our disgust and contempt. We punish the black-face by kidnapping, enslaving, and robbing him of his earnings; we punish the red-skin by breaking treaties, driving him from his lands, and administering butchery; we punish the yellow-skin by first compelling him to admit our incursions into his territories, and then maltreating him because he comes into ours.

The yellow race in our country has found a very worthy patron and defender in Mr. Gibson. His head and heart are nobly consecrated to his work, and he has found it very easy to furnish a very interesting and valuable book on the Chinese and the Chinese question. His enthusiasm for his clients does not prevent his delineating them in duly discriminating colors. And then the ease with which he exposes the villainy with which the Chinese have been treated, the slanders with which they have been assailed, and the preposterousness of the panic which fools and knaves have tried to raise about the danger of their immigration, is all very edifying and instructive. The real source of all this tumult is the jealousy of the Irish papists, led on by their priests, and aided by demagogues especially of that political party whose tool and master at once the Irishry are.

We came near saying in our first sentence of this notice that "we" *Christian* Caucasians are the inflicters of these wrongs on this "inferior race." But Mr. Gibson's book furnishes us the fact that the true Christians are the true friends of poor Chinaman. When set upon by the mobs and mobocrats of San Francisco, Chinaman has learned by experience that his true friend is the "Jesus man." When a base city government passes oppressive enactments, he hurries for counsel to the "Jesus man." When a hapless woman flees from the house of prostitution into which she has been entrapped, she calls loudly and persistently for a "Jesus man." When a Jesuit priest delivers a violent harangue against these pagans, pagans learn with grateful surprise that the "Jesus man" has furnished a sweeping exposure of Jesuit falsehood, and beg the "privilege" of paying for the publication of an edition. The issue of this work is a favor to both races. What possible excuse is there for the falsehood, the cruelty, and the panic in regard to this race, when it is clearly shown that the whole immigration does not amount to more than about one hundred and fifty thousand?

Mr. Gibson shows that the Chinamen have been a great advantage to the Pacific coast. Without them the great national work,

the Pacific Railroad, could not have been built. They have created many industries, which but for them would have had no existence. We confess, too, that our own sympathies are with our own housewives. When florid-faced Bridget overrides our faithful housekeepers with her captious arrogance, and dusky Dinah becomes too lazy or proud to go "out to work," we know no reason why Chinaman has not a right to step in.

The First Century of the Republic; a Review of American Progress. 8vo., pp. 506. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This volume consists of seventeen essays by as many authors, each of whom is an expert in the field which he traverses. As the title indicates, the aim of the work is to show what the American people have accomplished during the first century of their history as an independent nation. Our institutions rest upon two great principles, one of which had little support in historic precedents, and the other was almost an absolute novelty. These two principles are, First: That government is safest in the hands of the people, the masses, whose will should dictate its form, shape the legislation, and secure the enforcement of the laws. Secondly: That the Church and the State should be totally separated. These two constitute the basis of the boldest achievement ever deliberately and of set purpose tried. As the new nation began its first century, many a bird of ill omen flew between us and the sun, croaking dismally of failure. The apologists of hereditary rule predicted universal anarchy and confusion. The advocates of State Churches charged us with a neglect of religion, and mourned over a nation destined speedily to become irreligious, if not wholly atheistic.

It is but justice to ourselves and to the world that the results of our great experiment be set forth. This is well done in this goodly volume. The topics discussed are Colonial Progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Mechanical Progress, by E. H. Knight; Manufactures, Hon. D. N. Wells; Agriculture, Prof. W. H. Brewer; Mineral Resources, Prof. T. S. Hunt; Commerce, E. Atkinson; Growth of Population, Hon. F. A. Walker; Monetary Development, Prof. W. G. Sumner; Union, T. D. Woolsey, D.D.; Education, Eugene Lawrence; The Exact Sciences, F. A. P. Barnard, D.D.; Natural Science, Prof. T. Gill; Literature, E. P. Whipple; Fine Arts, S. S. Conant; Medicine, A. Flint, M.D.; Jurisprudence, B. V. Abbott; Humanitarian Progress, C. L. Brace; Religion, J. F. Hurst, D.D.

Under these heads every thing bearing on the progress of a people finds somewhere a place. The summing up of the century is very gratifying to an American. We are glad that this work has been written, and by able hands, writers whose established reputation guarantees the accuracy of the statements which they make. Charged as we were with venturing upon a dangerous experiment, and even if dangers still threaten our future, our past is entitled to this vindication. Let every American read it for the strengthening of his political faith, and for its rich stores of varied information.

Viking Tales of the North. The Sagas of Thorstein, Viking's Son, and Fridthjof the Bo'd. Translated from the Icelandic. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON, A.M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, and Honorary Member of the Icelandic Literary Society, and Jón Bjarnason. Also, Tegnér's Fridthjof's Saga. Translated into English. By GEORGE STEPHENS. 12mo., pp. 307. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

Professor Anderson's excellent work on the Norse Mythology is very appropriately followed by this volume of saga-translations, thus giving us a few complete illustrations of the system which in the former is so fully stated and interpreted. American readers have hitherto been dependent upon European publishers for this kind of literature, but the issue of this volume by an enterprising Chicago house marks the inauguration of a new era.

The Saga is properly a narrative prose composition in popular and colloquial form as it would be recited and handed down from grandsire to grandson. Some of them are strictly historical, while others of an older date have grown in the telling, as modern stories often do, and taken on a semi-mythical form, and others are purely fabulous. Yet even these last are found to present great truths of the Norse religion, the divine expressing itself in human thoughts and acts, and the human in aspirations and struggling for the divine.

The Saga of Thorstein Vikingsson belongs to the fictitious class, and is doubtless true to Icelandic medieval thought and feeling. The Saga of Fridthjof the Bold is a semi-mythological story, supposed to be based on some popular tradition. Its chief characters are descendants of personages who appear in Thorstein's Saga, to which it is, therefore, in a certain sense a sequel. It belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century. These two sagas are held to be among the best of their literature. The reader is introduced into a new world of thought and feeling, but with the aid of an ample Glossary he soon comes to be very much at home.

The Fridthjof's Saga by Bishop Tegnér, the celebrated Swedish

poet, draws its materials from the sagas above mentioned, which Professor Anderson would have us regard as two introductory chapters to "this gem," as he characterizes it, "among modern poetical productions." Of the eighteen or twenty English versions of it, its author pronounced that of Professor Stephens to have been the most successful in reproducing the fundamental spirit of the original. It is worthy of the wonderful admiration it has evoked, and in its present form will contribute to enhance the interest now gathering around the Norse literature.

Proceedings of the International Convention for the Amendment of the English Orthography. Held at the Atlas Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., August, 1876. 8vo., pp. 48. Published by the Spelling Reform Association, 15 South Seventh-st., Philadelphia; 13 Tremont Place, Boston; 35 Park Row, New York.

Next to the work of revising the English Bible, no movement is more important or more needed than the revision of our English orthography. When scholars like Professors Whitney, March, and Haldeman are aroused to the work there is some hope of its accomplishment. The same absurd conservatism opposes both revisions. An insensibility to the injury of the existing evils, and of the great benefits of a revision, locks the great mass of even thoughtful men into apathy and ignorance, and very many display an irritability and contempt at the very mention of the topic, which even ignorance cannot excuse.

An alphabet, varying so very little from the present as to make the change not difficult, might be so framed *as to make but one mode of spelling a word possible.* The result would be that instead of requiring a year or so for a child, with the most painful brain labor, to learn our capricious orthography by pure memory, the work might be accomplished in a few weeks far more perfectly than is now done in one's entire life. The expense in our public schools of learning to read would be reduced one half, and thus millions be saved to the country.

Another result would be the easy diffusion of the English language through the world. No language is more simple in its structure, or easier to learn to speak; but an impassable embargo is laid upon its diffusion by its impracticable orthography. A foreigner is obliged to learn how each individual printed word is pronounced, and, in spite of all defiance of rule, to retain it by sheer memory. With an easy revision—easy if there were but the unanimous will—there is no language now spoken which is so fair a candidate for universality as the English.

If our professors and literary men generally desire to vary the

monotony of daily routine with a philanthropic hobby, which may do a great good in the world, the spelling revision is an enterprise quite suited to gentlemen of their complexion. Our colleges, if united on the subject, could bring the work to a completion. The association now existing, embracing many veteran reformers, will rejoice in their aid.

Old Tales Retold from Grecian Mythology in Talks Around the Fire. By AUGUSTA LARNED, author of "Home Stories," and "Talks with Girls." Fifteen Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 498. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The attempt of Miss Larned to render some features of the old Greek mythology intelligible and attractive to young people is highly commendable, connected as it is with historic and poetic literature, and her chosen method of conversations with a bright group of young nephews and nieces, invests the study with added interest. Twenty six delightful evenings purport to have been spent in this way, until the whole Grecian Pantheon is pretty well explored. But these stories of gods and goddesses had an origin and a meaning, and the discussion of these points really goes back to the origin of all idolatry. Doubtless what was at first pure poetry personifying the forces of nature, came in times of ignorance and departure from Jehovah to be regarded as actual truth, and the powers thus personified as actual beings to be reverenced and feared. Once started on this track the progress to the most abominable idolatries was rapid.

We do not quite agree with Miss Larned in all her interpretations of the Greek mythology, nor in the view she takes of it as a religious system. It had no tendency to lead men to God, but the reverse. It could not be a preparatory school for the Gospel, as we understand her to teach; nor do we think that in its light any found the invisible Jehovah, as the Introduction seems to say. It led away from him and shut him from their vision. The Greek philosophy, on the other hand, was such a preparative; but it first rejected, as false and perverting, the whole system of fable.

Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 *to* 1875. By Rev. A. W. MURRAY, of the London Missionary Society, author of "Missions in Western Polynesia." 12mo., pp. 509. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1876.

This is a minute and instructive picture of the real work of missions. In November, 1838, the author, with his wife and nine other missionaries, sent by the London Society, embarked on a small merchant vessel, and after a weary voyage of seven months landed at Tutuila, one of the Samoan, or Navigator's Islands. This group of

nine islands lies in the Pacific Ocean, about two thirds of the way from California to Australia, and nearly in a line between them. They have a population of, perhaps, thirty-five thousand, who in 1835 were utter savages, with the addition of a few white men, escaped convicts from Botany Bay, who were more depraved and dangerous than the heathen themselves. Here Mr. Murray lived and labored for thirty-five years, and was then appointed missionary in New Guinea, an island directly north of Australia, where he remained five years.

The story of these forty years is told with no remarkable vivacity or force, yet, as we judge, fully and faithfully. The romance of the enterprise vanished with the first sight of the degraded men and women whom they had come to save, and for the moment some of the missionaries felt that they had undertaken a great work without counting the cost. Still, they went on with their labor, and gained the victory. We commend the book to all who deem themselves called to go forth to the foreign field, and to all who are interested in it.

It is a motley history of good and evil, successes and failures, conversions and defections, war and peace, joy and sorrow, but of heroic endurance on the part of Christian men and women, and with all the ebbs and flows of the tide, of steady progress in the direction of civilization and Christianity.

Literature and Fiction.

Fridthjof's Saga. A Norse Romance. By ESAIAS TEGNER, Bishop of Wexiö. Translated from the Swedish by THOMAS A. E. HOLCOMB and MARTHA A. LYON HOLCOMB. 12mo., pp. 213. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

The English version of this celebrated poem by Professor Stephens, of the University of Copenhagen, as it appears in Professor Anderson's "Viking Tales of the North," has been mentioned in our notice of that work. We have in the present volume another version of it, and the first complete one by American translators. With no attempt to speak of its merit as a translation, we can well understand the worthiness of any honest effort in behalf of a poem which has appeared in many editions and styles, thrilled all Sweden, been translated into most European languages, and set to music as well. According to Bayard Taylor, none of the previous English versions have been satisfactory to Swedes; but this one, from its fidelity to the original measures, the feminine rhymes, and the alliteration, has an apparent promise of better success.

But, passing the questions of accuracy and comparative merit, the poem as here given is full of beauty and power, and must certainly rank with the grandest productions of modern times. Its purpose is to portray the old heroic age of the North, using the ancient tradition as a foundation only, and making Fridthjof, the high-minded and brave, the representative of a people and an epoch. One almost feels the fresh north wind as he reads, purifying and invigorating to both climate and character; and he will assuredly incline more to a reverential fear of Odin and Balder than of Zeus and Apollo.

Lectures on Courtship, Love, and Marriage. An Infallible Guide to a Happy Home. By WESLEY SMITH, author of "A Defense of the M. E. Church," "Smith on Baptism," "Our National Affairs," etc. 8vo., pp. 444. New York: Printed for the Author by Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

Mr. Smith is a piquant and original, though not a very classical, writer. His work abounds in fresh suggestions drawn from life. The evils he reprehends need check, and the principles he lays down should be the guide of life in the important and delicate matters he discusses. We recommend its perusal to the classes for whom it is written.

Periodicals.

President Hayes' Inaugural Address.

We congratulate the country on the election of President Hayes. He is A STATESMAN OF UNIMPEACHABLE PURITY AND COMMANDING ABILITY. In his varied experience in the Army, in Congress, in the Executive Chair, and in the ordeal of a Presidential canvass, he has stood peerless and spotless, without fear and without reproach. Office has sought him, he has never sought office. Early in the canvass calumny undertook to assail him for a moment, but so elastic was the rebound upon the calumniator that even political lying was hushed into silence, if not into shame. Through the whole canvass his stainless purity and lofty independence were nobly maintained at every point. How mortifying a contrast to all this is exhibited by the base intriguer of Gramercy Park, the corruptest man, personally and politically, ever offered as candidate to the highest office in the nation's gift, with the single exception of Aaron Burr! As to President Hayes' ability, it is an amusing thing to hear taunts of his incompetency from that party, three of whose popular presidential candidates he beat in three successive elections to the executive chair of his own

State. Thurman, Pendleton, and Allen, three mighty Democratic chieftains, were in succession laid low by Rutherford B. Hayes, who is a nonentity! What nonentities must these three beaten competitors themselves be! and what a mass of imbecility the party must be whose mightiest men are demolished by said imbecile.

HE IS THE CHOICE OF A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE RIGHTFUL VOTERS OF THE COUNTRY. This stands unquestionably true whether the Commission was impartial in its process or not. If that Commission could have gone with an omniscient eye to the bottom of the case, if it could have ascertained how every free, unintimidated, uncheated voter, black as well as white, would have cast his free suffrage, it would have found that *not only Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were for Hayes, but that Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia also, were for Hayes.* His opponents clamor very vociferously about "fraud" in Louisiana; but they can never drown their own consciousness that the most stupendous fraud, which has made the word "bull-dozing" a popular technic in our language, underlies every other fraud. However deep the Republican fraud there may have been, below its lowest deep is a lower depth of Democratic villainy, which aimed to crush the real Republican majority of legal voters in that State. The Republican frauds, if any there were, were the counteractive wrong against that far greater and previous wrong. The net result was right.

In our free North the majority for Hayes was, if we rightly recollect, two hundred and fifty thousand. And that body of free northern Republican voters is peerless in its intellectual and moral character. It is that body which, without invidious sectional comparison, we may fearlessly say is the nucleus of the nation: the *élite*, whose wealth, intelligence, enterprise, moral tone, and true Protestant Americanism, give character to our nation at home and abroad. To that body is opposed here in the North the unintelligence and the depravity that constitute the disgrace and danger of our great Republic. And yet the corrupt leaders of this corrupt mass are vociferating that General Hayes is "fraudulently elected," that he is "a minority President!" It is a bold and base untruth. If you speak of the wealth and moral worth, General Hayes is the choice of the great body of this true worth of the country. If you speak of mere *numbers*, withdraw the bull-doze and the white fraud, and *General Hayes is the choice of an overwhelming majority of the legal voters of the country.* President Hayes is the nation's rightful choice.

THE GOOD AND TRUE MEN OF BOTH SECTONS SHOULD UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER, AND UNITE THEIR FORCES. Smaller in number, yet embracing many of the noblest spirits of the earth, is a nucleus in the South between whom and the above-named moral *élite* of the North there is a true affinity, and there should be unity. The rebuke administered by the high-toned Democrats of the South to the treasonable, yet cowardly, threats of Northern Democrats in the late canvass, brings us a cheering proof that there is in the Southern heart a true allegiance to our national Union. The true aim of all true national patriots at the present time is to eliminate sectional issues from our political contests. A solid South against a solid or nearly solid North is a national danger and misfortune. In such a contest the South, unless clearly right, will be the usual loser. The single State of New York, usually Republican, could in the last contest have elected Hayes against a completely "solid South."

To our call for "a parley" on this subject in our last Quarterly, the "Southern Christian Advocate" responded in a candid notice of that number. It assents, if our recollection is accurate, to "a parley" provided we dismiss the Negro from discussion. That we can most cheerfully concede as our part of the compromise of peace, conditioned, of course, on a correspondent concession from the Southern side. That required Southern concession is simply that *the Negro be treated in a Christian manner.* Nor will we be exacting in our definition of this *Christian manner.* Nay, we will agree that the following definition, by Governor Drew of Florida, a Southerner and Democrat, shall be the standard. We take it from his late message to the Florida Legislature:—

> The general dissemination of knowledge is a fundamental principle in a representative form of government, based upon universal suffrage. The sentiment that education and other privileges are suited to the few and not to the many, is not of this land of freedom, but is of foreign birth and monarchical parentage.
>
> The very existence of our republic depends upon the intelligence and moral sentiment of those who exercise the right of suffrage. The experience of all civilized nations has demonstrated that it is cheaper to build school-houses and maintain schools, than to build poor-houses and jails and support paupers and criminals. Those opposed to free schools claim that it is unjust for the taxpayer to furnish means to educate the children of the non-taxpayer. Is it a greater hardship to pay tax to establish schools and to prevent crime, than to pay a greater tax to build penitentiaries and punish criminals? The public free school system is no longer an experiment in those States where it has long been established and its successful operation fully demonstrated.
>
> Now that a very large constituent element of our population is released from bondage and intrusted with the power of the ballot, a system of free schools has become a means of self-preservation. To educate the colored race, and fit them to exercise the privilege of voting intelligently—to perform all the sacred rights

of freemen, to enjoy their liberty, to become wise and good citizens—imposes upon us a task to perform, a responsibility from which we cannot escape. Then let us set about the work cheerfully.

The adoption of that platform, Negro education and the honest observance of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, will give the Negro a walking paper out of sectional discussion.

The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. January, 1877. Large 12mo., pp. 80. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road. Price, sixpence.

This, the oldest extant of Methodist periodicals, has attained its centennial year, and chats to us in a lively way its autobiography. It is just one year younger than our own American nationality. It is, under a changed name, the historical continuation of the Arminian Magazine, established by Wesley himself in 1778. The Magazine for January thus gives account of its own birth:—

"The Arminian Magazine" was originated by Mr. Wesley, in the year 1778, principally as an engine of polemical theology. It was much more a sword than a trowel. The preface to the first number announced it as designed to take the place of "The Christian Magazine," which had collapsed, and to oppose "The Spiritual Magazine" and "The Gospel Magazine," which had sprung up in its place. It was born armed, out of the busy brain of Wesley. Its controversial design was proclaimed in its title—"The Arminian Magazine." The preface was not merely a manifesto, but a distinct declaration of war. The very poetry—for a time composed almost exclusively by the Wesley family—was principally directed to polemical purposes: its muse, like an Amazon, preferring the trumpet to the lyre. Mr. Wesley did not leave it to win a market solely by its merits, but printed it "by subscription." It was to contain eighty pages, (the same number as the present,) its price being one shilling. It in fact only contained fifty pages—the first number forty-eight. It announced its resolve to admit neither news nor politics. Methodism had long felt the need of a literary organ of its own. For nearly forty years before he consented, Wesley had been "desired" to publish such a periodical. He and his brother were the conjoint editors, but for the first two years the ardent and poetic Thomas Olivers was the tryingly incompetent sub-editor, or "corrector of the press." Reviews were excluded, because the candid, conscientious, humble-minded Wesley would "not be bound to read over all the present religious productions of the press," and *scrupled* his own sufficiency for the work; and, it seems, knew no one to whom he could confide the reviewing department. (Pp. 1, 2.)

Then we are thus told how Wesley inserted some light literature, and how the straight-out Methodists did not like it:—

One very noteworthy point, and highly characteristic of Wesley, is that he admits, after the first few numbers, a considerable proportion of merely sentimental poetry, refined and elegant, but with not the slightest infusion of positive Christianity. A signal instance of this was the filling fourteen pages, of forty-eight, with Prior's metrical love-tale, *Henry and Emma*. In answer to the outcry against this, he admits that it is "not strictly religious," yet vindicated its insertion on the ground of its exquisite sentiment and diction, and the facts that "there is nothing in it contrary to religion, nothing that can offend the chastest ears, and that many truly religious men and women have profited thereby." Certainly it contains nothing un-Arminian. Wesley evidently held that if elegant entertainment is of the very essence of a *magazine*, nothing is out of place, even in a religious, a *Methodist* Magazine, which can powerfully please, without polluting or per-

verting. As to literary ailment, he seems to have adopted the old dietetic maxim, "Whatever does not poison fattens." Few will dissent from Wesley's judgment that *Henry and Emma* is "one of the finest poems in the English tongue, both for sentiment and language;" but to characterize it as "not *strictly* religious," is scarcely to give an exact description of it, since the only religious element it contains is purely pagan. Had it been produced by one of the popular poets of our own day, and sent to *Good Words*, its late illustrious editor would doubtless have inserted it with artistic illustrations; perhaps not without a momentary demur at its classic heathenism. The lamented Guthrie would certainly have forbidden it the "Sunday Magazine," and the Religious Tract Society would have deemed it hardly suitable for the "Leisure Hour." But by publishing a metrical romance side by side with the Life of an Early Methodist Preacher and one of his own letters on Christian Perfection, he definitely, though not definitively, acted on the principle adopted by most modern religious periodicals. On the other hand, by the strong, and not surprising, protest which the Methodists made against its appearance under such auspices, they both definitely and definitively rejected and discarded from Methodist literature the unreligious novel, whether in prose or verse. A religious novel, Wesley's very imperfectly expurgated edition of "The Fool of Quality," under the quieter title, "Henry, Earl of Moreland," published the very next year—a highly sensational anticipation of "Tom Brown's School Days," combined with a sort of mildly religious "Vanity Fair"—had a quite sufficiently wide, warm, and long-lasting Methodist popularity.

It is clear that the demur of the Methodists generally to the insertion of "Henry and Emma" in their Magazine was not to its purely imaginative character, but to the absence of the religious spirit. In any case, Wesley himself held the same view of the marvelous creative faculty with which the human imagination is endowed, which his brother Charles held as to music: that it

> "—Alas! too long hath been—
> Why should a good be evil?—
> 'Listed into the cause of sin,
> Press'd to obey the devil."

The well-intentioned novel to which Wesley stood godfather he left to the care of the conference. It bore the imprimatur of the Methodist Book-Room, and was entered on its catalogues during a full generation after Wesley's death. It was immeasurably inferior in tone and tendency to the writings of Mrs. Charles, "Sarson," and "Ruth Elliott," and its prurient descriptions of scenes of vice were very perilous to young people of ignitible imagination. (Pp. 2–4.)

In 1804 Joseph Benson, "the most powerful popular preacher of the day, and next, perhaps, to Coke, the foremost man in Methodism," was appointed chief editor, with three assistants. This plentiful supply of aid implied that "the office was meant to be, to some extent, a canonry, leaving him ample leisure for the writing of his Commentary." Even in those early days an editor was allowed—nay, provision was made for him—to be a commentator.

Benson retained the editorship until his death in 1821, and was succeeded by "the topmost man in conference," Jabez Bunting. "The great Methodist leader at once initiated a 'new series' of the Magazine. The word *Wesleyan* is prefixed to *Methodist* on the title-page." Who abolished the original "Arminian" we are not informed, but it was unwisely done. It was quite a heroism in Wesley to unfurl the name of Arminius at the head of his craft. That illustrious name even those who held the great

theologian's doctrines did not yet dare to properly revere and honor. And we regret that this true and noble successor of Wesley's original monthly has not borne its hereditary name.

The following eloquent paragraph describes the spirit in which the Magazine was first established:—

> The first point that strikes one is the controversial—one might rather say, the chivalrous—aspect, accouterment and bearing of the Magazine of Methodism. Never did knight of the ages of romance, after holy vigils and solemn rites, ride forth more gallantly to redress wrong and champion civilization and religion than did the "Arminian Magazine" come "pricking o'er the plain" to confront and confound error, evil, and the powers of night. It did not merely stand in the lists, challenging all comers with lance in rest; but its bugle-blast smote with defiant resonance against the strongholds of godlessness and misbelief, and it drove *full tilt* against the giant heresies, the monster mischiefs, and the stalking specters of the age. Is there less need now than then of valor for the truth upon the earth; of earnest contention "for the faith once delivered unto the saints?" Is our latter-day unbelief, is our current error, less insolent, less confident, less seductive, less determined, less subtle, less equipped? Assuredly these are no times for a faithful witnessing Church to suppress or soften its trenchant testimony for "the truth as it is in Jesus." The present humor of unbelief is to compliment Christ out of his divine authority; to rob him, on the one hand, of his redeeming mediatorship, and, on the other, of his rights as a Revealer and a Ruler; to reject his sacrifice on Calvary in favor of his Sermon on the Mount; or to hail him as a Redeemer, and repudiate him as the sternest of all Denouncers of impenitent unbelief.

Though a centenarian, the Magazine is still young, and ready for another century. Those of our readers who wish to maintain a communion with English Methodism will scarce find a fitter medium than this fresh and living periodical.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Christliche Glaubenslehre vom Methodistischen Stand-punkt. (Methodist Dogmatics.) By A. Sulzberger, Ph.D. Bremen and Frankfurt. 1876.

Methodism is not destined to be long without a plentiful supply of systems of Dogmatics. The one able, elaborate work of Watson has well sufficed us for the whole crystallizing period of our existence. But in the nature of the case it could not suffice us forever. Self-respect, if no higher imperative were needed, would prompt us to show that we have not yet passed out of our period of productiveness into that of stagnant old age. And this "would" is in fair way of rapidly becoming an abundant "is." Already two of our German scholars have published in the German tongue the first-fruits of profound dogmatic study. And our three American preachers' Seminaries are following in the wake of the German. So that very soon we shall be able to see whether, indeed, we still possess throughout the whole Church a close dogmatic unity, or whether, as assumed by the Princeton Review

for October, 1876, we are suffering under "doctrinal flexibility" with a "drift in some directions toward Broad Churchism."

Dr. Sulzberger is in advance of his competitors in getting the main body of his Dogmatics before the public. In the January issue of this Review for 1873, we briefly noted the appearance of his Introduction (of some 189 pages.) We now have before us the whole work (680 small octavo pages) except the Eschatology, which, the author promises us, shall not be long in appearing.

The work of Dr. Sulzberger will not fall dead from the press. His constituency of German Methodist preachers requires the book, even were there no other call for it. But there are also two other calls for it;—to acquaint foreign theologians with the views of Methodism, and to enrich our English Methodist doctrinal teaching with the scientific rigor and soundness of recent German investigation. All three of these ends Dr. Sulzberger has kept steadily in view. His work is simple, practical, thorough. It is faithfully Methodistic, abundantly corroborating itself from Wesley, Fletcher, Watson. It is catholic and broad, using richly the great thoughts of the Fathers, as also those of Nitzsch, Sartorius, Ullmann, Hagenbach, Stier, Müller, Tholuck, Rothe, Martensen, Schaff, Pressensé, Whedon, Nast, and others. It is also eminently historical, briefly and clearly tracing the progressive development of the several doctrines.

After an elaborate introduction (150 pages) Dr. Sulzberger distributes his subject-matter into these four parts:—

I. Of God as Creator, and of the relation of the creature to God.

II. Of God as Redeemer, and of the redemption of man.

III. Of God as the Accomplisher of salvation, and of salvation itself.

IV. Of the last things, or eschatology.

The sections in Part First run thus: Theology, the Knowledge, the Existence, the Essence, the Attributes of God, the Natural, the Moral Attributes; the Trinity, Analogical and Metaphysical Explanations, Scripture Proof; the Divinity of the Father, Son, and Spirit; History of the Doctrine of the Trinity; Creation, the Mosaic Account, the Providence of God; the Creature, Angels, the Nature of Angels, Good and Bad Angels, Satanology; Primitive Man, the Fall, Depravity, the Stages of Sin, History of the Doctrine. Part Second has these sections: God's Purpose of Redemption, Preparation, Christ the Theanthropic Redeemer, his true Humanity, his Sinlessness, the Incarnation of the Logos, the Unity of the Theanthropic Nature of Christ, Scripture Proof, Histo-

ry of the Doctrine; the Relation of Christ's Work to his Person, his Prophetic, his High Priestly Office, History of the Doctrine of the Atonement, the Twofold Condition of Christ, his Resurrection, his Ascension. Part Third is discussed in these sections: Soteriology, Prevenient Grace, the Gift and Influence of the Spirit, the Relation of the Influence of the Spirit to Man's Freedom, the Order of Salvation, Calling, Enlightening, Awakening, Conversion, Repentance, Faith, Justification, Regeneration, the Witness of the Spirit, Sanctification.

This outline shows how thoroughly the field is covered. Whether the classification has not too much of characteristic German subdividing is an open question. We regret it as a more pardonable fault to divide too little than too much; as nothing tends more to confusion in theology no less than in metaphysics, than the discussing of the various phases of *one* thing as if they were different things.

Let us glance at some of the positions of Dr. Sulzberger: How to reconcile absolute divine foreknowledge with creatural freedom is a very difficult problem. Two ways out of the difficulty have been, either to suppress the foreknowledge, or to deny the freedom. Cicero did the former; the Stoics, the latter. A few mediæval scholastics and the modern Socinians follow Cicero, saying that God knows free creatural actions only when they actually take place; but this undermines the dogma of foreknowledge. Origen, Augustine, Anselm, Wesley, Schleiermacher, Nitzsch, unanimously hold that God foreknows the free *as* free.

The trinity is not a mere historical, transient, economical distinction, but is grounded in the eternal essence of God.

Creating is the bringing into existence of that which previously did not exist. Creating was not a necessary, but a free act of God. The assumption of a necessary creation leads inevitably to Pantheism. A necessity of creating cannot be inferred from God's *need* of an object to love. What God has needed for his love, he has already from eternity generated out of his own essence, namely: the eternal Logos.

To what end did God create the world? Two one-sided answers have been given. Calvinists say, solely for his own glory; eudæmonists say, solely for the happiness of the creature. The true answer co-ordinates both of these answers into one.

The process of creating has not gone on from eternity, but began definitely in a "beginning." (We regret to see Dr. Sulzberger answering the very natural query: What had God been doing

in the vast eternity before the beginning of the world? with the poor witticism of Luther: He had been sitting in the woods, cutting rods for impertinent questioners.)

God's sustaining or preserving of the universe is not, as old dogmatizers hold, a continued creation (*creatio continua*). For creating is bringing forth out of nothing. Preservation can here mean only a supporting, developing, and modifying of that which already *was*.

The laws of nature are ordinances of God, which he freely can and does change when the higher interests of moral creatures require it. God's government over nature is determinative; over moral beings, directive; over evil beings, permissive.

Inherited depravity is not personal guilt. No one is, or can be, justly damned because of his ancestor's sin.

Jesus Christ passed through the ordinary human development, from infant to child, to youth, to man. As child, he was ignorant of that which, as boy, he surmised; and as youth, he distinctly saw; and as man, he fully comprehended. In proportion as he grew up to full self-consciousness, he became also conscious of his relation to the Father; and in proportion as he grew in comprehension of the world, he grew also in comprehension of his unique, holy, and redeeming relation to humanity.

What is the nature of the person of Christ? To say that the divine Logos imparted omnipotence, omniscience, etc., to the human nature which he assumed, is to reduce his humanity to mere appearance. To say that he possessed all these divine attributes, but forwent their exercise, is also to deny the truly human nature of Christ. To say that while Christ, *as* the omnipotent and omniscient God, upheld and governed the world, he yet, *as* man, grew up from ignorance to knowledge, and learned obedience in a truly human manner, is to so destroy the unity of his person as to justify Dr. Nast in declaring that such a view is hardly better than ancient Nestorianism. Such a separating of the attributes of the theanthropic Mediator is not found in the New Testament. On the contrary, every dividing of the Redeemer into two *egos*, the one the exalted Logos, and the other the humble man, is directly contrary to clear Scripture. Modern orthodox theologians find a more satisfactory view in the *kenosis* that is involved in the text: "The Word became flesh." Christ did *not* lay aside, nor forego to use, his divine attributes, but he simply manifested them in a truly human manner. Even as when a man quits the light of day and goes into thick darkness, he does not lose his

power of vision, so the Logos did not *lose* his divine powers when he descended into the limitations of human nature. Such a *kenosis*, says Luthardt, as relates to the mere earthly condition of Christ, is indispensable to a truly human life in Jesus.

The atonement consists in the fact that Christ, the sinless One, freely took upon himself the consequences of sin. His death was not inflicted upon him by a few Jews and Romans, but was, in fact, the culminating work of the collective sinfulness of humanity as a whole. It is neither the passive suffering by itself, nor the active obedience, that atones, but both together. The value of Christ's death of suffering lay more in its quality than in its quantity. The intensive element of his passion lay in the *feeling* of abandonment by the Father. Every form of Jewish and heathen sin had conspired against him. Between him and the Father, the sin, the darkness of the world, had thrust itself, and had thus paralyzed his *sense* of blessedness. But the suffering which he endured was foreign to his nature. What he suffered was, therefore, the absolute pain of sin, but *not* its punishment. *He suffered, but he was not punished.*

Conversion and regeneration are not identical. Conversion is that act of the sinner whereby, under the continued activity of the Holy Spirit, he, with an earnest will-effort, and with his whole heart, turns away from sin and cleaves to God. Its conditions are, repentance of sin and faith in God through Christ. The sinner cannot be converted against his will, nor without his personal participation in the work. Regeneration, on the contrary, is a divine act attendant upon conversion, whereby the fruitful germs of a holy development are implanted into the repentant soul. The *modus* of this implantation, Mr. Sulzberger frankly admits, is beyond his comprehension; but the fact he holds fast to, under the testimony both of Scripture and of experience.

On the whole we regard this dogmatic attempt as a clear success. The author is admirably conservative, admirably judicious, admirably clear. He has wisely resisted the temptation to over self-reliance, and to hasty innovations. He is a safe guide for the young preachers of our widely-extended German Methodism. And we are not sure but that it would have a healthy effect to dress him up in English, and publish him alongside of the more ponderous works which are soon to issue from our English-American press.

L.

Miscellaneous.

Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume. By Rev. B. H. BADLEY, of the American Methodist Mission. Large 12mo., pp. 279. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

This is a catalogue of all the missionaries who have labored in India, with very brief biographical notices of many of them. It begins with the first Danish Mission, in 1705, and extends to the present time. We count no less than twenty-eight missionary societies who have contributed laborers to this vast field, from various nations and denominations. It thus furnishes an outline and a reference book, but with little of the attractions of a history.

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Epochs of Ancient History. The Trumvirates. By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. With a Map. Pp. 248. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People. An Account of Expeditions to the Lake Victoria Nyanza and the Makraka Niam-Niam, West of the Bahr-el-Abiad, (White Nile.) By Col. C. CHAILLE LONG, of the Egyptian Staff. Illustrated from Colonel Long's own Sketches. 8vo., pp. 328. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1877.

A Princess of Thule. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of "The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton," "Madcap Violet," "A Daughter of Heth," "The Maid of Killeena," "Green Pastures and Piccadilly," etc. 8vo., pp. 464. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

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Weavers and Weft; or, "Love that hath us in his Net." By Miss BRADDON, author of "Lady Audley's Secret," "A Strange World," "Bound to John Company," "Dead Men's Shoes." 8vo., pp. 91. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877.

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Liver Complaint, Nervous Dyspepsia, and Headache: their Causes, Prevention, and Cure. By M. L. HOLBROOK, M.D., editor of the "Herald of Health," author of "Parturition Without Pain," and "Eating for Strength." 8vo., pp. 141. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1876.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

POPE'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY..... 389
Rev. JOHN MILEY, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S INDIAN POLICY..... 409
S. G. ARNOLD, Esq., Washington, D. C.

MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL..... 430
Mrs. MARY STEVENS ROBINSON, New York.

LIBERIA AT THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL..... 448
EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Principal of the (Archibald) Alexander High School, Liberia.

THE FREEDMEN..... 462
Rev. THOMAS H. PEARNE, D.D., Dayton, Ohio.

METHODISM IN THE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES..... 481
Rev. JOHN ATKINSON, A.M., Chicago, Ill.

HOLINESS..... 505
Rev J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., Macon, Georgia.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 523

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 542

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 544

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 547

Bruce's Humiliation of Christ, 547; Thompson's Papacy and the Civil Power, 550; Riehm's Messianic Prophecy, 552; Tulloch's Christian Doctrine of Sin, 554; Scott's Tafsír Matí aur Marqus kí Injíl kí, 556; Mudge's Hand-book of Methodism, 556; Peschel's Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution, 557; Baird's Annual Record of Science and Industry, for 1876. 560; Braden's Problem of Problems, and its Various Solutions, 563; Wythe's Microscopist, 566; Smith's Mohammed and Mohammedanism, 567; Stephens' Christianity and Islam, 567; Charles Kingsley, his Letters, and Memoirs of his Life, 567; Spry's Cruise of her Majesty's Ship "Challenger," 568; Cameron's Across Africa, 568; Gustavus Bickel's New Hebrew Grammar, 569; Hurst and Whiting's L. Annæus Seneca, 471; Brambach's Aids to Latin Orthography, 572; Froschammer's Ueber die religiösen und kirchenpolitischen Fragen der Gegenwart, 572; Nippold's Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht. 573; Ninth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 576; Miscellaneous, 579.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1877.

ART. I.—POPE'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

A Compendium of Christian Theology, being Analytical Outlines of a Course of Theological Study; Biblical, Dogmatic, Historical. By W. B. POPE, D.D., Theological Tutor, Didsbury College, Manchester. London: Published for the Author at the Wesleyan Conference Office. 1875.

IT is not strange that the skeptical and latitudinarian spirit of modern thought in questions of religion rises in opposition to systematic theology. Even with some thinkers holding evangelical affiliations there is a growing depreciation not only of systematic theology, which such decry, but of all doctrinal theology. Creeds are an evil, and doctrines should be dismissed from the pulpit. Opposition thus becomes broad and radical, and, as we believe, so far as prevalent, subversive of the very foundations of true religion.

No religion has ever existed without the materials for a creed. No one can ever take a high form as a religion of true spiritual power, except in the apprehension of great religious truths in the faith of its subjects. And these truths, properly formulated, are religious doctrines. Faith enters largely into all religious life, and must so enter. Its prominence in revealed religion is no arbitrary appointment, but springs from a necessity arising in our mental and moral constitution. And the grand sphere of our faith is a sphere of doctrines. Even the great facts which it embraces are full of doctrines; and without the doctrines which they embody and bear to our faith, they would be void of their grandeur and practical religious force.

Doctrines enter into the very faith and life of religion. And as well exclude the mind from all objective relations, and yet require of it all the varied activities of thought and feeling which such relations necessarily condition, as to require the faith and feeling of a true religious life in the exclusion of the doctrinal truths which in a like necessity condition them. And, historically, the periods of the highest, best religious life are the very periods characterized by the fullest, clearest doctrine. And the order of every religious reformation has been, first, a reformation of doctrine, and then, through faith in the better doctrine, a new and better religious experience and life. It must ever be so. Such is the chronological order because it is the logical order.

But it is objected that, at the very least, the systemization of doctrines is valueless. It is true that, in the logical order, the formulation of the doctrines severally must precede their construction in a system. Hence, it is alleged that systemizing adds nothing, and is, therefore, useless. But, if nothing is thereby added to the doctrines severally, neither is any thing taken from them, nor are they in any way changed or damaged. And this objection has no special pertinence to systematic theology, and really arises from opposition to doctrines. And if we have doctrines in religion which admit of scientific construction, there can be no valid objection to their systemization.

It is further objected that doctrinal theology, and especially systematic theology, engenders bigotry. It may do so, but does not either necessarily or by natural tendency. Theologists have been earnest in maintenance of their creeds; and properly so, because in their deepest convictions such creeds contain vital truths. Bigotry may enter into this support. So it may and does enter into the advocacy of mere negative creeds, the special aim of which is the subversion of the cardinal doctrines of Christian theology. There is often the bigotry of negation and destruction. And the self-styled liberalist is not rarely the most intensely illiberal. And as it respects bigotry or the spirit of a true liberality, orthodoxy has no concessions to make to latitudinarianism. And in an affirmative or vindicatory view there is exceeding much to justify the scientific construction of Christian doctrines.

The mind by its own constitution tends to this work—in-

deed requires it. We cannot be satisfied without it. As by a law of the mind we are impelled to inquire into the qualities of things, so by a law equally impellent we inquire into their relations and accordance. This result is inevitable in all profounder study; and such relations and accordance are as veritable and profitable subjects of study as the things themselves separately viewed. All scientific and philosophic history is in proof of this mental tendency and need. Scholarly minds have diligently studied facts as they arise in all the departments of investigation, but they cannot rest in them merely as individual or isolated, however numerous and interesting in themselves. A law of their mind has impelled them to classify these facts, and to generalize them in the laws which harmonize and unite them. Thus we have the sciences and the philosophies.

Shall we, then, in the grander field of theology, bar the highway of advancement, and when the mind would achieve the sublimest results in the generalization and harmony of religious truth, violently thrust it back upon the merest elements? This would be unnatural, and deeply damaging to all the best interests of theological study. No one denies the grandeur or benefit of the results of systemization in the sciences usually so called. And without rising to these results by the only method of reaching them, we must have remained in the merest elements of truth. In such a state we should have a race in juvenility instead of the noblest manhood. Nor must we deny to theology a method which in other departments has achieved such results. For it is only as in a like method we study its doctrines in their relations, and systemize them in a grand scientific whole, that we can ever rise to the clearer view and profounder comprehension of divine truth.

As pertinent to these views, and as setting forth the benefits of a systematic study and treatment of theology, we quote from the work under review:—

> It is of great importance that the student should imbue his mind at the outset with a sense of the possibility and the advantage of a well-articulated system. In the organic unity of Christian truth every doctrine has its place in some cycle of doctrines, while all the lesser systems revolve around one common center; and it is one of the fruits of theological study to enable the student to locate every topic at once. But not only so. There are

rich and profound harmonies among these truths; and every doctrine having its proper place, has also its relations to almost every other: the quick ascertainment of these relations is another fruit. Putting the two together, the aim of this study should be to discover all the affinities and connections of the truths of the Christian system.—Pp. 17, 18.

As the scientific discussion and systemization of theology is of great value in aiding us to a clearer and more comprehensive view of the doctrines wrought into the system, and as the truths so apprehended are at once conservative and promotive of the best interests of religion, we, therefore, heartily welcome this new contribution of Dr. Pope, and we so welcome it for some special reasons.

Dr. Pope is a member of the British Wesleyan Conference, and has a covetable home reputation for intellectual ability, learning, and scholarly industry. He has been for years theological tutor in the Didsbury College, and has special preeminence as a theologian. And, as delegate from his own conference to our late General Conference, his address evinced a mind of a high scientific and philosophic order, deeply evangelical in tone, and richly fraught with religious truth. These facts are full of promise, and give rise to an expectation of a valuable work in theology. Nor does the work itself disappoint this expectation.

And we have here a system of Christian theology from an Arminian stand-point. Of such we have comparatively few. The great majority of works on systematic theology, especially those of an evangelical life, are from a Calvinistic position; and it is to be regretted that Methodism has had to wait so long for an additional work both Arminian and evangelical in its life. Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer, as were some of his co-laborers, and we have had many competent writers since; but for a hundred years and more of our history no one except Mr. Watson attempted a systematic theology. Certain monographs and mere outlines are no exceptions. Nor are some larger works, either being founded upon "Watson's Institutes," or lacking comprehension. That we have produced only one such work in so long and successful a career is a singular fact, as well as one to be regretted. And the preaching and habits of thought of

many of our leading ministers have been eminently doctrinal. Perhaps the common acceptance of the "Institutes" of Mr. Watson as thoroughly sound in doctrine, and as of such superior ability that no one might hope to achieve even an equal success, has been a chief cause of this fact. Nor would we utter words in depreciation of the "Institutes." They have rendered most valuable service and will continue to do so. Yet the amount of quotation which they contain is to their detriment. Had Mr. Watson relied more upon his own superior abilities he would have given more unity and symmetry to his work, and also a higher scientific character. It is deficient in the higher excellences of theological style. And, probably, there is no leading Methodist mind that would not prefer a far higher mental philosophy than that which underlies the "Institutes." But granting all the superiority ever claimed for them, it is not well that one mind should furnish the systematic theology of a great Church for so many years. Besides, the rapid strides and new positions of science and philosophy, new forms of skeptical criticism and objection, and modified views of opposing schools of theology, all call for a re-establishment of the doctrines which we hold as vital. We, therefore, welcome the work of Dr. Pope as an additional contribution to the systematic theology of Arminian Methodism. And we are, also, glad to know that other works are in advanced preparation.

We also welcome this work as an intrinsically valuable one. Being professedly in the form of outlines, and compassing in one octavo volume a rather broad treatment of the topics of theology, most of the discussions are necessarily brief. Yet the need of elaboration is largely superseded by thoroughness of analysis, exactness of method and definitive statement, terseness, and clearness of style.

We do not propose a general review of the work before us, a thing wholly impracticable indeed within the necessary limits of this paper. After a brief notice of the more prominent points, we may consider more fully the discussion of some of the cardinal doctrines of Christian theology.

The main divisions of the work embrace the great topics somewhat common to systems of theology of the higher order, and are given under the following headings: I. Divine Rule of Faith. II. God. III. God and the Creature. IV. Sin.

V. The Mediatorial Ministry. VI. The Administration of Redemption. VII. Eschatology.

The Scriptures are fully and correctly recognized as the rule and authoritative standard of the Christian faith. Yet, in entire consistency with this position, the author fully accepts the cardinal principles of natural theology, and for this he has the full warrant of the Scriptures themselves. They clearly recognize a light of nature in the frame-work of the heavens and the earth as revealing a God, and a moral reason in man as revealing and enforcing the will of God. Still, for clearness, fullness, and authority, the Scriptures infinitely transcend all the revelations of nature, and are by all pre-eminence the divine rule of faith. This rule is discussed under three divisions: Revelation, Inspiration, Canon.

Revelation is thus defined:—

1. Revelation, taken in its broadest meaning, includes every manifestation of God to the perception of man: whether in the constitution of the human mind, in the frame-work of nature, or in the processes of providential government. It embraces the whole compass of the divine disclosures, whether in act or word, whether by immediate contact of the eternal Spirit with the human soul, or by mediating instrumentalities.

2. Revelation, in the stricter, deeper, fuller sense, is the unfolding of the eternal counsel of God in Christ for the restoration of man to fellowship with himself; and, as such, it is perfected in the Christian Scriptures in the final testimony of Jesus.—P. 24.

In the first definition revelation is far broader than the Scripture. Hence, it does not define or distinctively characterize them as a revelation. The second, as it seems to us, has a like deficiency. It is rather a statement of the great and crowning truth given us in Revelation, than a definitive characterization of the Scriptures as a revelation. Yet if their alleged claims are valid, there is, and there must be, some specific fact thoroughly differentiating them from all the revelations of nature on questions of religion, and distinctively defining them as a divine revelation. This fact we find in a supernatural agency. Revelation is truth supernaturally given. And it is the divine agency working in a supernatural mode which constitutes the truth so given a revelation. And the Scriptures are a divine revelation so far, and only so far, as they have their origin in such an agency. Nor is this position

affected by any question respecting the mode, or differences of mode, in which this agency may have worked. Whether the truth be written by the finger of God as the Decalogue, or given in dream or vision, or in verbal dictation, or in the substance of it, while the mind of the recipient determines the manner of expression, we still have a supernatural agency which constitutes the truth so given a divine revelation. It hence follows that such revelation is not necessarily limited to the Scriptures. Nor do we believe that it is. Doubtless many a devout heathen has been helped by a special divine agency to higher religious truth than otherwise he would have obtained. And such have in some measure been made prophets to others. But the Scriptures, given by the highest supernatural agency, and containing the highest religious truth, and withal verified and accredited by the divine testimony, are in all pre-eminence the divine revelation, and the authoritative rule of faith.

On the credentials of the Christian faith the author discusses briefly, but with clearness and force, the evidences which verify the divine original of the Scriptures. He gives special prominence to the following topics: 1. Christianity is a full and satisfying response to an expectation of mankind, and especially to its own preparatory disclosures. 2. The divine agency and authority as manifested in miracles, prophecy, inspiration. 3. The character of Christ. 4. The influence of Christianity. 5. The presence of the Holy Ghost. Under the third heading he says:—

> The person of Christ, the author of Christianity, is its highest credential. This is true of our Lord's character generally; but for our present purpose it will be sufficient to regard him as the founder of his own religion, and to mark the perfect consistency with which he supports his claim to be the divine-human revealer. The strength of this argument will be found to be only increased by the theories adopted to resist it. There is no rational way of accounting for the person and work of Christ but that which accepts the divine origin of Christianity.—P. 34.

The argument so grounded and constructed is valid and most conclusive. In its more specific and effective form it belongs rather to the modern treatment of apologetics. It is the resistless response of the Church to the desperate onslaughts of skepticism. Christianity is not to be overthrown with a jest or

a sneer, as infidelity has well learned. It is a great fact in history. The Gospels we have, and Christianity we have; and the Christ of the Gospels and of Christianity must be accounted for. The divine origin of Christianity renders a rational account. On no other ground can such an account be rendered. Yet this is the dire necessity of a multiform rationalism. And it is true enough that the strength of this argument is only increased by the theories adopted to resist it. The mythical theory of Strauss and the legendary theory of Renan are in forceful illustration. Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus" renders the chief service in this argument. Bushnell's "Character of Jesus," Young's "Christ in History," "Ecce Homo," "Ecce Deus," and many other works, follow in the same line, presenting the argument, however, in new phases, and contributing to its invincible strength.

Inspiration, another cardinal fact as concerned in the "Rule of Faith," has a brief but clear and valuable discussion. The author treats the subject under several heads—Scripture testimony, historical development, dogmatic results. He clearly favors what is called the dynamical theory, as obviating the difficulties of the mechanical theory, and yet as securing a valid doctrine of plenary inspiration. And as the question of inspiration is one of great importance, we quote with the greater fullness his more definitive statements:—

> The word inspiration, as distinguished from revelation, means the specific agency of the Holy Ghost in the creation and construction of the Holy Scripture.—P. 60. Dogmatic theology has a clear account to give of inspiration. The Scriptures, fairly compared and interpreted, declare it to be that specific influence of the Holy Ghost on the minds of certain men which qualified them to communicate, from age to age, an infallible record of divine truth concerning the redeeming will of God.—P. 75. But the Spirit used his instruments as men. They were not passive in the writing of Scripture, though in some cases they were passive in receiving revelation. They wrote, sometimes after long intervals, what they had received, and always according to the characteristics of their individual genius, style of thought, and diction. But their faculties were raised, invigorated, and strengthened to their highest pitch. What has been termed the DYNAMICAL Theory, namely, that the influence of inspiration acted upon and through the faculties of the inspired person, is known to be true by all the phenomena of the several books. From the record of the most

transcendent vision down to the simplest private letter, the writer in Scripture is true to himself.—P. 77. The inspiration of the Holy Ghost makes Holy Scripture the absolute and final authority, all-sufficient as the supreme standard of faith, directory of morals, and charter of privileges to the Christian Church.—P. 79.

These views we accept as judicious and true, and, for the present, in full accord with the position of the best minds of the Church—minds thoroughly evangelical in their religious faith, and thoroughly loyal to revealed religion. Words are the vehicle of truth. But the same truth may be conveyed with a variation of words. A message may be given to several persons to be delivered to several parties. Each delivers it in his own manner. But with all the differences of style and words, each gives the message truly. Yet the theory here maintained consistently admits a higher law in inspiration. God still holds his messenger in his own hand, and under such control as to secure a right expression of the truth. But this does not involve a mechanical determination of the words. And if there be an original necessity for a verbal inspiration in order to a right expression of divine truth, there must be a like necessity for such a measure of it in all translation and reading of the Scriptures. Words do not mechanically determine their own meaning or the understanding of them in the mind of either translator or reader. But clearly there is no such dominating agency of the Holy Spirit. Or, if there ever be such, it is not the common law. And we get all requisite inspiration in a divine agency, acting not upon the mind as a purely passive instrument, but in it as in the use of its own faculties. The truth so given is divine truth, and of the highest possible authority.

Under the second heading, the author treats the questions concerning the existence and notion of God. Here he enters more directly the sphere of natural theology. The discussion, as in other parts, is brief, but in the method of a well-wrought analysis and generalization. "The being of a God is at once an innate idea and a demonstrable truth."

Such are the ground-facts of the author's theism. In alleging the idea of a God to be innate he clearly accepts the higher intuitional philosophy of the best metaphysical thinkers. And this is the common ground of the highest, best theism.

Of course it is not meant that this idea, as innate, has a necessary active form as a conviction of truth in every human mind. It is very doubtful if such is the fact. What is meant is, that under proper conditions of mental and moral development, the idea of a God springs up spontaneously from the very constitution of the mind. Hence, even if there be heathen in so low a state as to be void of this idea, it is a fact in no contradiction to the truth alleged—not any more than ignorance of the same heathen of the equivalence of two and three to five disproves its intuitional character. And as men may by prejudice or skeptical speculation so overrule their own mental powers as to deny the most certain cognitions, so, in like manner, they may eliminate the idea of God as aconviction of truth. But this does not disprove the fact that naturally it is a spontaneous product of the mind. Hence, the universality, not absolute but practical universality, of the idea. Its deep perversions, so widely revealed in human history, arise from the prejudice and corruption of men, as explained by St. Paul in Romans i, 21–23. But with all this perversion the deeper study of ethnic religions finds almost every-where an underlying theism previously unknown or denied.

In the statement of the author the being of a God is not only an innate idea, but also a demonstrable truth. Demonstrable can here be used only in a popular or qualified sense. Such a truth is not, in the stricter terminology of logic, a demonstrable one. As an innate idea or an intuition of the reason, it has its certainty in itself. But as maintained by the logical reason, the evidences alleged are not strictly of a demonstrative character. This fact, however, rather concerns their logical quality than their conclusiveness. And thus we get the true and the full ground of Theism within the sphere of natural theology. The being of a God is a truth addressing itself to the intuitive reason, and also a truth provable by the logical reason. Nor is there any reason to surrender the argumentation so long familiar to natural theology. Vigorous and persistent efforts have been made to discredit it, to break down its logical validity, and to wrest it from the service of our theistic faith; but it still firmly holds its place, and will continue so to hold it.

There is little room for originality in the method of this

argument, or in the classification of the evidences with which it proceeds. The argument is mainly, if not wholly, inductive, or *à posteriori*. The author properly makes little account of the argument ontological, or *à priori*. Even admitting its logical validity, it is too abstruse for any common service to Theism. And most who use it carry it over into the inductive method before reaching their conclusion. But the arguments usually designated as the cosmological, the teleological, and the moral, are thoroughly valid in the *à posteriori* method, and most conclusive in the logical result.

The subject discussed under the fourth general heading is Sin. It is treated in four divisions: origin of sin in the universe and on earth; nature of sin; sin and redemption; original sin. We have no particular occasion to review any part of this discussion unless it be the fourth—original sin. It is, however, but just to say that the whole discussion is conducted with great carefulness and marked ability. It is very compact, and contains a great deal for the space occupied.

The question of original sin is one of very broad theological relations. This is clear enough to any one comprehending the subject, or familiar with the history of doctrinal theology. Nor has it usually received that thorough analysis and discriminative statement which its importance requires, and which is essential to its scientific treatment. The term original sin, though long in the use of theology, is objectionable, specially on account of its ambiguity and diversity of application in dogmatic use. Though freely admitted into Arminian theology, yet in the synthesis of facts which it usually symbolizes it more properly belongs to Calvinistic theology. But here it is indifferently used for several doctrines as a whole, or for any one of them, and often without any discriminative application. This tends to confusion; and the term is more confusing and misleading when so used by us, or even when used at all, except in the most definitive sense. Nor should it be any offense to say that our leading writers have not wholly escaped the fault of the Calvinistic. If Dr. Pope cannot be fully excepted, yet he is certainly one of the most careful in his discriminations.

Let us turn from the symbol to the subject which it represents. As above stated, the formula original sin, as used in

theology, represents several facts or doctrines. Analyzing it in the light of its doctrinal history in Calvinism, we find these facts: 1. The depravity of human nature; 2. The guilt of the race from a participation in the sin of Adam as the ground of the just infliction of depravity as a punishment; 3. The intrinsic sinfulness of our native depravity, or that it is strictly of the nature of sin, having the desert of damnation. These leading facts, so often blended and treated as a whole, require separation, and to be treated severally. Only thus can we hold our own doctrine of sin in proper discrimination from that of Calvinism. For there is a difference between the two, especially as the latter is taken in the full sense of its usual formula. And unless we properly maintain that distinction we shall find ourselves embarrassed at other points of difference between the two systems.

In another analysis the several facts involved in the whole question of original sin are: 1. The depravity of human nature; 2. The origin of depravity in the sin of Adam; 3. The law of its derivation; 4. The question of its punitive demerit. These are really four distinct questions; and however intimately related, yet the intrinsic character of each is independent of any such relation.

The depravity of human nature. The author fully maintains this truth, and according to the best standards of Wesleyan Arminianism. As a truth clearly revealed in Scripture, broadly recorded in human history, deeply realized in human experience, and thoroughly underlying the whole economy of grace, it stands as a truth firmly established. No Pelagian dialectics can set its proofs aside. In its subjective form it lies below all experience, and is the state of a nature rather than a nature itself, and the state not of any particular faculty, but of the moral nature broadly. As realized in human experience and revealed in human history, it is readily and properly characterized in its tendency or inclination to evil. And this is in full accord with the most orthodox symbols, and also with the common utterance of divines.

Now this depravity, existing as a fact, is not determined or affected in its specific quality by any question respecting its origin. Whether derived from Adam or not; or whether, if from him and his sin, by a law of retributive justice on the

ground of a guilty participation in his sin, or by a law of genetic transmission, it is precisely the same in itself. A valid doctrine of depravity, therefore, and as valid and thorough in all that pertains to itself as any that Calvinism maintains, is not at all dependent upon the high assumption of Calvinism respecting the participation of the race in the sin of Adam, and the retributive character of depravity as the universal punishment of a universal sin.

The origin of depravity in Adam and in his sin is clearly the doctrine of Scripture. It is traced back to him, and, in a profound sense, to his sin and fall. Such is the scriptural account of the origin of depravity; and as a universal evil, such is the only rational account. But this fact of its origin does not of itself determine the law of its transmission. Especially does it not determine the transmission to be by a law of retributive justice in the universal punishment of a universal guilt.

This brings us to the third question in the broader subject of original sin: What is the law of the derivation of depravity? This question has a broad place in the polemics of theology. There are two leading answers: one, the law of retributive justice; the other, the law of genetic transmission.

The former is pre-eminently the answer of Calvinism. The race is held to be guilty, not only in depravity, and because of it, but also before it, and as the just ground of it. Hence, depravity is distinctly declared to be a punishment. No other view, it is maintained, can accord with the divine character. But if inflicted as a punishment, the subjects of it must have been previously guilty as in desert of such penal infliction. So far all are agreed.

Whence this guilt upon all the race? From a participation in the sin of Adam. So Calvinists are mainly agreed to answer. What is the ground of this participation? In the answer to this question they are wide apart. Mainly they form two schools: one maintaining this participation on the ground of a real oneness with Adam; the other, on the ground of a representative oneness with him. According to the former, especially in its higher realism, the very sinful act of Adam is the sinful act of every individual of the race. According to the latter, the guilt of the act is imputed to each as represented by him. It is the error and confusion of Calvinistic theology

that this participation in the sin of Adam is often based upon both grounds. This is utterly unscientific. The two grounds are different and opposite, and reciprocally exclusive. If one is guilty of Adam's sin because of any natural relation to him as progenitor or any real oneness with him, then is he not guilty by imputation on the ground of a representative oneness, for this would make him doubly guilty. And reversely the same consequence follows.

Dr. Pope seems really to maintain the guilt of the race on account of the sin of Adam, though not so formally explaining the ground of this guilt, nor so distinctly asserting the penal character of depravity. And he is careful to guard his doctrine against the higher assumptions and implications of Calvinism.

> The effect of the fall upon the posterity of Adam is described in Scripture as the universal diffusion of death as a condemnation, and of a bias of human nature toward evil. The scriptural doctrine finds its expression in the theological term original sin: the hereditary sin and hereditary sinfulness of mankind derived from Adam, its natural head and representative, but derived from him as he was under a constitution of redeeming grace and in connection with the second Adam, the spiritual head of mankind.—P. 221.

This passage may suffice for the author's views, though others might be added. It contains nearly all the questions of original sin, yet makes special the one we are here considering. And it seems clearly to set forth a guilty participation of the race in the sin of Adam. Thus the effect of the fall is the universal diffusion of death as a condemnation; that is, as a universal penalty upon a race accounted universally guilty. And the formula original sin, accepted as expressing the doctrine of Scripture, he explains as meaning "the hereditary sin and hereditary sinfulness of mankind derived from Adam."

The two terms, "hereditary sin" and "hereditary sinfulness," are clearly discriminated, the latter signifying the sinful depravity in which we are born, and the former, called elsewhere "hereditary guilt," a sin which precedes and conditions the penal infliction of this sinful depravity. This primary sin is alleged to be "derived from Adam as natural head and representative." But here we have the two grounds of this universal hereditary guilt, involving the same unscientific account

of it noticed before. Yet the representative headship has special prominence with Dr. Pope, as with our authors generally. By divine appointment Adam was constituted the representative of all the race in the primitive probation, and involved all in the penal consequences of his sin. Hence, the state of the race is held to be justly a state of death, and death, as elsewhere explained, in its threefold form as physical, spiritual, eternal. But this is maintained of the race only in its relation to the first Adam, and as wholly apart from the second Adam. In these views Dr. Pope is in, at least, seeming accord with some of our leading theological writers, though we think it would be easy to show that both he and they are out of logical accord with themselves.

It must be apparent to any scientific theologian that the doctrine of hereditary guilt as the ground of a penally inflicted depravity at least seemingly clashes with cardinal doctrines of Arminianism, and the very doctrines which differentiate it from Calvinism. Nor do we forget that this is held to be only a part of the whole case; that there is a second Adam under the economy of whose redemption we are all born. So Dr. Pope and others in accord with him hold. Every one of us denies that any soul is or could be doomed to perdition for the sin of Adam. Indeed, no Arminian can admit this. But thus it is proposed, through an incoming economy of redemption, to save our theodicy. Do we really save it? Or is such a saving requisite? For if God can so impute the sin of Adam to any one of the race as to constitute in him a desert of the penalty of death in its threefold form, as physical, spiritual, eternal, there can be no injustice in its infliction. And while the economy of redemption may give us a view of the divine love which otherwise we should not have, theodicy needs no such vindication. The race might have been propagated in its sole relation to the first Adam under the law of sin and death, and whether dying in adult age or in infancy, under the inevitable doom of endless perdition, and however it might affect our views of the divine goodness, the divine justice would stand clear of all impeachment.

There are many other difficulties of this doctrine which we do not pause even to suggest. But in view of what has been said, it should be no offense to suggest a probability that the doc-

trine itself has been stated too strongly. Besides, we thus leave Calvinism in full possession of sufficient ground for its peculiar doctrines of sovereign election and limited atonement. For God wrongs no man by delivering him over to his just desert. And while in such an election and redemption he would show special favor to some, the others would not be wronged. But neither truth nor Scripture requires any such concession. Nor is the doctrine at all requisite, as we have before seen, to the most valid and thorough doctrine of human depravity. This is the same in itself, whatever the law of its derivation. And, indeed, when we get all the qualifications and limitations by Dr. Pope and others in accord with him, we have really no doctrine of this hereditary guilt left. The imputation of Adam's sin is virtually denied. It is not really admitted that we ever become guilty of his sin. The sum of the teaching is, that we suffer the penal consequences of his sin—penal to him, but consequences of his sin and punishment to us by virtue of our relation to him. This does not deny that the result to us is in the order and provision of the divine law, but that it is to us as accounted guilty of Adam's sin. Such, as we understand it, is the whole truth as explained by Mr. Watson in his "Institutes," (II, 53, 54,) in an illustration taken from Dr. Watts. This we fully accept. It is a doctrine in full accord with the general course of Providence; and it neither clashes with cardinal doctrines of Wesleyan Arminianism, nor yields any ground to the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism.

Is depravity sin proper? This is the final question. And it is not one the answer to which is determined by any theory respecting the origin of depravity or the law of its derivation, unless it be that the maintenance of its strictly penal character denies its strictly sinful character. Surely it would require the sharpest dialectics to prove that any thing strictly a punishment can have in itself the desert of punishment. But let the question stand in full discrimination. The depravity of the race is one questiont; the law of the derivation of depravity is another. Whether depravity has in itself the demerit of sin proper is still another.

Dr. Pope, as all our authors, maintains a real difference between original and actual sin, and that the former does not constitute us guilty in the full and exact sense of the latter.

But this question solely concerns their sameness in point of legal quality or demerit. That in this, depravity is strictly of the nature of sin, Calvinism fully maintains. With this Dr. Pope seems quite in accord, unless we accept certain qualifications and limitations as to the contrary. In sketching the history of the doctrine of "original sin," he says that "Methodism accepts the Article of the English Church"—that is, the Ninth Article, which he quotes in full. He could scarcely have named a stronger statement of the deep demerit of depravity considered simply as a native moral state and before all and any actual sin. It is strong enough for Augustine, or Calvin, or the Synod of Dort. And we must except to the part bearing directly on this question. Dr. Pope may speak for himself and for his own Church if so it be, but he may not speak for the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have the same article, but only in part, and with the omission of every phrase and word which expresses this doctrine. So it has stood in our Discipline since 1792. Why this elimination if such is the doctrine of our Church? *

But here we have in Dr. Pope, as in our other theological writers, such limitations and qualifications as in regard to the imputation of Adam's sin. And it is denied that any soul is or can be delivered over to perdition except for actual

* We here give so much of the original article as concerns this question, and italicize the words omitted from our own article, that the significance of the change may be the more clearly seen: Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but is the *fault and* corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; *and, therefore, in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.*

The omission last noted was made by Mr. Wesley as he prepared the articles and sent them over by Bishop Coke for the American Methodists, then to be organized into a Church; the first noted was made by the Christmas Conference so organizing the Church. And this article, with the others, was not passively accepted from Mr. Wesley by the General Conference, but formally adopted by it. Since my paper was written I have read a paper by Dr. Bledsoe, in his "Southern Review," fully discussing the doctrinal significance of the change which I have noted in this article of our faith. He especially maintains that Mr. Wesley, in his later life, modified his earlier views on original sin. This modification, however, did not touch the question or truth of our native depravity in any element or fact essentially belonging to it, but only the separate and distinctively Calvinistic question of our intrinsic desert of "God's wrath and damnation," solely on account of that native depravity.

sin. But according to this Ninth Article, this may justly be done. Yea, the infant, with its yet undeveloped congenital depravity, may be so doomed in the just and penal wrath of God. No Arminian can consistently admit such a possibility even on the footing of divine justice. But this implies no question or doubt respecting the native depravity of the race. It is still a truth, and with all its characteristic facts. It is a state of moral alienation from God, a dominating inclination to evil and an inability to good, intrinsically involving us in moral ruin and misery, and out of all which there is no deliverance except through the economy of redemption.

Under the fifth general heading, Mediatorial Ministry, the author discusses the atonement. On the fact of an atonement he is thoroughly true to the Scriptures. The mediation of Christ, wrought out in his incarnation, sufferings, death, and intercession, is the true and sole ground of a sinner's forgiveness and salvation. This is the truth of the Scriptures and stands firmly, and will ever so stand against all the exegesis and dialectics of a multiform Socinianism. But so far we have only the fact of an atonement. When we further inquire into the necessity for the mediation of Christ, and how it meets that necessity and avails to forgiveness and salvation, our questions lead on to a theory or doctrine of the atonement. Here it is that divines equally evangelical divide. We find a summation of the author's views in the passage following:—

> The errors of historical theology have all sprung from failure to connect the three leading ideas: the atonement in God as a necessity in the Divine attributes; the reconciliation on earth, as vindicating to the universe the rectoral justice of God; and the exhibition of the redemption to man, as moving upon his conscience, will, and heart. Here unite what are sometimes called the SUBSTITUTIONAL, the GOVERNMENTAL, and the MORAL INFLUENCE theories.—P. 412.

We have here three elements in the one atonement—a blending of three theories in the one doctrine. If the synthesis is correct, each element should be a part of the atonement, and the three should be in exact scientific accord.

But the third element, that of moral influence, does not strictly belong to the atonement. Instead of being the whole doctrine, as Socinianism maintains, it is really no part of it.

It is no part of the provisional ground of forgiveness as in relation to God, and has its sole function in its relation to a purely conditional fact in us as recipients of saving grace. Hence this moral influence is no part of the atonement proper, but arises from it as a manifestation of the character of God. And the atonement itself is none the less complete though its moral influence be persistently and finally resisted. And, according to the author's own classification of facts, it belongs rather to the administration of redemption than to redemption itself.

The other two terms should, in the author's use of them, designate two distinct and yet agreeing elements of the atonement, and so agreeing as to constitute the one doctrine. In theological terminology satisfaction is a more distinctive term than substitution, yet neither fully discriminates a theory from the governmental theory, because this, in a proper exposition and statement of it, fully admits both substitution and satisfaction. Hence, we must find the fundamental principles of these two theories of atonement in their deeper distinction in order to determine the question of their scientific accordance in the one doctrine.

Substitution or, more properly, satisfaction, as a term expressive of a theory of atonement, is the satisfaction of a purely retributive divine justice—a justice that in itself and for its own sake, and irrespective of all the interests of public justice, must have penal satisfaction. Just penalty is absolutely irremissible. This is the determining principle of the theory. Hence, the only releasement for an actual sinner is in an equal or equivalent punishment of a substitute. And this same principle determines the substitutional sufferings of Christ to have been in the mode of a substitutional punishment.

This is the Anselmic atonement, and largely the Calvinistic doctrine. And other doctrines of Calvinism are in full scientific accord with it. Special election, limited atonement, and a sovereignly achieved salvation of all the redeemed, belong to it and it to them. And historically these doctrines go together as logically they belong together.

The governmental theory has its essential distinction from this theory, and is out of scientific accord with it. But we here speak of this theory, not so much in its usual statement,

as in such statement as it will truthfully admit and as its full truth requires.

It equally admits the intrinsic demerit of sin and a retributive divine justice; but it denies the absolute necessity of punishment for the satisfaction of a purely retributive divine justice. It denies the possibility of such satisfaction by substitutional punishment. While it holds the demerit of sin to be the ground of punishment, it holds the end of punishment to be the interest of government. It, therefore, holds the remissibility of penalty on the ground of such provision, but only on such as will equally secure the interests of the government as its actual infliction. Such is the rectoral atonement. And it follows that while the atoning sufferings of Christ are substitutional, they are not penally so; that while they so far take the place of penalty that it may be remitted in entire consistency with the function of divine justice in the interests of government, they do not take its place as the equivalent punishment of sin.

This theory also holds to a satisfaction of divine justice, but a satisfaction in accord with itself. It denies the possibility of a satisfaction of divine justice in its sole regard to the demerit of sin by substitutional punishment. Unless sin in its intrinsic demerit can be put upon the substitute it cannot be punished in him. But who now so bold as to maintain such a possible transference of sin? Dr. Pope, we are sure, is very far from it. But divine justice finds satisfaction in the infliction of penalty upon sin in the interests of moral government. So it finds satisfaction in the substitutional sufferings of Christ as equally securing these same interests while the penalty of sin is remitted.

And this theory grounds the atonement in the profoundest necessity. In its objective relation this necessity arises out of the interests of moral government; in its divine relation it is grounded in the very nature of God. As he is God, holy, just, and good, he cannot disregard the interests of his moral government. Penalty is the means of their conservation. Penalty, therefore, he must inflict, or find some substitutional provision which will equally conserve them, while penalty is remitted. Such provision we have in the substitutional sufferings of Christ. Only these are sufficient. Hence this theory responds

in the sense of the profoundest necessity of atonement to the great question of Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?*

This is really the Arminian or, more properly, the Grotian atonement. And we are a little surprised to find Dr. Pope conceding (p. 412) that it has somewhat the character of acceptilation—a thing with which Calvinism charges it as a most serious objection. It is utterly excluded by the deepest logic of the theory. Yet it is but fair to say that some unguarded and illogical statements of it give some coloring to the concession, and even to the objection. And we allege, and with space could make good the allegation, that the *acceptilatio* of Duns Scotus has far more affinity for the Anselmic atonement than for the Grotian.

And these two theories cannot be scientifically wrought into the one doctrine of atonement. Hence, so far as Dr. Pope assumes this, we are out of accord with him. But really he does not accept the theory of satisfaction. While some of his expressions seem to admit its deeper principles, others exclude them. And in his treatment of that part of soteriology which follows atonement, and which he very judiciously formulates as the administration of redemption, (head VI,) his principles, as those of every Arminian, exclude the theory of satisfaction in the high Calvinistic sense of it, and require the principles which really constitute the rectoral atonement.

We must not extend this paper, hence we pass the two remaining divisions of this work with their high commendation to students of theology. And so we commend the whole work. We wish that it could be accessible to the theological reader at a lower price.

Art. II.—PRESIDENT GRANT'S INDIAN POLICY.

Those persons who read the metropolitan newspapers are aware that there has been for some years a very tenacious movement in favor of a reform in the civil service of the United States. But, in the meantime, one branch of that service has been radically reformed, not only without much aid from the newspapers foremost in this movement, but apparently without their knowledge; while their general course would seem

to imply that they were laboring in the interest of the discarded corruptions and the superseded officers.

We refer to the Indian Service, which has for a century been a nest of corruption, peculation, and fraud. The Government has had a policy in regard to the red man which has not been wanting in good will or generous purpose; but it has, nevertheless, been a perpetual failure. It is generally supposed that the Indians who inhabited our vast territory when we took possession numbered about three millions of souls. If so they have dwindled, under our policy, to less than one tenth that number, and those that remain are not greatly improved by our contact. This has arisen partly from the intrinsic difficulties of the case, and partly from careless or mistaken administration. Hence the benefactions of the Government, like the apples of Sodom, have too often turned to ashes on the lips of its beneficiaries, and the good which it desired to do has been wasted or lost.

President Grant in his first message tells us that, "from the foundation of the Government the management of the original inhabitants, the Indians, has been a subject of embarrassment and expense, and has been attended with continuous robberies, murders, and wars." He might have added that a hundred years of experience had not taught us how to tame these wild barbarians, or to put an end to their "robberies, murders, and wars," without also putting an end to the Indians.

They existed in roving bands which hung on the borders of civilization, or had their lodges beyond in the lonely wastes of the continent. Hence, whoever stood between them and the Government, and became the agent in administering the governmental bounties, was largely removed from the watchful eye of supervision; and as the Indians were ignorant and unsuspicious, it is not very wonderful tha tmoney should have been appropriated for annuities that were never paid, for school-houses that were never built, for schools that were never maintained, and for agricultural implements that were never used.

The evil grew with the returning years; and while there were agents who honestly executed the trusts of the Government, and religious ministers who labored faithfully and successfully to redeem the wild man from his heathenism, it still remains

true that the service was, in the main, a sink of corruption. The Indians came under the influence of sharp, selfish men, who catered to their weaknesses, took advantage of their ignorance, fed them with fire-waters, abused their confidence, and often provoked their passions. Ignorant, jealous of their rights, and quick to resent an injury, real or imaginary, they often took summary vengeance with the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and were the terror of those settlers that were thrust out in front of the wave of advancing population; and their fierce and savage methods of revenge provoked those long and expensive wars which have been so prominent in our history, and such an effectual check on Indian civilization.

In his report for 1876 the commissioner says:—

> From the first settlement of the country by white men the Indians have been constantly driven westward from the Atlantic. A zigzag, ever-varying line, extending from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and always moving slowly west, has been known as the *frontier* or *border*. Along this border has been an almost incessant struggle—the Indians to retain and the whites to get possession—the war being broken by periods of temporary peace, which usually followed treaties whereby the Indians agreed to surrender large tracts of their lands. The peace would continue until the lands were occupied by whites, when the pressure of immigration would again break over the border, and the Indian, by force or treaty, would be compelled to surrender another portion of his cherished hunting grounds.—P. 6.

It was this unpromising state of the "Indian question" which the late President had to confront when, on the 4th of March, 1869, he entered on the administration of his great office, and, among other things, became responsible for the policy of his Government in the management of the Indians. It so happened that both houses of Congress were in session; and on the 10th of April, thirty-seven days after he took his official oath, he signed an act, passed at his suggestion, appropriating two millions of dollars, or so much thereof as was necessary, "to enable the President to maintain peace among the various tribes of Indians, promote civilization, bring them when practicable on reservations, relieve their necessities, and encourage efforts at self-support."

To aid in carrying out these objects, the act further provided that he should at his discretion "organize a Board of Commis-

sioners, to consist of not more than ten persons to be selected by him from men eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy, to serve without pecuniary compensation, who may, under his direction, exercise joint control, with the Secretary of the Interior, over the disbursements of the appropriations made by this act."

The proposed Board was immediately organized, and, with some changes from year to year, has existed ever since. It now consists of nine persons, no one of whom has sufficient political prominence to be noted in Lanman's "Biographical Annals."* It holds quarterly meetings, and, in the meantime, operates through two important committees, by means of which it exerts a supervisory control over all the affairs of the Indians, although its function is mainly advisory.

The object of the President was to convert the Indian service into a field for missionary enterprise, and to attract toward it in larger measure the interest of the prominent religious organizations. But to do this effectually he must necessarily yield up his control over the fat places so eagerly sought after by serviceable politicians, and separate the service entirely from all connection with party politics. This was a severity of civil service reform not in the programme of its special advocates, but pursued through the last eight years with singular steadiness, and largely against the opposition of those persons and newspapers whose declared position might be supposed to make them its enthusiastic advocates.

How entirely the important places connected with this service are severed from political considerations may be inferred from the fact that all the Indian agents, aggregating about three quarters of a hundred, together with most of the dependent positions, have been appointed through the whole of these eight years on the nominations of the different Churches. This has had the double effect of securing the interest of the Churches in the improvement of the Indians, and of concen-

* When President Grant went out of office in March the Board was made up as follows:—General Clinton B. Fisk, Methodist, New York city, Chairman; William Stickney, Baptist, Washington, D. C., Secretary; A. C. Barstow, Congregationalist, Providence, R. I.; William Bingham, Presbyterian, Cleveland, Ohio; David H. Jerome, Episcopal, Saginaw, Mich.; John D. Lang, Quaker, Vassalborough, Maine; E. M. Kingsley, Presbyterian, New York city; B. Rush Roberts, Quaker, Sandy Springs, Md.; and H. C. Lyon, Methodist, New York city.

trating at the agencies those moral influences through which alone they can rise to higher conditions.*

The co-operation of the Churches is an advantage that can hardly be overestimated. Besides securing better officers and better influences, it brings to the aid of the Government the sympathies and services of the best citizens of the nation, and enlists a kind of aid which no government can supply and no government can do without. If you go no further than their

* The Indian Agencies in charge of the different religious bodies are as follows:—

Friends, Hicksite: Great Nemaha, Omaha, Winnebago, Otoe, and Santee, Nebraska; and Pawnee, Indian Territory; medium of communication and action, B. Rush Roberts, Sandy Springs, Maryland.

Friends, Orthodox: Pottawatomie and Kickapoo, Kansas; Quapaw, Osage, Sac and Fox, Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche, and Cheyenne and Arrapahoe, Indian Territory; Dr. James E. Rhoades, Germantown, Philadelphia.

Methodist: Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tulle River, California; Yakama, Neah Bay, and Quinaeilt, Washington Territory; Klamath and Siletz, Oregon; Blackfeet, Crow, and Fort Peck, Montana; Fort Hall and Lemhi, Idaho; and Mackinac, Michigan; Rev. Dr. J. M. Reid, Secretary Missionary Society Methodist Episcopal Church, 805 Broadway, New York city.

Catholic: Tulalip and Colville, Washington Territory; Grand Ronde, Umatilla, Oregon; Flathead, Montana; Standing Rock and Devil's Lake, Dakota; General Charles Ewing, Catholic Commissioner, Roman Catholic Church, Washington, D. C.

Baptist: Union, Indian Territory; Nevada, Nevada; Rev. Joseph F. Shoards, Secretary American Baptist Home Missionary Society, 150 Nassau-street, New York city.

Presbyterian: Albiquiu, Navajo, Mescalero-Apache, Southern Apache, Pueblo, New Mexico; Nez Perce, Idaho; Uintah Valley, Utah; Rev. Dr. J. C. Lowrie, Secretary Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church.

Congregational: Green Bay, La Pointe, Wisconsin; Red Lake, Minnesota; Sisseton, Fort Berthold, Dakota; and S'Kokomish, Washington Territory; Rev. Dr. M. E. Striebe, Secretary American Missionary Association, 56 Reade-street, New York city.

Reformed: Colorado River, Pima and Maricopa, San Carlos, Arizona; Rev. J. M. Ferris, Secretary Board of Missions Reformed Church, 34 Vesey-street, New York city.

Protestant Episcopal: White Earth, Minnesota; Ponca, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, Yankton, Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, Dakota; Shoshone, Wyoming; Rev. Robert C. Rogers, Indian Commissioner, Protestant Episcopal Church, 30 Bible House, New York city.

Unitarian: Los Pinos and White River, Colorado; Rev. Rush R. Shipper, Secretary American Unitarian Association, 7 Tremont Place, Boston.

Free Will Baptist: Leech Lake, Minnesota; Rev. A. H. Chase, Secretary Free Will Baptist Home Missionary Association, Hillsdale, Michigan.

United Presbyterian: Warm Spring, Oregon; Rev. Dr. John G. Brown, Secretary Home Mission Board, United Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Christian Union: Malheur, Oregon; Rev. J. S. Rowland, Salem, Oregon.

material condition, there are times when government stores and government funds cannot be had, and a pinch must bring disaster, perhaps destruction. If, under such circumstances, a benevolent Church has an interest in the result, and is present by its agents to supply just the want that is most pressing, we may infer what the advantage would be. But this point may be more clearly shown by quoting part of a letter, written with another object, by Bishop Whipple, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose interest in the civilization of the Indian is generally known. Dating at Faribault, September 21, 1875, he says:—

In June I received a letter from Mr. Gilfillan, (missionary,) saying that there was no money to employ the blacksmiths and carpenters after July first. They are very superior and faithful men, and have received nine hundred dollars each year out of the utility fund; for no such men would live here, in the Indian country, on the pittance the Government offers. I felt that it was certain and sure ruin to take them away at a time when the Indians were so earnestly trying to help themselves. I wrote to Mr. Gilfillan to hire them. I told him to have them charge the white men and mixed bloods fair prices for their work, but to do all work for the Indians without cost; and whatever it required (which would be half the cost) I would pay. Major Stowe (the agent) had a plan to put a floor in the large school building, and thus provide a place for thirty boys to sleep, and open a boarding school for them; but he had no money to provide bedding. I assumed this. There was not enough in fund to do all the plowing needed, and I pledged the means for it. Since the day I first met this poor people I have never seen them in want that I did not try to help them, and at times I have borrowed money to do so.—*Report of Board of Indian Commissioners*, p. 48.

This shows very clearly how necessary active benevolence is to the accomplishment of Indian advancement, and how important it is to have the hearty co-operation of the Churches. At first, the appointment of the Indian Commissioner was not included among the prerogatives of religious bodies. The President conceived the idea that an Indian, in that important office, would have a good influence in securing the confidence of the tribes, and he accordingly commissioned Eli S. Parker, an educated gentleman of Indian blood, who had served with credit on his staff during the war. He remained in office over two years, but failed to meet the expectations of the President or of the public, and was removed. His successor, Francis A.

Walker, was a gentleman of culture and ability, but he resigned to accept a professorship in Yale College. Edward P. Smith, who was appointed to the vacancy early in 1873, was designated by the religious bodies, and was fitted for his place by a long train of adapting experiences. He was for several years a student at Dartmouth, but graduated at Yale. He then went through a course of theology at Andover, and was for several years pastor of a Church in Massachusetts. On the breaking out of the war he entered into the service of the Christian Commission, was field agent for the army of the West, and secretary of the Commission. When the Commission disbanded he entered into the service of the American Missionary Society, and employed his energies in establishing schools for freedmen, going thence into the Indian service as agent of the Chippewas in Minnesota. From this work he was called, without his solicitation or previous knowledge, to the more important post of Commissioner. A man of large capacity, of varied experience, of a heart swelling with benevolence toward all mankind, he was well furnished for his important duties, and his reports are luminous with practical suggestions and encouraging incidents pointing to the elevation of the Indian, and showing how completely his mind was absorbed in the work which he had in hand. But the storm which was raised in regard to the proceedings at the Red Cloud Agency caused his withdrawal from the service, when he was immediately chosen president of Howard University, and then sent on a benevolent mission to Africa, where he died. He had, however, laid foundations which were to remain, and on which others will successfully build.

Life at an Indian agency or in an Indian lodge may have in it a spice of adventure and romance which looks attractive at a distance; but in its realities, as it presents itself to a teacher or missionary, without associates, without accustomed comforts, without due appreciation, it is little else than a scene of hardships, trials, and sacrifices. At least such are our impressions after reading a pleasant book on frontier life among the Indians, by Thomas C. Battey.

Mr. Battey is a Quaker who bends his ear to catch the whisperings of the Spirit, and has the courage of obedience. He was moved to leave his wife and children and pleasant

home in Kansas, and go out under the wing of one of the Quaker agencies to teach an Indian school. The school was for the Caddoes, under the Wichita Agency, in the south-west portion of the Indian Territory bordering on Texas. He did not understand the language of the Caddoes, and consequently could not converse with his pupils; but he appears to have been very successful both as a teacher and a promoter of Indian civilization; and it was a great misfortune to the Indians that his health could not bear the strain of so hard a life, and that, after three years of successful service, he was obliged to retire.

Mr. Battey, in speaking of the habits that prevail among the Indians, says:—

> Their tastes being in some respects obtuse, the flesh of which they partake is not objected to, even though it be too long since it was killed, or whether it was killed at all. Many a buffalo calf dying with its mother is served up as if it had been killed. They have no idea of being filthy, as who has? What if they did not wash their hands before mixing the bread or taking up the meat? meat is meat, and, therefore, clean. No matter if it has been carried thirty or fifty miles, swinging and flopping on the sides of a mule until covered with dust and sweat and hair; it needs no washing, or, at least, gets none before being put into the camp-kettle. If the hair, boiled into strings and served up with the beef, is unpalatable, it is quickly taken out of the mouth and thrown away. Hair is clean; dust is clean. If dirt is, as has been defined, matter out of place, there is none in an Indian camp; for what can be out of place where nothing has a place? As might be expected of a people who live by the chase, they are not very particular as to the kind of meat used. The buffalo, antelope, or deer, is preferred; but, if these cannot be obtained, a pony or mule, a dog or a wolf, supplies the deficiency.—P. 322.

This is the living of an Indian camp; but Mr. Battey's school was not in camp, but at the agency, where the food was served up with some regard to the usages of civilized life, where there are always some persons in the employ of the Government who speak English, and where he was not entirely separated from his accustomed pursuits and methods of living. The school had been in operation three weeks, with six pupils, only one of whom knew the letters of the alphabet. They had to come from the camp, four or five miles distant, and hence were obliged to remain at the agency through the week. They were fed by a Cherokee woman, who lived in the yard, and at night

"slept on the ground by the side of a log or fence, or any thing that would afford a windbreak."

Meantime winter was drawing near, (he arrived on the last day of October, 1871,) and the children had no other protection than the ordinary Indian blanket. It did not take Mr. Battey long to discover that if his school was to amount to any thing in the way of education he must extemporize some means of boarding his pupils, and this was accordingly done at once. The provisions were extremely rude, but he had the satisfaction of seeing all his available space occupied with pupils, and the average attendance of the last half of his term was 27—on the roll 38. At the conclusion of his term, after seven months of service, he reports as follows:—

> The ages of the scholars range from five to twenty. They are mostly from the Caddo and Delaware tribes, with a few Creeks. Nearly all have shown aptness and ability, and a considerable zeal in their studies. Two thirds of them now, at the close of the school, read fluently in books—using the first, second, and third readers—the remainder using charts. Twelve have made commendable progress in writing, their copy-books being models of care and neatness. Several show considerable talent and interest in drawing. In acquiring geography the scholars have shown remarkable aptness, having a general acquaintance with the maps of the world, North and South America and the United States. Also a knowledge of the races of men, and the remarkable animals inhabiting different parts of the earth.—P. 73.

In a subsequent chapter Mr. Battey refers to the progress made by this tribe as follows:—

> The Caddoes are rapidly improving. When I first became acquainted with them there were but two or three farms among them, and their houses were of the most miserable description, being close, dark, smoky, and filthy. Now (1873) they have about two thousand acres broken for crops; over one hundred good frontier houses, with windows of glass, doors, and chimneys, and some household furniture. The school is in a flourishing condition, having about sixty scholars.—P. 255.

Mr. Battey's remarkable success in crowding forward his pupils brought him into conspicuous notice with the visiting chiefs of other tribes, among whom was Kicking Bird, a leading chief of the Kiowas. This tribe was the wildest and most barbarous of all the Indians of the Indian Territory. During the summer, while Mr. Battey was closing his school and mak-

ing a brief visit to his home in Kansas, they were raiding, plundering, and murdering in Texas. Their murders during that summer numbered over forty, and their stock of ponies was probably increased by every murder. They excused these outrages on the plea that the Government had imprisoned their chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree, who had been seized and committed on account of their atrocities.* Kicking Bird was a prudent and able leader, who had not sanctioned these raids, and had lately shown a disposition "to walk in the white man's road." He seems to have had a strong admiration for *Thomis*, as Mr. Battey was called, and the Quaker teacher had equally strong movings toward Kicking Bird, with an inward premonition that the Spirit was calling him to go over to the help of these wild, murderous Kiowas.

The result was that when Mr. Battey returned from his summer visit to his family (1872) he was fully resolved to make his home in the Kiowa camp, and see what he could do toward opening a school and leading them toward "the white man's road." He accordingly stopped only a few days at the Wichita Agency; but the first thing that he did while there was to go, without warning, to the school-house which had been so long the scene of his labors, and to break in on his pupils while the school was in session. The scene he thus describes:—

> Though the scholars kept their seats, they could not resist the impulse to shout my name over and over again. The teacher rose up in astonishment, but seeing me all travel-soiled, as I was, he comprehended the cause of the uproar, and could not refrain from laughing. After shaking hands all around I retired to my former room to improve my appearance; but before this was

* Satanta had been concerned in many gross outrages, and was captured in 1869, but afterward released. Two years later, while raiding at the head of a hundred Kiowas, he attacked a corn train in Texas, and murdered seven of the teamsters, one of whom, on account of his resistance, was roasted over a slow fire. He was so foolhardy as to boast of these achievements to General Sherman, who ordered his arrest, together with two other chiefs who had acted with him. These were Big Tree and Satank. They were all put in irons and sent under a strong guard to Texas to be tried for murder. But Satank made a violent attempt to escape. Having worked his hands free from his irons, he seized a knife and struck one of the guards in the leg, but was instantly shot down. Satanta and Big Tree were taken to Texas, where they had their trial, were convicted, and sentenced to be hung, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. They were subsequently pardoned, and restored to the tribe on assurance of future good conduct.

more than half accomplished school broke for the day, and up stairs was the rush, and "Thomis" was the cry; filling the stairway, hall, and room, and I had much ado to induce them to leave me to myself.—P. 81.

During his stay at the agency Horseback, a rising chief of the Quahada Comanches, a wild and warlike tribe, brought in on two different occasions a number of captives for redemption. These captives are generally taken in some raid for plunder, and are held for servants, or to secure a price for their redemption. These, however, had not been captured by Horseback, but had been turned over to him from some other tribe, and their delivery was regarded as a friendly act. They were all boys, and the history of each was full of interest; but the following will be sufficient to show the extreme barbarity of these captures:—

Temple Friend, though appearing to be a very intelligent boy, having been taken young, had forgotten the English language, and remembered only the scene of his capture. His mother he stated to have been killed while his father (whose name he remembered was John) and his sister were away from home. There seemed to be no clue by which this boy could be identified, and the whole household at the Agency were becoming much attached to him, when an old gray-headed man, L. S. Friend, a Methodist minister who had for many years acted as a missionary on the frontiers of Texas, arrived from Kansas, where he now resides, having seen a notice in the newspapers of the delivery of two unknown boys at the Agency, to see if he could recognize in one of them his long-lost grandson. He had spent much money, and had traveled over fifteen thousand miles in his unwearied search, and now his efforts were to be crowned with success. The old man gently put his arm around the boy and drew him toward him. The tears started into his eyes as he slowly uttered the words "Temple Friend." The boy started as if from sleep, looked at the old man, and having learned a few words of English, (at the Agency,) answered "Yes." The old man then pronounced the name of his sister, "Florence Friend." The boy with a look of unutterable amazement replied as before, "Yes!" We learned from the grandfather that he is thirteen years of age, was captured in Texas, and has been with the Indians five years. His mother, (stepmother,) though transfixed by an arrow which passed through both arms and breasts, is still alive to welcome her long-lost son. —P. 88.

Mr. Battey, according to the suggestions of the Spirit, went over among the Kiowas, and undertook, with the approval of Kicking Bird, to open a school. But a school in a moving

Indian camp, under a tent of buffalo skins, and with the thermometer thirty-four degrees below zero, is not a very promising enterprise. There were, however, other hinderances. Some evil-minded Caddoes came over and whispered around that Battey was "bad medicine," and had made many children sick. The Indians are exceedingly superstitious,* and a great alarm spread through the camp, resulting in a council, during which a couple of young men, armed with revolvers and bows and arrows, kept guard over Mr. Battey at his quarters. It ended favorably for him, however, but the school was doomed, and had to be given up. The intensity of the feeling against it may be inferred from the following incident. Mr. Battey says:—

> After the withdrawal of the chiefs and old people, several young men remaining in my tent, a middle-aged man came in with an uplifted ax, his face hideously painted with black lines expressive of intense anger, advanced toward me with a most horrid oath in broken English, and, suiting his action to his words, was about to strike me with the edge of his weapon. Putting on as bold a front as I could command, I stepped up to him, seized him by his uplifted arm, and forcibly put him out of my tent. I had no thought of fear until after closing the session for the forenoon, when, on thinking it over, I was somewhat unnerved.—P. 116.

Mr. Battey, finding that he was a good influence among these wild and fierce barbarians, determined to remain with them through the term for which he was employed. In his

* The Indians are superstitious in proportion to their ignorance, and have their "medicine" for every thing. On one occasion, while Mr. Battey was with the Caddoes, a chief of the Wichitas was taken ill, and after a short sickness died. The woman who was called in to "make medicine" for the recovery of the sick man failed in her incantations, very much to the disgust of the chief's brother, who, without saying a word, went to her lodge with his gun in his hand, and deliberately shot her for having made bad "medicine."

On another occasion, after going among the Kiowas, Mr. Battey was in a tent with chiefs, and women, and children. The pipe on such occasions is used to excess, and, as the smoke filled the place and was particularly disagreeable to Mr. Battey, he determined to go outside and enjoy the luxury of a little fresh air. But there was a child lying on the ground, and he thoughtlessly made his exit by stepping over the child's body. The women instantly started to their feet and gave a scream as if something terrible had occurred; and he learned afterward that to step over a child was "bad medicine," and that the child was sure to die. He adds that the child in question was taken sick not long after, that there was no hope from the first of its recovery, and that it died.

report he narrates some of the causes which led to the failure of his school, and adds:—

> Being encouraged to remain with the tribe I have done so, moving with them as they moved. Gradually, as I could make myself understood, I would explain the advantages of living and dressing like the white people, giving up raiding, raising cattle and hogs instead of ponies, cultivating corn, and living in houses.—P. 192.

This was in the summer of 1873, and it is fair to infer that Mr. Battey's Quaker methods and kind words bore good fruit; for we find in turning to the report of the Agent, made in August, 1876, three years later, that these wild Indians were then arresting and punishing their young men for stealing horses; that a man who committed depredations on the stores of the Agency had been seized by the Indians, and delivered to the agent for punishment; that another who killed his wife in a tempest of anger was wearing a ball and chain as a criminal; that the Indians had sold nearly five thousand bushels of wheat at the Agency for one dollar per bushel; that they have some cattle, sheep, and hogs, and that their children go to school. Of the school the agent says:—

> Our difficulty was not in getting enough children, but in confining the number to the capacity of the house, so many more than we can accommodate being anxious to get in. The addition enables us to crowd in seventy-two children, thirty-nine boys and thirty-three girls. They learned as fast as white children, and kept up their interest through the entire session. The parents and friends of the children manifest a great interest in the school, and seldom a day passes that some of them were not there. On the last day a larger number were present, and seemed very proud of the success of their children.—P. 51.

These are the robbers and murderers of three years before. Is not this single case a demonstration of the wisdom and economy of the "policy of peace?" It is not only the result of work done, but of the good influences that cluster around the Agency. Our present Indian Commissioner says in his report for 1876: "The great want of the Indian service has always been thoroughly competent agents." The new mode of appointment is a decided improvement on the old, but it still fails in giving to the service men uniformly furnished for the work of the Agency, and hence it is that progress is much greater in some tribes than in others.

But this case is not an exceptional one. The whole Indian world, so to speak, is crying out for schools, for permanent homes, for houses and furniture, for cattle and sheep, for agricultural implements and instruction in farming, for lands in severalty, and some of them for American citizenship.

The Kiowas belong to the central superintendency, which has in its charge about sixteen thousand Indians: the Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Kaws, Osages, Quapaws, Peorias, Ottawas, Wyandots, Senecas, Sac and Foxes, Shawnees, Cheyennes, Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches. Their number remains about the same from year to year, and hence the changes that are taking place are not attributable to an increase of population. The comparison below is between 1868 and 1875, and shows at a glance what is going on:—

	1868.	1875.
Number of schools	4	15
Number of pupils	105	836
Number of Sabbath-schools	....	13
Acres cultivated by Indians	3,220	14,499
Corn raised by Indians (bushels)	31,700	320,500
Wheat " "	633	28,032
Oats " "	....	5,930
Potatoes " "	7,000	12,000
Hay " (tons)	750	4,996
Cattle owned by Indians	640	6,580
Hogs "	1,074	12,268
Houses owned and occupied by Indians	....	1,042

This Superintendency embraces some of the wildest tribes of the West, and its progress in letters, industry, and the arts of civilization is, therefore, the more wonderful. What is special cause of gratification is that so many of the roving tribes have consented to locate on reservations. This is always the first step in "the white man's road." Of the Indians in the Northern Superintendency, consisting of the Santee-Sioux, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Pawnees, Otoes, and Missouries and Iowas, and Sac and Foxes of Missouri, numbering about seven thousand souls, all are on reservations in Nebraska. They had in 1875 seven industrial schools with two hundred and fifty pupils, in which the boys and girls are taught the useful occupations, and fourteen day schools. Not quite half the children of the proper age are in school, many being prevented by their distance

from the school-building. Four of the tribes are self-supporting, raising enough from their farms to subsist them. In three of the tribes the Indians live in houses, eat with knives and forks, use dishes, sit on chairs, sleep on beds, and wear the clothes of civilized life.

Of the 266,000 Indians, shown by careful enumeration to have their residence within the bounds of the United States, (not including Alaska,) nearly all have largely progressed during the eight years under review, but some much more than others. Some idea of the general advancement may be gathered from the following comparison between 1868 and 1876. The figures are from official sources:—

	1868.	1876.
Houses	7,476	55,717
Schools	111	344
Teachers	134	437
Scholars	4,718	11,328
Acres of land cultivated	54,207	318,194
Wheat raised, (bushels,)	126,117	463,054
Corn " (")	467,363	2,229,463
Oats and Barley, (")	43,978	134,780
Vegetables, (")	236,296	278,844
Hay, (tons,)	13,215	16,216
Horses and Mules	48,960	310,043
Cattle	42,874	811,308
Swine	29,890	214,076
Sheep	2,683	447,295

As the Indians do not increase, these figures must be taken as showing a very wonderful change, which, if it should continue for a few years with the same rate of advancement, must effectually dispose of what is called "The Indian Question," by converting every Indian into a citizen. Of the houses mentioned above, 1,702 were built during the last year; of the 266,000 Indians 25,622, or about one in ten—taking men, women, and children together—are able to read, and nearly a thousand of these have learned within the last year. Of churches there are 177; and 54,207, or about one fifth of the whole, are Church members.

Eight years ago several bands of wild Chippewas and other Indians were gathered together in Minnesota on what is called the White Earth Reservation. They were put under the supervision of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and were as

"low and degraded," to use the words of the agent, "as it was possible for human beings to be." In November, 1875, the agent reports that "A stranger passing through the reservation would scarcely know, from the appearance of the houses and farms, or the dress of the people, that he was in an Indian country." The Indians number 1,427, and hold 170 distinct farms of from five to twenty acres. Two hundred families live in good houses of hewed logs. They raised, in 1875, 3,025 bushels of wheat, 2,629 bushels of corn, 1,340 bushels of oats, and cut 2,119 tons of hay. Six hundred of them, or nearly one half, are Church members.

The Sisseton Agency, in Dakotah, is in the charge of the Congregationalists, and the number of Indians is 1,807. In 1868 they were wild, wandering, marauding Sioux, with no schools, churches, or industries; now they occupy 248 houses, forty-one of which were built last year. Nine hundred and fifty, or more than one half, can read. They have four churches, with 392 members, and have raised $700 for the support of their minister, and $330 to forward missionary work in other tribes. Every able-bodied man who is the head of a family is located on a farm of a hundred and sixty acres, for which he holds a certificate of allotment.

The Yakoma Agency, in Washington Territory, is in the charge of the Methodists, and the agent, James H. Wilbur, is a minister of that denomination. The Indians number 4,100. Mr. Wilbur in his report a year ago says:—

> When I began with them there was not one acre of ground cultivated; they lived on roots and fish. Now they have ten thousand acres fenced, and, I think, four thousand under cultivation. Thirty thousand bushels of grain have been raised the past year, sufficient to subsist the nation. We issue nothing except to the sick and blind. All the land cultivated has been surveyed and is held in severalty. The Indians build permanent fences, good houses, and have their own horses, plows, wagons, tools, and implements. They have good church buildings, and the Church membership is about five hundred. The children that have been trained to mechanical pursuits are good workers in the different departments of business.—*Report to Board of Com'rs*, p. 137.

A little later, in September, 1876, Mr. Wilbur again writes:

> We have built eleven houses, worth at least $500 each—($5,500.) We have two white men and five Indians putting up

houses. They are neatly finished, and painted outside and inside. Many of them have comfortable furniture—chairs, beds, bedsteads, tables, table-ware, clocks, and cook-stoves. . . . It will be seen that, with the grain issued, the mills erected, lumber made, houses built, farms fenced, schools taught, an active Church membership of between five and six hundred, two educated native preachers, two good church edifices, and four hundred head of cattle, we have some show for setting up, ere long, an independent race.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, pp. 145, 146.

Mr. Wilbur's steam mill, shingle machine, and mill-house, costing about $13,000, were built without any appropriation from the Government. The money to purchase the machinery was chiefly obtained by grazing stock for cattle-owners outside of the reservation. The Indians worked with their teams, and contributed their labor, and in this way the important improvement progressed to completion.

If we turn to those tribes which have been surrounded by civilized communities, like the New York Indians, or to those which have been long under the training of Christian missionaries, like the tribes of the Union Agency in the Indian Territory, we shall find that the progress in civilization is, in some degree, proportionate to the operating influences. The five tribes under the care of the Union Agency were all removed, many years ago, from States bordering the Atlantic, and located on a large tract of land in the Indian Territory. They include the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Each of these tribes has a constitutional government, modeled after the governments of the States, with an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary. The expenses of their governments are paid from their own funds, derived mainly from the sale of lands, the products of which are lodged in the Treasury of the United States in the form of bonds.

The Cherokees have a large and valuable property, and their public buildings consist of a capital, valued at $22,000; a male seminary, $75,000; a female seminary, $75,000; an orphan asylum, $70,000; an asylum for the blind, insane, deaf, and dumb, $7,000; a printing house, $5,000; and a jail, $7,000. Their number is about 17,000. They have mills, blacksmith shops, stores, and all the usual appendages of a civilized community. Their cattle number 42,000. They have a weekly newspaper, edited by an Indian, and published both

in Indian and in Cherokee. The agent, in his report for 1876, says:—

Among them are men noted for their talents and learning. Their government is conducted with marked ability and dignity. Their schools stand as monuments to their progress in civilization. Only a few years ago they assembled in council under trees or in a rude log-house, with hewed logs for seats: now the legislature assembles in a spacious brick council-house, provided with committee rooms, a senate chamber, a hall of representatives, a library, and rooms for executive offices, which cost an outlay of $22,000.

Their citizens occupy neat, hewed, double log-cabins, or frame, brick, or stone houses, according to means or taste, with grounds adorned by ornamental trees, shrubbery, and flowers, with nearly every usual improvement, including orchards of the choicest fruit. Their women are usually good housekeepers, and give great attention to spinning and weaving yarns, jeans, and linsey. The farmers raise most of their own wool and cotton, and it is not an unusual thing in a well-to-do farmer's house to see a sewing-machine and a piano.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, p. 61.

We cannot pursue these dry details any further, and shall not be greatly surprised if they seem to the reader as "old wives' fables," so different are they from what we might expect after reading in the daily papers such frequent reports of Indians capturing trains, Indians running off stock, and Indians murdering and scalping defenseless citizens. But it must be remembered that there are still a few bands, like that of Sitting Bull, made up of renegade Indians, who have rejected all civilizing influences, and assorted together to gratify their wild propensities for raiding and plunder. They are not connected with any agency, and are the declared enemies of the Government. Then the vast interior naturally affords great scope for marauders; and there are enterprising robbers among Indians as well as among the white races. It should also be remembered that the famous Mountain Meadow massacre was the work of white men disguised as Indians; and it would be very strange if there were not turbulent spirits hanging on the edges of civilization who assumed the role of the Indian while they committed deeds of robbery and murder. But these outrages grow less year by year, and Indian wars are evidently drawing to a close. The Indian Commissioner said two years ago that there could never be another great Indian war, and subsequent events have tended to confirm the accuracy of his

judgment. A small band of robbers, well armed and on fleet horses, may cause wide-spread alarm, and may give organized troops much trouble; but the conflicts which they invoke should hardly be dignified with the name of war.

The Indians are coming to understand that they are completely in the power of the Government, and that if they would escape destruction they must adopt the usages of civilization. On this subject the Commissioner says:—

> Except in the Indian Territory, and, perhaps, Dakota, the white population exceeds that of the Indian. Hence no new hunting grounds remain, and civilization or the entire destruction of the Indians is inevitable. If they cannot be taught, and taught very soon, to accept the necessities of their situation, and begin in earnest to provide for their own wants by labor in civilized pursuits, they are destined to speedy extinction.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, p. 6.

The remarkable results which have crowned the honest efforts of the last eight years point the way out of all the perplexities of "the Indian Question," including that of expenditure. It is now absolutely certain that the Indian can be allured from his wild ways and taught "to walk in the white man's road;" that he can be educated with facility; that he can be induced to change his mode of life; that his ambition to excel in the chase or in the battle is the same ambition which will make him a successful farmer, mechanic, or tradesman; and that by far the cheapest and most effective method with him is that which helps him to become an independent citizen.

Already has this idea fastened itself strongly on many of the Indians who are somewhat advanced in the arts of peace, and they are forsaking their tribal relations and settling down on farms like other industrious and thrifty citizens. In November, 1875, one of the Indian superintendents writes from Omaha that

> Agricultural and mechanical industry is rapidly increasing among the male members of all our Indian tribes. Indian apprentices are now learning all the mechanical trades of the agencies. They are apt scholars and good workmen, but lack self-reliance, and generally prefer a white man for foreman. A portion of the Santee-Sioux, about seventy-five families, containing three hundred and twelve persons, have removed to Flandreau, Dakota, where they have filed homestead papers, and propose taking on themselves the responsibilities of American citizens. A small portion

of the Winnebagoes in Minnesota have already been admitted to citizenship, and the entire tribe are rapidly advancing toward citizenship.—*Letter of Barclay White in Board Report for* 1875, p. 112.

The tendency of such facts cannot be mistaken, for with citizenship ends all our troublesome Indian questions. If an Indian can be converted into a citizen by these methods of peace and instruction, then it follows that a few years of earnest and persistent training, aided by such missionary work as our Churches are always ready to bestow, will solve the Indian problem, and put an end to Indian annuities, Indian treaties, Indian raids, and Indian wars.

In view of these facts the retrograde movement for turning the Indians over to the care of the army is, beyond expression, repulsive. The army is the sword of the nation, and a beneficent power in executing judgment; but all military rule is arbitrary, and force provokes force, so that the end would be, not civilization but extermination. On this subject the Board of Commissioners in one of their reports say:—

It can hardly be a question with thoughtful men whether it is not better to educate the Indians, to build houses and schools and churches for them, to teach them to cultivate the soil and acquire useful trades, to civilize and Christianize them, than to hand them over to a government that we do not choose for ourselves or our children; a government that would feel no interest in, and would make no effort for, the advancement of those whom it governed; a government which is opposed to the genius of liberty and the progress of the race.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1875, p. 15.

In 1868, before the present policy was adopted, a Peace Commission, consisting of eight distinguished citizens, had this subject under consideration, and expressed their views as follows:—

To determine this properly we must first know what is to be the future treatment of the Indians. If we intend to have war with them, then the Bureau should go over to the department of war; but if we intend to have peace, it should remain in the civil department. In our judgment such wars are wholly unnecessary; and, hoping that the Government and the country will agree with us, we cannot advise the change. But Congress might authorize the President to turn over to the military the exclusive control of such tribes as may be continually hostile or unmanageable.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1875, p. 18.

The soldier is only an element in civilization when he acts as the executor to enforce the mandates of justice. In other respects his influence is almost invariably evil. He is habituated to arbitrary restraint, and his tension in one direction is apt to result in a corresponding looseness in the other direction. Hence he is proverbially easy and corrupt when off duty, and is always an evil influence about an Indian camp. On this subject Agent Wilbur writes as follows:—

> The presence of the military is regarded by the better class of Indians as destructive to morality, good order, and progress in civilization. Judging from the effect produced when this Agency was turned over to a military officer for eighteen months, it would be destructive to every thing like industry, morality, and civilization. It suffered a loss of at least forty thousand dollars during those months. Drinking and drunkenness, gambling and debauching the Indian women, became the common order. Quite a number of the better class of Indians left the Agency, and did not return until there was a change of administration.—*Letter in Report of Board of Commissioners for* 1875, p. 100.

In conclusion, we must express the opinion that the Indian problem which has perplexed so many wise statesmen during the first hundred years of our existence has been solved by these eight years of direct and unselfish effort, and that the way to complete and final success lies in pursuing the same road. Hence we unite our voice with those who find something to approve in the late administration of President Grant. Even if he had not fought a battle; if he had not established the principle of arbitration in the settlement of the national disputes; if he had not commanded compensation for the spoliation of our commerce; if he had not been a successful administrator through eight years of peace, growth, and prosperity, there would still be his Indian policy to render his name illustrious.

A few days before the close of his administration a considerable body of gentlemen, connected with the philanthropic movements of the age and representing important associations, met the Board of Indian Commissioners at their quarterly meeting in Washington, and formed a Convention. There were present such men as Bishop Whipple, of the Episcopal Church; Richard Bentley and Edward Earle, Friends; J. M. Reid, Secretary of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church; S. S. Cutting, Corresponding Secretary of the American

Home Baptist Missionary Society; J. D. Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church; M. E. Strieby, Secretary of the American Missionary Society, etc.

After concluding their deliberations they addressed a joint note to the President, in which, after making some recommendations and urging the continuance of the same general policy, they say:—

> The Convention regards it as at once a duty and a pleasure to express its belief that the policy of peace and fair dealing with the Indians is wise, humane, and worthy of a Christian people. The Convention also expresses its high opinion of the firmness of the President in adhering to this line of benevolent action in the face of misunderstanding and opposition. The Convention would therefore respectfully tender to him its grateful acknowledgments for his admirable course of procedure toward the long-oppressed Indian tribes.—*Proceedings in Washington Evening Star, Feb.* 8, 1877.

This modest indorsement of a policy which has the ring of true wisdom and of great statesmanship, and has been rendered successful by great forbearance and great perseverance, may well be accepted by the Christian world.

Art. III.—MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL.

What the rights of women are remains, after a century of discussion and experiment, an undetermined problem, as regards a practical or an approximately definite solution. The equal prerogative of the sexes to labor in nearly all provinces of legitimate work, is maintained theoretically by some of the best thinkers of the time; and the slow but continuous pressure of the wedge first forged and thrust—rather roughly, it must be admitted—by a club of reformers, apparently indicates that the status of women, though uncertain as yet, as we have said, is tending naturally toward confirmed and established settlement. The chief hinderance thus far to such a result has lain with the sex itself. For with classes, nations, any and all divisions of society, the test of deserving liberty inheres in the will to acquire it. An earnestness of purpose, intense and sustained—a "beautiful agony," as the Greek phrase describes

it—a sufficient capital of ability for investment in the undertaking, which latter must bear also the character of a sacrifice, carried forward with a determination which may meet with defeat but will not consider it, these attain the consummation of enlarged rights, and assert likewise the requisite fitness to use them. For a right is a wrong and an abuse if it be exercised without discernment and conscience. Hence that doctrine of Sojourner Truth, sybil of African-Americans and feminine conventions, is a text for a homily, or a motto at once cautious and ambitious: If women want their rights let them go and take them. The apologies commonly urged of women's subjugation, miseducation, and the rest, do not weigh the balance against this truth of fitness for an enlarged freedom as determined by capacity and resolution.

When the Roman populace clamored against the oppressions and intolerable servitude imposed upon them by the patricians and senators, they clamored, as the Gallic cock has sometimes crowed in later eras, to no good purpose. But when certain cohorts lifted aloft the eagles, still swearing fealty to them, and marched in military order out of the northern gate up to Mons Sacer, two or three miles away, the whole people followed after; and their late masters, who till then had sat placidly in their curules while the lictors cleared the way, or had listened with undisturbed dignity to Servetus in the senate, looked at one another ruefully, and ruefully upon the stately buildings and the deserted streets. Long had the people clamored for a representative; but not till the clamor ceased, and in the ensuing silence their resolution took the form of significant action, was the office of tribune constituted, to represent their cause and maintain their rights. So, also, in later ages, when the modern Greek protested against his servitude, small encouragement and less aid was given him till the tidings spread from Athens to Edinburgh and New York, that the Suliote mothers leaped from their native cliffs with their babes in their arms rather than live to rear them as slaves for the Ottoman tyrant. When Bozzaris, one of the protesting race, fell in defending it, the Christian world was ready in sympathy and help, and the Greek received all the liberty he could use.

Assuredly woman is not unfitted by nature, pre-eminently

by her Christianized nature, to win, without losing the respect of others, such opportunities for faithful work, or for beneficent influence, as may seem to her desirable. Her gentleness and tact, all the specific qualities implied in the adjective that describes her power—*feminine*—are her most effective weapons, or rather, let us say, modifying the figure to the subject, her most efficient implements. Her intellectual and moral advancement is not a matter for contention, but for assertion and mild maintaining, after the manner instinctive with her. The word mastery has no feminine equivalent. The word sovereignty approaches it, and is quite as good in its way for not suggesting combativeness. She who is ruler in the household may seek, not timorously, but, by virtue of native supremacy, with womanly confidence, for installation elsewhere. The earlier derivative languages have but one word for woman and queen.

Yet precisely how to preserve and adjust her distinctive character to the following of pursuits not entirely domestic or social is a proposition attended with difficulties and perplexities, as any observer of the widening of women's work during the last decade must admit. To treat it with fairness, it is possible that both men and women must revert to first principles and to the earlier historic developments. For modern civilization is not, it hardly need be said, a result of purely virtuous and beneficent forces. Retrograde movements run beside advancing ones in the intricate shifting streams of humanity. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew stains the soil of one country while the Puritans are organizing in another. The founder of the most wide-spread and most atrocious of ecclesiastical orders in the Romish Church stands coeval with the apostle of a restored gospel of conscience, moral obligation, and faith, and with the stern Moses of the Genevan theocracy. The long and painfully wrought work of one age is submerged by cataclysms that toss on their surface naught but muck and drift, as the century-recurring floods bore away the made and remade burghs of the early Hollanders. The condition of races and sexes rises and falls like those strange columns of the ancient temple to Jupiter Serapion by the shore of the Neapolitan Bay.

Among the Hebrews, till their decadence just prior to the Christian era, the position of woman was, in some significant

respects, identical with that of man. She was singer, prophetess, warrior; and as wife and mother her office was ennobled, by the hope of the Messiah, above that of her sex in contemporaneous nations. Among the earliest Aryans, also, no evidence exists of any great disparity between the interests and pursuits of men and women. The Saxon tribes held the woman to be veritably the consort of her mate. Marriage was a compact bearing with equal weight and advantage upon both parties. The husband was not less dutiful nor less faithful than the wife. She sat in his councils, and was his peer, though she wove and spun while he plowed and harvested. And to the student of history in its bearings on social science, it is evident that no epoch of the world has been quite devoid of some attestation to woman's complementary or equal rank as a consort—one whose destiny and state is of the same dignity and worth with the man's; and this idea *may* imply identity of pursuits, as well as identity of interests. That the relative position of the sex in the Hebrew theocracy did not irrevocably decline is evident; since to-day the Old and New Testaments are claimed as its original charter of rights, and the advocates for feminine workers in the Church base their arguments upon citations and interpretations of Scripture.

Nevertheless with thus much in her favor, the feminine has remained far behind the masculine mind in intellectual advancement; so far behind, that not a few impartial minds question whether women generally should wish to compete with the more vigorous and better-trained sex in this direction. That nature hath reserved intellectual distinction for men, most of us would admit without hesitation were the postulate referred entirely to precedent. Yet not seldom has she seemed to mistake; and ever and anon through all the ages women appear who have kept pace with, have even rivaled, men in their special prerogative of mental force. Pre-eminently in the provinces of instruction and of government we find these women—from the days of Deborah, wife, poetess, and judge, to those of Maria Theresa, "our king," as her nobles named her with acclamation. It is a fact, then, worthy of notice, that down to the present century, when the range of feminine activities is greatly varied and enlarged, women have shone most

signally in those positions that demand a union of character with talent. The most vigorous of feminine minds have been unable to dispense with that moral power which is the prerogative of their sex. When this has been ignored or violated, as in the instance of the primal mother of the race, or leaving many another out of sight, in that foremost woman of genius, lately deceased, George Sand—who, be it said in justice, so far repented and so thoroughly reformed as to retract the pernicious principles of her earlier works by teaching naught but virtue in her later ones—when this adjustment of the *morale* is disordered, what a terrible power for evil has woman proved herself, when she might have been equally and incalculably potent for good!

Of a woman signally useful in the manner we have alluded to, a woman of the present century, laboring in our own country, self-and-well-made, useful beyond the ordinary measure of useful men; filling a position foreign to her sex, yet filling it acceptably; overcoming prejudice by her demeanor and by the best of arguments, success; heroic in hardships and sacrifices, yet not wanting in filial dutifulness, in conjugal and maternal affection, and domestic aptitudes; manifesting the gentleness of manner and loveliness of spirit that constitutes a lady;—of such a one we purpose to give a brief delineation. For though she sought not honor among men, being content that her works should "follow" her, such a character intrinsically and extrinsically deserves recognition as an ensample for the time in which it has appeared—possibly, also, as a type of what the time can produce.

Mrs. Hannah Pearce Reeves,* a preacher of the Methodist Protestant Church in Ohio and adjacent States, was born with the century, of the yeomanry class in Devonshire, England. By birthright she received the goodly qualities that have belonged to her people through a thousand years—thrift, independence, courage, whatever makes the substratum and substance of the Saxon country folk, whether they be freeholders, franklins, or yeomen; for the same men and women gathered into corporate communities by Alfred, and portrayed by Chaucer, appear again in their ancient hamlets in their descendants

* "The Lady Preacher; or, the Life of Mrs. Hannah Pearce Reeves." By Rev. George Brown, D.D. Philadelphia: Daughaday & Becker.

of the present; modified, it is true, by the conditions of modern life, yet substantially unchanged.

In her early years she was taught the offices of the household and dairy, acquired a knowledge of horses, as her chief accomplishment, and such other practical lore as fits a rural English lass for the occupations of her mature years. Her father, led astray by the seductions of his class—the chase and the tavern—was accustomed to consult her in matters of business when she was scarcely in her teens; and from the beginning she gave evidence of a strong nature that, once brought under the power of religion, would exert an extraordinary and beneficent influence. But the region wherein she was reared lay in the dearth and death of unreligion. The Dissenters had not penetrated it, and the parsons of the Establishment were commonly of that incongruous sort, so common in the last century, and withal not yet extinct—men of much the same pattern as the "lower orders," so to speak, of the Establishment of Rome; albeit in those, as contrasted with these, the grossness of the pattern is somewhat toned—men given to cards and wine, fox-hunters, horse-racers, profligates. A lull had followed upon the great revival that produced Methodism. In many places the light of the Churches had declined, though it was still guarded and fed by humble hands. Among these devout souls was one William O'Bryan, founder of a small sect known as Bible Christians, an offshoot from the Wesleyan stock, that gave prominence to the idea held at first, but later abandoned by the parent sect, of women-workers in the Church. This good man directed one of his journeys or itinerations toward Devonshire, to whose benighted people he preached the Gospel with earnestness and effect. A society was organized in Sheepwash, the hamlet wherein Hannah dwelt; and somewhat later, through the instrumentality of the Rev. James Thorne, a man of gifts and devotion, she was brought under conviction. For she was bred and ever remained among that social class who, unrestrained by timidity and unrepressed by culture in their religious exercises, experience the successive grades of spiritual experience with marked distinctiveness; who wrestle in prayer and faith for "the blessing," are subject to spiritual manifestations, and shout for spiritual joy.

Her conversion, occurring in her eighteenth year, was decisive, in accordance with her character. After suffering protractedly from the consciousness of sin, she fell upon her knees and resolved never more to rise till she was relieved of this burden; choosing to wait thus like a heavy laden but watchful sentinel, or to die in the struggle rather than give it over. Of necessity such a resolution was a conquering one, for it is this violence that the kingdom of heaven suffereth, and the violent take it by force. She rose with the consciousness of reconciliation with the Father of spirits, and the next day, in obedience to the injunction, "And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," went among her neighbors pleading with and constraining them by the love of Christ to follow Him in the regeneration. After the practice of the devout of her day she wrote certain rules for holy living, and through fifty subsequent years she was directed by the spirit, if not always by the letter, of her resolution, exemplifying the sweetness and the power of the Gospel in a life of extraordinary endurance and exertion.

Simultaneous with her change of heart was her call to preach, a summons that she heard with indubitable clearness. Although her opportunities for learning had been meager, her native sense and propriety stood her in such good stead that it is recorded, "She was never known to violate the laws of grammar, logic, good taste, or scriptural theology." She stood with moderate, dignified bearing in the pulpit, serene in countenance, self-possessed in manner. Her gestures were firm, but unconstrained and appropriate; her voice mellow, soft, and clear; her diction fluent; her utterance perfectly distinct. Her preaching was without ornament or display, save the ornament of a meek spirit imparting the most beautiful, sometimes the most pathetic, truth. She had plainly no other aim in the pulpit than to rescue sinners and to confirm the faith of the devout. "In all her ministrations it was felt that the mighty God was with her;" and yet she was but a rustic maid, an English Jeanne d'Arc, called to spiritual fields of battle, defending the souls that followed her against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world. Youthful championess as she was, she went bravely out to meet the great destroyer

on his own field—him who through thousands of years has passed raging to and fro on the earth amid the windrows of his slain. Many a time, as if descending from the height of her heavenly theme, was her foot set upon the crest of this arch enemy; many a soul did she bear away from his strong grasp.

Like Paul, the tent-maker, she worked at a craft, making gloves for her daily bread; and later, when this employment proved unprofitable, she served as domestic in the family of a squire, a step that proved of much advantage to the development of her talents; for her new employer, perceiving these, furnished her with opportunities for social and mental improvement that must have been extremely grateful to their *protégé*. She repaid this kindness by leading the head of the family into membership with the household of God. He subsequently became an evangelical preacher. Meanwhile the burden of her own responsibility, as one sent with Christ's message to men, oppressed her soul. And here occurs a thoroughly Methodistic incident in her career: Methodistic, Puritanic, or Catholic, as you will; for in all epochs of strong religious feeling such confessings between God and his creatures bearing upon special concerns have been common; and among some of our own people they still obtain, though not now with the unqualified approval of the denomination at large. She consulted a certain "Uncle" Allen, a man strong in faith and prayer, who talked with God as a man speaketh with his human friend. He inquired of the Lord concerning Hannah, and received answer that his will was for her to go abroad and preach. "On what circuit, Lord?" asked this devout spiritualist. "On Shebbear Circuit." "What, that great circuit, Lord? What wilt thou do with little Brother Samuel Swale?" "Take him home," was the reply. "Take little Brother Swale home, Lord? Well, thy will be done," answered the pleader, not clearly comprehending the message he had obtained. Within a short time the young preacher mentioned died unexpectedly, and Hannah was appointed to Shebbear Circuit.

Thus, at the early age of nineteen, leaving family, friends, the comforts of a home, the more desirable as her health was not robust, Miss Pearce set forth upon the work of her life. It was to be made up of arduous journeys and innumerable

religious services; of path breaking in the virgin forests of the New World, of fording perilous streams, of winning men to Christ in cabin and meeting-house, of pleading with the lowest, and of preaching before members of Conference, many of whom were distinguished for their gifts and spirituality. Hunger, thirst, cold, were often her only attendants. Sometimes she would turn aside to gather berries in the field, these furnishing her only repast; sometimes both horse and rider would travel the whole day without food. On one of her rounds she was used, at stated intervals, to walk thirty miles and conduct three religious services in one day. When asked concerning her record she gave it modestly, protesting that she did not wish her name "paraded in history;" but it is a notable name in the annals of her denomination, and occupies assuredly one of its most remarkable pages.

Many instances of special providences, such as the early itinerants took a religious pleasure in recounting, occurred in her eventful life. One evening when she paused on her circuit, wearied in body and mind, she prayed the Lord to prevent a dancing-party that was to assemble in an adjacent house, fearing that the noise would deprive her of sleep, and so unfit her for the morrow's duty. A string of the violin — the only instrument of its kind in this rustic orchestra—broke in the opening of the dance, and the company dispersed. Miss Pearce gave thanks, and went on her way refreshed and rejoicing. Again, she narrowly escaped drowning while crossing a flood, after the ferryman had vainly expostulated against her making the attempt. But in the service of self-renouncing love to which she was consecrated she counted not her life dear. So numerous were her escapes from perils of land and sea, of fire and flood and disease, that she seemed to bear a charmed life, or, rather, to be invested with a spiritual panoply impervious to assaults of the elements or of circumstances. In an emergency for want of money it became necessary to sell her horse. A man offered her half its value, but this she declined, and prayed earnestly that God would send a purchaser. The next morning, when on her way to an appointment, a stranger accosted her, and asked whether she would sell the horse. A bargain was thereupon concluded,

and the money paid on the spot. Such reliefs in emergencies she accepted as beneficent acts of the divine Love in answer to her appeal.

In her character the distinctively masculine and feminine virtues balanced one another. Gentle, gracious, benignant, she was also, as we have seen, forcible of intellect, indomitable of will. The superintendent of a circuit in England, hearing of the threats of certain desperadoes, hesitated to keep an appointment he had made. Miss Pearce, still in her maiden years, said, "Friend, let me fight that battle for you. I am not afraid." Accordingly the girl went to meet the man's enemies. The ruffians, fantastically disguised and boisterous, entered the place of assembly, much to the alarm of the few gathered there. But Miss Pearce intimidated the band in the outburst by her silence and composure. "It looks like a man," she said, scrutinizing the ringleader. "If it is the devil, I will know before he leaves the house." In the moment she bolted the door, summoned witnesses from the assembly, sent for a constable, and forthwith preferred her charges. Sentence of imprisonment was pronounced upon the accused; but being moved at the tears and pleadings of his mother, Miss Pearce obtained a commutation of the sentence to a fine —half of the money to be spent on the poor, and half on the printing of handbills containing an account of the disturbance, to be placarded in the vicinity—the magistrate declining to inflict a lesser punishment. The result was the quelling of ruffianism in the place, and the conversion of the ringleader who had represented it.

During this rencounter an officer of the law reproved her for being "out of her sphere," and began to search for scriptural proof against women's preaching. Unable to discover the passages bearing on this point, Miss Pearce found them for him, and expounded them in so orderly and cogent a manner that he was astonished at the refutation *in propriâ personâ* of his argument, and exclaimed, "Who shall say that a woman must not preach!" Again, when threatened by a band of scoffers, she chose the text, "Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on." She discoursed of the dignity and destiny of man, and of his fall, asking, "Is this a theme to mock at?" She described the life and the redemption of our

Lord, and repeated the question. She explained repentance, faith, pardon, peace, sanctification; urging still, "Do these themes deserve the scorn of man?" She spake of death, the resurrection, the judgment; of heaven, hell, eternity; asking, "Are these realities to be mocked at?" By this time the men were abashed and pallid. In tones of solemnity and warning she repeated the words, "Now, mock on!" What could have been more effective than a sermon indicated by these outlines, with such a peroration! The mockers were heard of no more. The truth is the preacher's courage was akin to Luther's. She faltered at no phantom nor reality; she feared nothing but the wrath of God. With a heart thoroughly gentle and feminine, her consciousness must have been something like that of Nelson, who, on being told, when a boy, he would meet with hunger, cold, and fear if he went upon a certain daring excursion, asked, "What is fear? I never saw it."

She preached a sermon mentioned as "remarkable" when Asa Shinn and Nicholas Snethen, eminent men in the denomination, were among her auditors, the latter minister following her with an exhortation. Twice she delivered a sermon before a Conference of the Methodist Protestants, an assembly containing men of genius and devotion. Yet at this time, 1831, she was probably the only preacher among her sex in the country, and one of but few upon the globe. The Conference sent a deputation to ask whether she would accept an appointment. "You might appoint me to Cincinnati, and my husband to Pittsburgh," she smilingly objected, "and that, you know, sirs, would never do." She wished simply to work as she could with him, to whom she was the most faithful of wives, as her watchings, and cares, and tenderness attested. On several occasions by her intrepidity and wisdom she rescued him from impending death. Superior to him in gifts, she was pleased to remain his helpmeet merely, and never hurt, by undue assumption, the love she had awakened. With an unusual, and, as it seems to us, an admirable magnanimity, he terms her his true yoke-fellow, his dear companion in the Gospel, his beloved colleague. When he heard the persuasive utterances that fell from her lips, his heart, he writes, was quickened with gratitude. The two were inspired with one spirit, one consecration from the beginning. And no member of Congress or Parlia-

ment whose wife, as a leader of society, enhances his position and enlarges his influence, could felicitate himself on his marital relations more than did this good English minister over his helpmeet in the Gospel. To their followers they must have appeared as

> "Co-supremes in unison,
> Two distincts, division none.
> . . . How true a twain
> Seemed this concordant one."

By much tact and patience she had overcome the objections of her kindred to her departure from England, and had encountered perils by sea and land to unite her life and labors with his in the wilds of a new State. Immediately upon their marriage they set forth upon an itinerant journey that extended through five large counties of Ohio, where they proclaimed the Gospel by day and by night. This peculiar union—where unequal but not diverse gifts were set together—where one life was not simply complemented by another, but the two, redoubled in activities, were energized and vitalized by the blending—this anomalous but most felicitous union with the lover of her maidenhood remained intact to the end.

Those singular manifestations that our early itinerants regarded as evidences of the divine power upon the organism of man were not wanting in the course of her ministrations. At a meeting she attended, a maiden, falling in a trance, emptied the grate of glowing coals with bare hands, and experienced no harm. Mrs. Reeves witnessed this phenomenon, and testifies to the piety of the young woman, who subsequently in single and married life exemplified the power of the faith so strangely attested on this occasion. Again, when many were stricken down, and "lay like corpses," a young man fell in a trance that continued through a fortnight. Friends, physicians, and others examined the case, but could not explain it. During this period he took no food, yet preserved a healthy pulse. In a brief interval of consciousness he sent a message to a lady who had striven long and without avail for the consciousness of pardon, bidding her be of good cheer; the suffering for sin would shortly be dispersed by "the blessing." She took heart at the word, and soon entered into the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free. When consciousness at last returned

he was dumb, like Zacharias of old, but signified that he would regain his speech at a specified time. On the day mentioned his lips were unsealed, and he spake, praising and glorifying God. Though reticent of his experience during this partial suspension of physical functions, as if he had seen that which is unlawful for a man to utter, he did, nevertheless, relate things "marvelous indeed" to those that stood by. Various theories are entertained regarding such instances of physical suspension and spiritual vision. Those simply of suspension, are explicable physiologically; some are psychological, some may be spiritual in their origin. Be this as it may, such phenomena do actually occur; they are factual, to use a Positive term, if not invariably explicable. Mrs. Reeves herself once or twice "lost her strength," and recovered it with shoutings. But her mental structure was too orderly and compacted to admit of frequent demonstrations of this sort. With her, though spontaneous—for they could not have been made or forced—they were resultant, doubtless, from the character of her work and that of the class among whom she labored.

The benign fruits of the Spirit, manifested with peculiar grace in Christian womanhood, in her spread a soft radiance over a character that otherwise might have been too sharply salient on its vigorous sides. The impelling motive of her life lay in a faith that in its active phase is evinced as an enthusiasm for humanity. "Friends, kindred, dear brotherhood of all the world," were greeted by her sympathies and amenities. Wherever she lived or journeyed she found her parish, and all within it might feel the winning influence of her love. By her tender persuasions not a few of her kindred and personal friends were reclaimed from intemperance and irreligion. Over and again her presence and her winning words disarmed the prejudice of those who had regarded women's preaching as a monstrous error. The sweetness of her influence illustrated her name, Hannah—the gracious, the merciful. When typhoid fever spread among her charges, and she perceived that the medical men of the rude settlements were incompetent to treat it, she used her own knowledge and skill, which must have been considerable, and went about as nurse and physician in one till the disease was conquered. She herself suffered from a partial attack of it after all her patients were recovered. With a Univers-

alist she conversed much on the divine beneficence, instead of thrusting at her with controversial weapons, as a less wise person would have done. Thus by the allurements of gentleness she drew her friend over to her own belief and communion. Among the Friends she announced that she was deeply impressed to make an appointment for the early morning, that the working people might have opportunity to hear the Gospel before their toil began. The Friends approved the proposal, as made by one moved of the Spirit. A Church member, somewhat staggered by her extraordinary influence with the people, was led to fear for masculine domination in the councils of the Society. "Mrs. Reeves would sway her husband," he said; "Mr. Reeves would rule the Church: the denomination would suffer; the result might prove a gyneocracy—a woman-rule." Troubled with this apprehension, he set himself as watcher over the object of it; but after several weeks of scrutiny could find no fault in one who went about intent on naught but works of healing and consolation. He went to her in private with confessions of his error, and constituted himself thereafter her redoubtable champion.

A ruffianly man living within her husband's circuit had openly threatened him with violence. Mr. Reeves, to avoid a brawl, passed by "on the other side" from the man's abode, being convinced that overtures in this case would be useless if not provocative. But Mrs. Reeves yearning for this alienated soul, went alone to him, "entreated him kindly," and led him, changed in a right mind, to the feet of Him who cast out evil and clamorous spirits. Truly, one might lawfully pray for more of such preachers, whether they be men or women! The fact that the most desperate cases, and the most vicious classes, can be reached by the influence of womanhood, often, it would seem, only by this power, is worthy of consideration by religious philanthropists and organizers. Felons, convicts, lunatics, adjudged to be utterly unreclaimable by the authorities of Newgate, became obedient to the gentle sway of Elizabeth Fry. And souls lost in the slums of the Five Points, souls that neither policemen nor ministers of the Gospel could reach, were brought to light and humanized by the group of Methodist ladies who, with no exterior protection, penetrated the place some twenty years ago.

This wonderful power of Christian womanhood was evinced not in the deeds alone, but in the daily life, of Mrs. Reeves. Living upon a spiritual plane of existence, free from vexations and confusions, she drew to herself whoever looked to her for relief. Without descending from her own serene altitudes, she lifted other souls from their cloudier ones. Skillful to heal the body and to illuminate the spirit, influence also went forth from her to restore the diseased mind. Being for a time under the roof with an insane woman, she took her in charge, and following her trustworthy instinct, or sense, adopted the same regimen that a physician would prescribe in like case. Soothing words, apt replies, tact in yielding to the patient's whims, suitable employment, interchanged with diversion, allayed the fever of the brain, and restored the sufferer to calmness and peace. She lived a number of years thereafter, ever abounding in gratitude to this handmaiden of the Healer of man. A good brother whose wife had been led to Christ through her influence, unable to procure any other gift, offered her their infant daughter as the dearest sacrifice their hearts could make. It received in baptism the name, Hannah Pearce. Mrs. Reeves, who had lost an only child, pressed the little creature to her bosom, but refused to bear it away from the maternal one. The biography adds, as a last touch to this picture, that the babe's mother covered it with kisses, and held it as if it should leave her clasp no more. She comprehended, perhaps, something of the feeling that shook Abraham's heart when, after the supreme moment of sacrifice, Isaac lay unharmed and smilin · n his embrace.

Thus, blessing and being blessed, the "Mother" of her people approached the close of life. In her sixtieth year, impaired in health, she performed a Sabbath's services for a Church in Cincinnati, and accepted an appointment for the next evening to preach from the same pulpit. Unable to absent herself from her over hospitable friends through the day, and longing for an hour of repose and meditation, she repaired toward evening, to the church, and leaned her head upon the front of a pew. But she had scarcely fallen in a light slumber when the hour of service was announced, and, unrefreshed, she ascended the pulpit stairs. In the first prayer she was so wrought upon by exhaustion and fervor that she thought to

"have gone home then and there." Yet she arose to preach from the text, "When I am weak then am I strong." The force of this deep truth, proclaimed by one who was upheld in that hour not by her own, but by the divine strength, was felt with solemnity by the assembly. The presence of Him whose power is made perfect in weakness was with the people, and many were turned from their sinfulness to His salvation, as the result of this sermon. It was her last in the regular course of her labors, though she continued abundant in good works and in afflictions to the end, which came some nine years later. She helped in raising funds for the Churches, in the Sunday-school, and occasionally in the pulpit. Her last discourse from it was made in her sixty-eighth year, upon a text full of significance, as uttered by an aged teacher of sacred truth, and an exemplar of a holy life: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

Like nearly all her co-laborers in the first fields of the Church, she died well. Long before the last day of life she had learned to think of the grave simply as a place of grateful rest. She gently corrected her friends when they spoke of the gloom of the dark valley, and encouraged her husband when he trembled at their separation. She thought on Saturday it would be "good to go home on Sunday." Her tranquillity is strongly contrasted with the distress of her "true yoke-fellow," who being in an agony, besought God for support in the coming trial. Toward the last her utterances passed from tones of serenity to cadences of triumph. "He is with me; He told me he would abide with me to the end; He has kept his word. Open the doors wide; let it be seen how happily a Christian can die!" she exclaimed, repeating the words of another illustrious Christian in his latest hour. "All is well" she affirmed often, and murmured, as if meditating upon the sustaining thought of the hymn:—

> "When languor and disease invade
> This trembling house of clay,
> 'Tis sweet to look beyond my pains," etc.

On the morning of November 13, 1868, sitting in her arm-chair, her head reclining against a pillow, her hands

folded, she fell asleep; the sleep which is an awakening to the life immortal. So passed the strong, heroic soul away.

The actual results of Mrs. Reeves' ministry cannot be given in words or numbers. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of souls were led by her from darkness to the true Light. But her influence on the multitudes whose minds and hearts were quickened by contact with her own, her influence upon the social elements gathered and combining in newly opened tracts of country, is altogether beyond estimate. It is vital to-day in the lives of those who dwell in the region of her labors. It will pass onward in silent waves through the years to come, nor will the breadth or depth of the stream be measurable in time. In the consummation of time it may be seen, perchance, intermingling with the tide of service allotted to this ardent spirit, excelling in strength, eternally fulfilling the Will that created it for blessing and honor, in the kingdom of grace. "And they shall reign for ever and ever. . . . And his servants shall serve him."

We can discern but one mistake in the plan and course of this life,—a mistake that was permitted, perhaps, in order to make manifest its correlative truth. As a rule, no one, certainly no woman, can well follow two professions. She will inevitably be compelled to intermit the one at the expense of the other; and such alternations are perplexing, if not impracticable. With less muscular and nervous strength than her mate, she will do well, will really surpass him in exertion, if she becomes thoroughly efficient in one. Mrs. Reeves was the mother of three children, all of whom perished in early years. Her biography indicates that they were born but to die thus prematurely; for the maternal profession—and it is such—precludes another set of duties alien to it. Certain queens, it is true, have reared large families and ruled the State simultaneously: as Victoria and Maria Theresa. But as regards the first, the duties of English royalty, when referred to a queen, do not interfere with, but are, on the contrary, subordinate to, the offices of the mother as head of the family. As regards the second, the fatal lack of maternal care that allowed the miseducation and non-education of her beautiful, unhappy daughter, Marie Antoinette, goes to prove the general truth of the assertion made above.

Mrs. Reeves' personal appearance was in keeping with her character. A working woman, she was invested with native dignity. Without beauty in the common acceptation, she always seemed beautiful, because the beautiful virtues of strength, steadfastness, courage, tenderness, emanated from her presence. Looking upon the transcript of her face, serene, kind, touched with the sadness of humanity, and with the compassion of the Son of man—and upon her hands, scarcely less significant than the face—soft, shapely, maternal hands, that brought gifts to men; whose touch conveyed healing, benignity, goodness,—looking upon these, one is constrained to think, This was, of a truth, a chosen messenger, a servant obedient to the heavenly will. Humble as were the surroundings of her lot, lowly as was her spirit, intent upon tasks that were wrought in all humility, and that would often have been repugnant to an unconsecrated ambition, we can but say, looking backward from the closing of this life,

> "Thou to woman's claim
> And man's, didst join besides the angel's grace
> Of a pure genius sanctified from blame."

Not many are like her; yet some may approach to her semblance. Hence this example, though absent and voiceless, claims encouragement and opportunity for the woman of excellence in whatever class or place she may stand, waiting for an open way; until her province shall be enlarged, even as his whose consort she is; until in the world, as in the ideal Church, there shall be neither male nor female, save for the divine ordering, in the mutual duties of the family,—but both shall be as one in the universal service of Him who has created all existences to obey his will with ardor, and to live in the liberty of his love.

Art. IV.—LIBERIA AT THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL.

It is the singular privilege of the present generation to live in the period of the centennial anniversaries of the two greatest events of modern times, namely, the discovery of America and the Declaration of American Independence. The man of sixty may live to celebrate, sixteen years hence, the four hundredth anniversary of the great achievement of the illustrious Italian. It is fit that the anniversaries of such remarkable epochs in the history of human progress should be separated by no wider interval. Next to the discovery of America must always be reckoned the recovery of America. It is a time for retrospection and reflection—for gratitude for the past, and lofty resolves for the future.

The American Colonization Society, in its last Annual Report, (January, 1876,) says:—

> The American nation will celebrate this year the one hundredth anniversary of its national independence. Among the leading events which have taken place during the present century there is none more illustrative of the spirit of American civilization than the organization of this society, and the establishment, under its auspices, of the Republic of Liberia.

Christian philanthropy in the United States stretched its arm over the Atlantic and founded this Republic; and it has never yet relaxed its interest in or its effort on behalf of this offspring of its benevolence. And when it is remembered that some of the men who laid the foundation of American greatness—who endured all the perils of the revolutionary period—the great and good of early American history, were ardent supporters of African colonization, giving to the cause the weight of their names and hallowing it with their latest blessing, it may not be unreasonable in us to presume that the readers of this Review, in the midst of their patriotic rejoicings, will not grudge the few minutes that they may be asked to give in glancing at the present condition and prospects of this offshoot from the great American Republic.

The African continent is now giving up the secrets it has hitherto kept from the world, and is being opened to travel and

enterprise, to trade and colonization. Lieutenant Cameron has just performed the astounding feat of walking across the continent. The white man's foot having now been planted in Central Africa with a firmer tread than ever before, European nations are determining to follow with their enterprise and trade, their benevolence and science, in the wake of their courageous explorers. Under these circumstances the Republic of Liberia, occupying so prominent a part of West Africa, even if it has no political significance, cannot be regarded with indifference on account of its geographical and relative importance on the borders of this immense country.

The colony of Liberia was established in 1822 by Negro emigrants from the United States, and it became an independent Republic in 1847. So far as the motives which led the immigrants to seek an asylum on these shores were concerned, the origin of the colony was similar to that of the American Republic. The people who founded it were refugees from oppression. But there the similarity ends. The African Republic has not been so fortunate as its great western model in the character and class of people upon whom the task of building it up has devolved.

We can trace the present greatness of the United States to the character of the men who, driven by religious persecution from different parts of Europe, sought a home in the western hemisphere, and laid the foundation of that Republic. And we can trace the present condition of Liberia, apparently paralyzed on the margin of a continent, to the antecedent disadvantages of those who, without training, culture, or experience, fled hither from physical, mental, and political degradation. Happy was the American nation in the circumstances of its birth—in the elements that nurtured its infancy!—fortunate in the character of the germ which was planted on its shores! Not so Liberia.

Far more fortunate, however, was this new Republic in the character of her early settlers than in that of the accessions she has been receiving in later years. During the last ten or fifteen years poverty and ignorance have been the capital which, as a general thing, the immigrants have imported to these shores.

Just at this moment, in the United States, Negroes in com-

fortable circumstances do not feel the need of leaving the land of their birth for the coast of Africa. The class who are seeking and receiving the patronage of the American Colonization Society, as far as it is able to extend it, are persons who, with some exceptions, but still for the most part as a rule, are hard pressed by straitened circumstances, and who imagine that they will be able to make a somewhat easy living in Liberia. In the Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, quoted above, specimens are given "from numerous spontaneous applications" received by the society for aid to emigrate to Liberia. The following is one:—

COLUMBUS, MISS., *November* 18, 1875.

DEAR SIR: In writing you these few lines I feel much depressed in spirit. The mass of colored people in this vicinity have almost unanimously concluded to emigrate to Liberia. We appeal to you, now, for information and assistance. As a class, we are poor and destitute of means. As we learn that the vessel is to go over next May, we would be glad if you could arrange it so some of us could leave at that time. No one but a colored man can realize the circumstances by which we, as a race, are surrounded. If you can do any thing for us, do, for God's sake, help us. We are here houseless, moneyless, friendless, and less every thing else that pertains to happiness. Help us if you can.

Yours, etc., W. J. MITCHELL.

Now we know that it is the good fortune of comparatively few in any country to lift themselves above very narrow circumstances, and that men as destitute as the Mississippi applicants so pathetically describe themselves to be have emigrated from Ireland and various parts of Germany to the United States, and have become useful and prosperous citizens. But the circumstances of the two countries are entirely different. In the United States there are numerous employers and directors of labor to take up this influx of physical power and give it employment. In Liberia there is no lack of the lower kinds of unskilled labor supplied by the numerous aborigines who throng the settlements. The immigrant who comes from America is at once made a proprietor. He has land given to him by law. But having no capital to employ labor, he must enter single-handed upon the work of subduing the forest, and with all the effort he may put forth, it is with the utmost difficulty that he ever rises above a hand-to-mouth existence.

Hence very often men owning their twenty-five acres of land, pressed by their necessities, prefer to leave it a wilderness and go to the arduous and, for new-comers, perilous labor of shingle and lumber getting, or enter the employ of men who may be able to keep them from starving, but hardly able to give them a start toward self-support on their own lands.

Inferior also in educational training to the peasants, vine-dressers, tradesmen, mechanics, and common laborers who go from Germany to the United States, and soon better their condition and prospects, the negro immigrant coming to this country in his poverty can do nothing but swell the indigence and incompetence which already hamper the progress of the nation. Such persons driven to Liberia by the want of subsistence, that subsistence is all they will care to seek or find in Liberia. Thus we get among us a permanent pauper class.

When, therefore, our friends in America, and others not friends, lay it to the charge of Liberia as a discredit that she does so little to support her religious and educational institutions, we may reply that this discreditable state of things may be largely attributed to the fact that the accessions to our civilized population, while they add to the poverty of the country, hardly increase its intelligence or political capital. And while it is a fact that much more might be done by Liberians than is being done in the matter of self-support and aggressive work, still, under the circumstances, it will be seen how difficult it must be for any community to get beyond what must on the whole be described as a pauperized condition. In endeavoring to grapple with the great work that lies before us we are often like men that "hew down oaks with rushes."

Nevertheless, taking a view of the present condition of Liberia physically speaking, we must admit that our facilities of territory and population—the natural facilities of the country — are unsurpassed, and furnish the basis for unlimited progress.

Our territory extends along the coast for six hundred miles, embracing the most prolific lands, and containing a population consisting of the most interesting tribes of the West Coast. The north-western portion of our territory is inhabited by the Vey tribe, noted for their intelligence and invention of the

syllabic alphabet, in which books have been printed in Europe, and which is taught in indigenous schools throughout the Vey country. In the central portions of the republic we have the Pesseh and Golah tribes, who are the peasantry of the country, affording an inexhaustible supply of agricultural laborers, and the Bassa tribe, who are the great producers of palm oil, which is so important an item in West African commerce. Next to these in our south-eastern regions are the Kroomen, who are the sailors of the coast, furnishing hands to all steamers and trading vessels, and laborers to the multitudinous factories in the great oil rivers. With these may be numbered the Greboes, who, owing to the faithful labors of the Presbyterian and Episcopal missions, have received a degree of enlightenment superior to all the Liberian aborigines, and having recently, on account of alleged grievances, formed themselves into a confederacy for offensive and defensive purposes, subjected the republic to no small inconvenience. All along our eastern frontiers we have the numerous Mandingoes, who are Mohammedans, and who are also the merchants, travelers, and educationists of the interior.

With such an extent of territory, and such a population, all anxious to form a part of the Republic, some of whom are superior to many of the Liberians in energy, in skill, and in capacity for improvement—if the Liberian government were less inert in developing the material resources of the country, and more disposed to avail itself of the political capital within its reach, the Republic might long since have risen to real independence and prosperity. In point of revenue, of political and commercial importance, of influence in the interior, no civilized government on the coast would have surpassed it. But there have been drawbacks.

The first we shall mention, already more than anticipated, has arisen from the unprepared condition of the persons who have, as a general thing, been sent to this country, and their consequent inadequate conception of their position and work on this continent. We notice that there exists at the present moment, among leading colonizationists in the United States, a diversity of opinion as to the character and probable usefulness of the emigrants now sent to Liberia. The New York State Colonization Society has for several years suspended all

active participation in the sending of emigrants to this country, preferring to devote its attention mainly to educational work among those already sent out.

A writer in the "African Repository" for June, 1874, speaking of the emigrants sent to Liberia, says: "Their Christian manhood is largely effective in molding the manners and shaping the destiny of the natives of Africa."

General Phelps, of Vermont, however, shows a clearer insight into and a deeper acquaintance with human nature and the facts of history when he says in the "Repository" for October, 1874:—

> We Americans, who have violated every one of the ten commandments, and every precept of Christ against the person of the Negro, ought to be the very last people to set up as his religious and moral instructors. The impressive, solemn, yet elevating influences of nature in the solitude of African forests, would be a far safer, more invigorating, and ennobling teacher. Nothing great or worthy can ever be done by the oppressed spirit of a man or a race that is cowed by another man or race, as the Negro ever must be in America.

It will not be denied by any thinking man, that while the Negro in his American exile has gained a knowledge of the Christian religion and many of the elements of European civilization, he has sustained some important losses; and, so far as his work in Africa is concerned, his attainments abroad will be at times a serious barrier to his usefulness. In order to become an effective worker among his people he will have to unlearn a great many things which he now regards as indispensable to progress.

In the first place, he will have to learn that the Anglo-Saxon race, either in their physical character or in their political methods, are not the ultimate standard of human development. The Negro who comes to Africa from the United States, however unadulterated his blood or unmixed his descent, comes imbued with the notion—and how can he help it?—that not only the Anglo-Saxon race, but the American branch of it, is the unexceptionable standard and guide of humanity in social and political no less than in religious matters. When he arrives home, therefore, and sees his own people in their primitive condition, but with a natural basis of successful

growth, contrasting their condition with what he left behind him in America, he conceives a feeling of distance, if not of aversion, and determines in his mind that, so far as he is concerned, this whole thing must be set right. Entirely unacquainted with the customs of races not Anglo-Saxon, altogether innocent as to his knowledge of what the laws of climate require, he indulges in unnecessary lament at what he considers the degenerate condition of his people, forming his opinions not from their lack of intelligence or manhood, but from their mode of life, their dress, their houses, and their speech, which he does not understand. He concludes that all these things are the result of the absence of Christianity, and of the lack of those appliances of civilization which he saw in America. He looks upon them as the evidence not only of the deterioration of his people, but of an almost hopeless degradation. He, therefore, sets himself to the accomplishment of an impossible task, undesirable if it were possible, to turn the African into an American, and into such an American as he takes himself to be. Looking upon himself as a teacher and missionary not only of religion, but of social and domestic customs, he aims at once at uprooting every thing un-American. And in contrast with what he regards as the causes of the wide-spread degradation of his people wherever he looks, he attaches an exaggerated importance to things American. And until very lately those persons were supposed to show to most advantage, and to be better fitted for the iconoclastic and reconstructive work, who could claim blood relationship with the dominant, or even with the aboriginal, race in America.

Now all these things are very natural with a people who have been for centuries in bondage to a foreign race, and shut out from all means of information. It requires time and numerous influences to rid them of these feelings, and very often death is the only effective reformer. The generation who lived in exile must pass away as the Egyptianized Israelites, unfitted for the work of building up an independent State, perished in the wilderness, and their children, though themselves almost fatally tainted, entered upon the inheritance.

But there are large numbers of Negro youth now getting trained in institutions of learning in the United States whose hearts are this moment yearning for their fatherland, and

many will no doubt find their way hither. It is of the utmost importance that they should understand what their position and duties must be here. They are of a race distinct from that of their masters and teachers, among whom they were born and brought up. America to them is a land of exile. In coming to Africa they will not be expatriating themselves, as some have so thoughtlessly alleged. Expatriation is from the fatherland alone. No length of residence in America will make them any thing else but Africans, with the instincts, though considerably impaired, of Africans, and with a specific part to perform in the work of human progress.

As a parasite upon the white man, the Negro, whether in America or in Africa, will accomplish nothing, and the work of civilization will be retarded. As a separate growth on its native soil, feeding upon the pure air of heaven in a region free from overshadowing forests, he will thrive and become reproductive; or, laying aside crude attempt at metaphor, the negro grown up into Christian manhood upon the basis of his own idiosyncracies will not only do his work, but have lessons to impart as well as to receive.

If it is expected, then, that a wholesome influence shall come over into this country from the institutions now devoting themselves to the training of blacks in the United States, it is important that these subjects should not be overlooked.

This great continent is to be regenerated, and to present to the world a new and important phase of civilization not yet dreamed of in the philosophy of the most advanced philanthropist, and not yet included in their most comprehensive humanitarian measures. We believe this is the opinion held by the most intelligent and thoughtful Christians. We are especially anxious, therefore, that the attention of young Negro students in America, who propose to devote themselves to work in Africa, and of their teachers, should be drawn to the specific work of the race.

Until recently the generality of Christians, taking the broad view of the unity of the human race, inferred from the apostle's declaration that "God hath made of one blood all nations," did not consider that any specific preparation was necessary for successful dealing with the different races. They did not take in the last part of the passage just quoted, that God, while he

has made of one blood all nations, hath also "appointed the bounds of their habitation," and that within those "bounds" the protracted operation of physical and moral causes has not only given to each its peculiar and indelible physical type, but has also impressed upon each certain intellectual peculiarities which require to be carefully studied and understood in order to effective dealing with them.

But juster views are now beginning to prevail. It is now seen that peculiarities of race cannot be ignored in dealing with a people in a primitive condition; that there are right and wrong ways of approaching a people; that men in different mental states and in different physical surroundings should be approached in different ways; that regard must be had to the history and antecedents of a people; that instruction should be conveyed in such a manner as to harmonize with their ideas and feelings in so far as those ideas and feelings are good and true; while at the same time it corrects judiciously, transforms, develops, and elevates them; and that prejudices must not be rudely assailed, but dealt with in a spirit of forbearance and conciliation.

These, we say, are principles which are now, more than ever before, receiving the attention of the leaders in philanthropic enterprises. And in the case of the American Negroes who come to instruct their African brethren, these general considerations derive additional force from the fact, that as they advance into the interior they will not meet a mere *tabula rasa*. They will be confronted by Mohammedan propagandists acquainted with the natural temperament, habits of thought, associations, and traditions of the people, with extensive experience in dealing with them, and whose unimpaired instincts and unaffected sympathies as Negroes qualify them to exert a wider and deeper influence than comparative strangers upon the vast area of heathendom.

It is on grounds such as these that while we rejoice at the superior advantages which are now being enjoyed by African youth in America, and while we earnestly desire to see them well-trained and highly educated Christians, we are especially anxious that they should be deeply imbued with a sense of their responsibilities as Negroes, and that in coming to Africa they should do so with a high feeling of the true dignity of

their future vocation, looking upon themselves as special instruments charged with the improvement, not of a strange race, but of their own kith and kin, and that they should avail themselves of that peculiar *rapport*—that bond of sympathy with the natives—which the prompt and the constant recognition of their near relationship, their common origin and destiny, will afford.

With such preparation, and imbued with such feelings, they will be able to perform effective work. They will not, as their predecessors on the ground have done for fifty years—and are still too much disposed to do—make a few settlements on the coast the principal scene of their activity; but they will really shape the views of the petty tribes who linger in the swamps on the coast; they will penetrate the interior, and shed the light of Christianity, and awaken thought, in the towns of Boporo, Palaka, Musardu, and Kankan. They will find the source of the Niger, and, sailing down that marvelous stream, spread intelligence on both sides. The whole of Nigritia will resound with their teaching, and, within a comparatively brief period, there will be a real advance of civilization on this continent.

But there is another drawback to our progress as a nation, and that lies in the weakness—not to say unsuitableness—of our Government. Although we are politically independent of the United States, whence we sprang, we have really founded no efficient or solid government of our own. Every thing is stamped with the image and superscription of America. The people still bear, and will likely bear for generations, the impress even of the localities in which, and of the class of Americans by whom—to use their own very descriptive phrase—they were "raised." Hence we sometimes see the sharpness of Yankeedom, the conservative pride of Maryland, the aristocratic mark of Virginia, the petulant and belligerent spirit of South Carolina; but to balance and regulate these we have not, unfortunately, in any appreciable degree, the Puritanism of Massachusetts or the Quakerism of Pennsylvania.

Such a state of things, as we have already said, is not to be wondered at. It would be wonderful if, after passing through the crucible of American oppression—the hard discipline of centuries—American Negroes came out from their fusion without change, retaining unimpaired the race peculiarities

and their African individuality. And it is not strange that in coming to this country and thrown among scenes where they believe every thing is to be changed, they should endeavor to reproduce every thing they saw in America, and should adopt, without hesitation or scruple as to their appropriateness, even the local peculiarities and sectional prejudices of the regions whence they emigrated—reproducing the very blunders of their teachers as flowers to adorn their political garden, and planting them often in the wrong places.

True, then, to our antecedent experiences, we have adopted a republican form of government. We have two political parties. At each general election, which takes place every two years, of course one party is left out of power. The successful party with the two years' lease of power suspended *in terrorem* over it repeats the tactics practiced every-where under such circumstances. It spends most of its time and energy in endeavoring to keep itself in office. Instead of looking at the exigencies of the country—at what the law is or ought to be—the Government is reduced to the necessity of contriving, maneuvering, and intriguing in order to acquire or retain influence. Thus a great deal of valuable time is wasted, and many important national interests neglected or sacrificed, not merely to secure the ascendency of party, but to protract by re-election the brief tenure of office allotted to the Chief Magistrate by the Constitution.

We have also a foreign national debt. In 1871 agents of the Liberian Government appeared in the British market and secured a national loan of five hundred thousand dollars. Had the Government possessed strength, or the administration greater permanence, that amount of money would have been of untold advantage to the country; but it was frittered away by the administration which came into possession of the money to suit the administrative exigencies and expediencies of the moment, leaving no trace of its presence in the country except the lamentable results of the disastrous party squabbles and the dark and scandalous conspiracies of which it was made the occasion.

The negotiation of that loan, which was an important step in the history of the country, was due to the foresight, energy, and activity of David Chinery, Esq., the late Consul General

and *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Republic of Liberia in London. It was the first time that Liberia had appeared as a borrower of money on the faith and credit of the nation; and in that important transaction she dealt not with irresponsible speculators, as it has been alleged, but with capitalists who, from interest in the experiment of conducting a civilized and Christian nation of Africans on this coast, advanced their money and became the creditors of the Republic, thus identifying their interests to a certain extent with those of the infant State. And from our personal knowledge of the bondholders, we are quite sure that in advancing their money they did not stipulate for any contingent profit in addition to the interest on their money and the development of the resources of a new and promising country. And, although they have thus far failed to get their interest as it has become due, they exercise remarkable patience with Liberia, and still have unbounded confidence in Mr. Chinery, showing that in the whole affair they have not felt themselves deluded by any implied or express misrepresentation on his part.

If the proceeds of the loan had been faithfully applied to the improvement of this valuable country—the construction of roads, the stipending of powerful chiefs, the payment of sufficient remuneration to honest and competent officials—the money would not only have produced an ample return, but would have made another and larger loan absolutely necessary, and the bondholders, having their confidence increased instead of impaired in the integrity of the Liberian Government, would have been ready to assist the Republic in the negotiation of another and, it may be, a larger loan to carry forward still greater improvements. But, managed under the influence of no clear or comprehensive principle, the loan has left us in a worse condition than before. And the feeling is increasing among all classes of the people that the work before this nation yet to be accomplished for education—for the aborigines—for the interior makes it absolutely necessary, notwithstanding all that has happened, that great effort should be made to secure the importation of foreign capital into the country.

The policy of prohibiting foreigners from owning real estate is becoming less and less popular, and the desire for the introduction of foreign capital in some form found expression in two enactments by the Legislature during its last session,

1875–'76. One was the extension of greater privileges to foreigners in the matter of leases, and the other was a proposed amendment to the Constitution, omitting the clause which restricts citizenship to persons of African descent.

So far as we can now see, it appears to us that the law enabling foreigners to hold real estate under extensive leases will be practically nugatory. Here and there an individual "adventurer"—to use the blunt phrase of the law—may avail himself of the privilege, but it may be doubted whether there will be, in view of all things, any very widespread application of foreign capital and energy to the resources of the country until the working of the Government and the general conduct of the institutions are so patently and reliably improved, as to afford to foreigners a guarantee of permanence and protection in their operations.

On the question of the constitutional amendment there is a diversity of opinion among the people; but, as far as we can gather, the prevailing feeling is one of opposition to the measure. It is contended by the supporters of the innovation that the only feasible method of importing European skill, interest, and activity into the country on any thing like an extensive and useful scale is by removing from the fundamental law of the land all invidious distinctions founded upon race or color. On the other hand it is argued that such unrestricted admission of foreigners into the political and social arrangements of the country would be a virtual surrender of all that has been striven for thus far in upholding the Republic; that that independence and that integrity of Liberia as a Negro State, which it is their wish to see perpetuated, will not only be seriously jeopardized, but destroyed. And we must confess that we cannot see how our legislators can introduce foreign capital, intelligence, and enterprise into the country, under any circumstances or on any condition, without incurring the serious risk of imperiling, or at least compromising, the independence of the nation by the almost inevitable interference of foreigners in our domestic affairs.

Under these circumstances, with a want of capital, intelligence, and energy staring us in the face, he would be a bold prophet who would venture to predict the ultimate success of Liberia. What, however, may be safely affirmed about Libe-

ria is, that her material capabilities, under the encouragement of judicious, patriotic, and honest administration, would soon free the Government, even without the introduction of foreign capital, from its chronic embarrassment, and keep the treasury supplied with far larger and surer resources than it has ever yet been able to command. There are Liberians of education, intelligence, and public spirit who feel the necessity of reform, but they are unfortunately few—daily, however, increasing in number; and before long the man may be placed at the head of affairs who not only possesses the requisite knowledge, courage, and energy to grapple with the evils, but who can bring to his support in the administration of the Government men of similar spirit.

A third source of weakness in Liberia, of which its most partial sympathizers can never deny the existence or disguise the importance, and which we should be glad if we could attribute to exceptional or other permanent causes, is the constant diminution and degeneracy of the population, both aboriginal and colonial. It is notorious that every town and village in Liberia is constantly dwindling in population, except the new settlements, which are kept up by accessions every year from the United States. In some towns which, not many years ago, were in a flourishing condition—notably Careysburgh, Harrisburgh, and Millsburgh—the desolation is painful. The only memorial of what twenty or thirty years ago was a prosperous settlement is now a crowded burial ground, or what would be a crowded burial ground if the heavy rains and the rapid growth of weeds did not obliterate all traces of the final resting places of those who were not long since the busy and hopeful workers in those almost deserted localities. The few survivors are spiritless and inactive, unable apparently to extract from a most generous soil the means to keep life in their worn and feeble bodies. Having scarcely any neighbors to compete with, the least industry seems to them tedious and superfluous. And, indeed, throughout the Republic, such is the sparseness of population in all the settlements that it seems impossible to excite that energy among the people which in all countries is due largely to the competition of numbers. The decrease and deterioration of population on this coast are owing to natural and insuperable causes, which science, inge-

nuity, and money may modify, but can never wholly eradicate. Residence in the dry and elevated regions of the interior is the only remedy for this element in the deficiency of Liberia, and the only means practically within the power of the Government for increasing and preserving its population.

Art. V.—THE FREEDMEN.

Reports of Freedmen's Bureau. Reports of Commissioner of Education, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875. *Reports of American Missionary Association. History of American Missionary Association. Reports of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen. Reports of American Baptist Home Mission Society. Reports of Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

A GIANT wrong. A pigmy reparation. Two hundred and forty years of oppression and injustice toward God's poor. Fifteen years of prayers and money-giving for them. These fifteen years of humanity toward them are to the term of their bondage as one to sixteen. In time, one sixteenth; in amount, probably, not one sixteen thousandth. The compensation began to be made on the spot where the first slave ship entered the line of this continent. How strangely and widely contrasted the two events! The one, a system of wrongs, which, growing worse and worse by its inherent viciousness, continued for two and a half centuries, filling the fairest land of earth with avenging curses, and sending to Heaven the cries of millions of oppressed ones, until it culminated in a great civil war, which swept into its bloody vortex a million of men and more than five billions of dollars—the wealth piled up by centuries of unpaid labor. Look at the other. Mercy, in strictest line with the undoing of heavy burdens and the freeing of the oppressed, which Jesus came to do. Mercy, which should gather its inspiration and momentum from earth and heaven, and continue its benefactions until the compensation should equal the injury entailed; until all the resulting burdens of slavery are lifted from many hearts; until ignorance and debasement are displaced by culture; until vice and woe are supplanted by virtue and joy; until color-caste is stamped out, and the Freedman is as really *free* as the freest and the whitest. Selfishness and cupidity are the inspiration of the former system.

The latter is born of the purest benevolence. One is naked oppression. Uplifting the fallen and relieving the oppressed is the other. Of the one, we have read, in black letter, between shaded borders. We read of the other in illuminated letter, made radiant by the light of heaven.

To the American Missionary Association, then representing, and sustained by, nearly all the religious denominations, belongs the high honor of opening the first schools for the Freedmen. This occurred near Fortress Monroe, in Virginia. In September, 1861, Rev. Mr. Lockwood, a missionary of the Association, visited that part of Virginia to make investigations as to the condition of the Freedmen. They were there in large numbers —refugees from slavery—" contrabands," as Ben. Butler afterward happily designated them. He found the colored people assembled for prayer. They had been praying, and not in vain, when the skies above them were darker. Their sublime faith had never faltered. Their faith was now wonderfully quickened by rifts in the clouds, betokening the coming deliverance. It had been a long, weary night; but the morning approached. Mr. Lockwood's coming was accepted as the special answer to their prayers. Two weeks later, namely, September 17, 1861, *the first day-school for Freedmen was opened.* This was the dim dawn of what was soon to become bright noon. The teacher of that first school was Mrs. Mary S. Peake, the daughter of a colored woman and of an Englishman of rank and culture. That was the beginning—the acorn of this movement—which has become a sturdy oak for strength, and a pomegranate for the abundance of its fruit.

The projectors of this movement were those who were sustaining the American Missionary Association. Who were they? This Association was formed by a union of several religious denominations, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, which, as late as 1866, had had a representation in its direction, had contributed largely to its funds, and had furnished many teachers for the Freedmen's schools. In a convention of ministers and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 7th and 8th, 1866, this subject was carefully and thoroughly considered, especially the relation of this Church to voluntary and undenominational organizations for assisting the Freedmen. Out of that con-

vention came the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In considering the subject *pro* and *con*, it was shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church informally, and by the action of members and ministers co-operating with union and undenominational Freedmen Associations, the American Missionary Association included, had been actively interested in the work for the Freedmen, as they had in the work of the Christian Commission. A few facts may be quoted from the proceedings of that convention in support of this view. It was stated, "Our Church has aided the efforts of the undenominational Freedmen's Aid Commissions of the country from their organization."

A paper was read at that convention by Rev. J. M. Walden, D.D., who had been officially connected with the "Western and North-western Freedmen's Aid Commission." A few extracts are made:—

> The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been aiding these societies in prosecuting their work. . . . After efforts extending through the past two years and a half, the several undenominational societies have united in a National Commission, having its branches in the East and West. (And yet, already, several Churches had then organized, or were organizing, distinct Church Freedmen's Associations.) The United Presbyterians United Brethren, Friends, Old School Presbyterians, Baptist, Congregational, and Protestant Episcopal Churches, have organized societies within themselves, leaving the New School Presbyterian, and Methodist Episcopal Churches, the only Churches of any size which have continued their co-operation without division, with the Commission. . . . A large per cent. of the home collections (for Freedmen) came from the Methodist Episcopal Churches and people. During the first year about one hundred thousand dollars in cash have been collected in the West. I think I am safe in saying that not less than fifty per cent. of the whole amount has come from the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

While there were reasons existing at the time for the Methodist Episcopal Church to participate, if practicable, in so grand and catholic a work as those commissions, to have earlier turned away the Methodist Episcopal Church from sustaining them would leave them, it was thought, practically without support. When the Methodist Episcopal Church organized its Freedmen's Aid Society it did so leave them, and they languished and died. No one denomination of Christians,

then, can claim precedence over the others as having been first in the field, for all were unitedly engaged in it through the American Missionary and other associations. I propose to review the facts as to the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches. While other Churches have not been idle, as the Friends, United Presbyterians, United Brethren, and Protestant Episcopal, yet their work has been on a less scale than that of the Churches before named, and it has not been equally convenient to obtain their statistics. In distinctive operations, as a Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church was later in beginning than some others; yet in zeal, and in the wonderful results of their efforts, they are not a whit behind the chiefest.

The American Missionary Association was formed in 1846, when slavery was in its full tide of power and progress. Its home department was conducted with a special view to preaching the Gospel, free from all complicity with slavery and caste. It claims the high distinction of beginning the first decided efforts on slave soil, and while slavery was in full feather, for the education and religious instruction of the people of the South on an avowedly antislavery basis. With certain modifications and restrictions this claim, as to modern efforts in that line, is admitted. But it would be historically untrue to admit the claim without any restriction. Down to 1824, the Methodist Episcopal Church had been doing such work, more or less, through all the South. Records can be produced from various places in the South, down to that time, showing that Church discipline was faithfully administered upon slaveholders who were such for gain or for oppression. This was true both as to private members and ministers. For many of the earlier years of the Republic, the Methodist Episcopal Church, as an *antislavery* Church, as bearing an unequivocal testimony against slavery, operated in every slave State. Since 1844, in Kentucky, Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and Missouri, the Methodist Episcopal Church has existed and operated as an antislavery Church. So much as this should be said in vindication of the truth of history.

In 1848 John G. Fee, a Kentuckian, whose father, a slaveholder, disinherited him for his pronounced antislavery views, organized a Church in Berea, Kentucky, under the auspices of

the American Missionary Association. From this beginning Berea College dates its existence. In 1851 and 1852 missionaries employed by this Association planted Churches in North Carolina and in Kansas. In 1859, with the raid of John Brown upon Harper's Ferry, a panic seized the South, under which these missionaries were expelled from North Carolina and Kentucky. The Association resumed its work on southern soil, as we have seen, in 1861, by organizing schools in Eastern Virginia to educate the Freedmen. That small beginning has been steadily followed up with growing numbers and success. In 1862 educational and religious efforts were extended at Hampton and vicinity. Large quantities of clothing were also distributed. A school was opened at Norfolk, two at Newport News, and others at Port Royal Islands. In May, 1862, a colored mission was begun at Washington City. During this year a colored school was commenced at Cairo, Illinois, where, since the opening of the Mississippi River, the colored people had begun to gather.

With the emancipation, in 1863, the work was much extended. Hundreds of intelligent Christian men and women volunteered as teachers and missionaries. These were from all the Churches. Among the first who went were Methodist teachers sent by Rev. Dr. J. M. Walden. The Methodist preachers were early upon the ground. The enthusiasm awakened in the North, in behalf of the late slaves, was intense. It was scarcely less than that by which, at an earlier date, the Union armies were reinforced, and the coffers and agencies of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were replenished. Various Churches caught the inspiration, and began operations among the Freedmen through undenominational organizations. The work of the American Missionary Association was rapidly and widely extended. The school of 1862, at Norfolk, had very great enlargement. Twelve hundred attended the day sessions. Eight hundred were present at the night sessions, of whom fully one half were adults. Fifteen hundred were in the Sabbath-school, of whom five hundred were adults. With the fall of Vicksburgh, July 4, 1863, missionary and educational movements were begun in Kentucky and Tennessee, in President Island, and in Camp Fisk and Shiloh. In 1864 the Association employed two hundred and fifty missionaries and teachers, these

being one hundred and sixty-seven more than were employed in 1863, an increase of three hundred per cent. In 1865 a national council of Congregational Churches was held in Boston. They recommended the Churches to raise a quarter of a million of dollars in behalf of efforts for the Freedmen. They also designated the American Missionary Association as the organization providentially fitted for that work. This designation greatly increased educational and missionary labor among the Freedmen. It also made the American Missionary Association more distinctively an exponent of the Congregational Church, and less a non-denominational and union organization. The Presbyterian and other Churches soon after this organized their own Freedmen's Aid Societies. The number of teachers sent out by the American Missionary Association this year was three hundred and thirty, an increase of thirty-five per cent. In 1867 five hundred and twenty-eight teachers were employed, an increase of sixty per cent.

The bloody and terrifying tactics of the Ku Klux Klans, in 1868, much impeded the Freedmen educational movement, rendering it both difficult and dangerous. It will never be fully known in time through what embarrassment and suffering the work was maintained by the teachers in the field. They were proscribed, insulted, mobbed, and, in some instances, killed; yet the missionaries and teachers would not leave their posts. Their numbers exceeded those of any former year. But persecution, while it retarded, did not permanently injure the work. It was rather strengthened and consolidated than weakened. Churches and school buildings were burned, but others took their places. Striking instances are recorded. The following is authentic: Some school and church buildings had been burned in West Tennessee. They were rebuilt, and then again burned. Rev. Dr. Rust, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and Rev. E. P. Smith, of the American Missionary Association, went down together to see what could be done. They found the embers of the burning buildings still smoking. The teachers had gathered the pupils into a grove, and were teaching them there. The Ku Klux threatened to burn the grove if they did not desist from teaching the negroes and leave the country. The noble answer of these heroines deserves to be graven with lead in the rock. It

was this: "You have burned our school-houses and churches, and now you threaten to burn up the grove if we do not leave. We will not leave until you burn the ground under our feet." Such courage and constancy could not fail to win. The schools have been maintained until even Ku Klux infernalism has been forced to retire vanquished. The work assumed permanent character, crystallizing into higher institutions of learning, graded schools, normal schools, colleges, incipient universities, and theological classes.

The design of the American Missionary Association is, to plant a school of high grade in each principal city or center of population in the South, and one college or university in each of the large Southern States. This is, certainly, a most benevolent and worthy object; it is founded in the most intelligent philanthropy. This design has a fair prospect of being realized. The following statistics are in this line: Schools, 32; pupils, 7,209. Details as follows: Hampton Institute, Virginia, 243 pupils; Berea College, Kentucky, 271; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 226; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., 236; Talladega College, Talladega, Ala., 247; Tougaloo University, Tougaloo, Miss., 217; Straight University, New Orleans, La., 180; total, 1,620. These colleges have boarding facilities for 880 pupils. The total population in the States here named is seven and a half millions, of which 2,886,445 are colored. Institutions of lower grade, seventeen in number, are planted in North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, and Texas. There are, also, eight common schools. The pupils in all these institutions are graded as follows, namely: Theological, 70; law, 17; collegiate, 60; collegiate preparatory, 191; normal, 1,354; grammar, 1,014; intermediate, 1,554; primary, 3,033. This Association has already educated 64,000 Freedmen. It is believed that 60,000 Freedmen are annually instructed as the result of agencies set in motion by the American Missionary Association.

In connection with these educational movements the Association has contributed religious activities and appliances which have yielded encouraging results. Churches have been planted, souls have been saved, vice has been repressed, virtue has been exalted, church buildings have been erected. Associations have been organized in East Virginia, in Texas,

in Louisiana, in Tennessee, and in Georgia. The following results in this line of labor are tabulated: Missionaries, 48; teachers, 150; matrons, 9; in business departments, 15; total number of workers in the field, 223; churches, 58; church members, 4,222; Sabbath-school scholars, 7,981. The property created in the South by this organization must be considerable. It is to be regretted that its value is not stated. The endowment funds amount to $368,815, yielding an annual income of $9,861 09, or about two and a half per cent. The money expended by the American Missionary Association for evangelizing and educating the Freedmen amounts to some $3,000,000. Of this, probably $1,000,000 in money and clothing have been contributed from Great Britain.

As the Congregationalists designated the American Missionary Association their agent in 1865, four years after the work among the Freedmen had been commenced by the Association, then receiving the co-operation of many, perhaps, most, of the denominations, their gross contributions to the cause must fall considerably below two millions of dollars.

The Presbyterian Church has disbursed its charities to the Freedmen through the "Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen." This Church began its distinctive work among the Freedmen in 1865. To its general purposes all the Church boards contributed, as the Board of Publication, of Domestic Missions, and of Church Extension. The statistical tables show a regular increase of contributions, missionaries, colored laborers; of schools, churches, Sabbath-schools, and church edifices. From 1865 to 1870 the receipts of this organization averaged $27,000 per year, of which *the colored Churches and schools contributed* $6,000 *per year*. The expenditures averaged about $49,000 per year, entailing a heavy debt. The increase of contributing Churches during the first five years was fifty-seven per cent.; of missionaries, sixty-five per cent.; of schools, one hundred and thirty-two per cent.; of pupils, one hundred and two per cent.; of Churches, ten hundred and fifty per cent.; of church edifices, one thousand per cent.; of communicants, nine hundred per cent.

The object of the Presbyterian Freedmen Committee is to cultivate intelligence and piety among the Freedmen by planting and maintaining among them the Church and school con-

jointly; that is, carrying forward in the same place a church and a day-school. This specialty of parochial schools distinguishes the Presbyterian movement from all others in the South, except that of the Roman Catholics.

The contributions exceeded in 1870 the average of those of the preceding five years forty per cent. In 1871 the increase was, of Churches, forty per cent.; of members, forty-six per cent.; of Sabbath-schools, eight per cent.; of Sabbath-school scholars, eight per cent.; of schools, a *decrease* of seventy per cent. is noted and of seventeen per cent. of pupils, showing that the increase of the missionary work proper, Churches and members, was greater than of the educational. But while the schools had numerically diminished, they had improved in grade; and primary schools had given place to academies, institutes, seminaries, and normal schools. A like gratifying increase is noted in succeeding years. Value of churches and school properties in 1872, $113,057; in 1873, $119,677; in 1874, $126,785; in 1875, $128,845; in 1876, $134,810. The aggregate increase in Church members is 2,264, or about thirty per cent. The present statistics are: Churches, 128; members, 9,952; Sabbath-schools, 107; Sabbath-school scholars, 7,009; day-schools, 39; teachers in day-schools, 65; scholars, 3,776. These schools are strictly parochial. Besides these there are five higher schools, namely:—

	Prof's.	Ass't. Prof's.	Pupils.	Value of Property.
Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, N. C.....	3	3	124	$17,000
Scotia Seminary for Colored Girls, Concord, N. C....	.	.	105	2,500
Wallingford Academy, Charleston, S. C.....	1	.	261	13,450
Mainerd School, Chester, S. C	1	.	231	3,600
Fairfield Normal School, Winnsborough, S. C.....	1	.	184	3,500
Total.....	6	3	905	$40,050

The whole amount expended by the Presbyterian Church for the Freedmen in eleven years is $483,560 42, an average sum per year of $43,960 03. The Presbyterian Freedmen's higher schools are in two States, having an area of 87,704 square miles, and a population of 1,776,967, of whom about one half, 807,464, are colored.

A little later to enter the field as a distinct organization, though, as we have seen, her members had been actively, liberally, and warmly identified with the work from the beginning—

Dr. Walden having sent out Methodists among the first Freedmen teachers commissioned—the Methodist Episcopal Church has displayed equal earnestness and persistence as her illustrious colaborers. She has distanced them in the amount of her offerings to the cause, in the extent of her operations, and in the general results. To show this, however, it should be observed, that unlike the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, who tabulate all their Church and educational work in connection with their respective Freedmen organizations, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church operates only in the educational line, and records only educational expenditures and results. The Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church does its own work in its own line in the South among Freedmen and whites. The Annual Conferences carry forward missionary, evangelistic, and Church work in the South among white and colored.

The Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has appropriated, for donations and loans, in the Southern Conferences, not including Baltimore, Delaware, nor Wilmington, $354,082 09, so aiding 769 Churches. Rev. Dr. Kynett, Secretary of this Society, deems that two thirds of the money, and three fourths of the Churches, in the South are for the Freedmen. Thus, $229,388 07 have been applied for the Freedmen, assisting 577 of their Churches. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has expended in the South since 1864 $1,696,142 76, an average annual sum of $154,194 79. Of this aggregate, $1,290,363 53 have been expended for the benefit of Freedmen, an average annual sum of $107,530 28.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized August, 1866, and began its operations in the South in October of the same year. This organization has wrought for a single object, the relief and uplifting of the Freedmen through Christian education. It has sought this object, not so much by educating the Freedmen *en masse*, as by training teachers from among them who should in turn teach others of their own race. As self-help is the best help, the Freedmen's Aid Society have been pursuing their benevolent object in the wisest way.

The amount raised and expended by the Freedmen's Aid So-

ciety is $582,006 90, an average sum per year of $64,666 30. This society early demonstrated the capacity of the colored people to acquire education. In the first three years of its existence it had greatly contributed to the introduction of common schools in the South, and had employed one hundred devoted Christian teachers, who had earnestly and successfully wrought for the elevation of the Freedmen. Schools were located where they were most needed, and where it was deemed they would be most useful. Seven were opened in Tennessee, twenty in Georgia, five in Alabama, two in Kentucky, eight in Mississippi, one in North Carolina, nine in South Carolina, and three in Virginia; in all sixty. An orphans' home was founded in Louisiana, where more than a hundred homeless, fatherless children had then been gathered and taught. Fifty-two teachers were employed the first year, seventy-two the second, and one hundred and five the third. Of enrolled scholars, the numbers were five thousand the first year, seven thousand the second year, and ten thousand the third. Normal schools had been established, and teachers had been trained. This has been a specialty from the beginning. At an early moment sites for colleges, and for training and theological schools, were selected and secured, and the schools projected. Experience has fully vindicated the wisdom of the selections made, the result of one mind overlooking the whole field and establishing these centers of light and power where they would most surely fulfill all the mission designed by them. In this one particular, it is my deliberate judgment, there is ample compensation for all the money expended in the field by the Freedmen's Aid Society.

To Rev. Dr. Rust, the devoted secretary of this society from the beginning, too much credit cannot be given. His wisdom, his experience as an educator, and his profound sympathy with this cause, have eminently fitted him for the successful service he has rendered. His official record is glorious.

In 1872, after five years of effort, many school-houses and Churches had been assisted, the Church structures serving the double purpose of a place for divine worship and instruction: the Freedmen's Aid Society had taught more than forty thousand pupils in the day-schools, and nearly as many in the Sunday-schools; had led thousands of souls to Christ; had trained hundreds for teaching, and scores for the ministry of the Gospel.

More than $300,000 had been expended for education among the Freedmen, of which $150,000 had been permanently and economically invested in school property. In 1873 it was shown that during the preceding six years an average of sixty Christian teachers had been sustained in the southern field, who had devoted themselves to the elevation of the Freedmen with singular zeal and earnestness. Forty common schools had been assisted, and fifteen higher institutions and colleges had been sustained, in which three thousand pupils had been taught. In 1874 fifty thousand pupils had been instructed, and many thousand were annually being taught by those trained in the Freedmen's Aid Society's normal and collegiate schools. The general review as the years go by shows grand achievements in the elevation of the race. Forty thousand children were taught during the year 1875 by those trained in the society's schools. Marked progress of the pupils is noted in every branch of culture; progress also in the multiplication of Christian and evangelistic agencies, and in the securing of permanent institutions, chartered and manned and effective, the aggregate value of which is, probably, a quarter of a million of dollars. Of the higher institutions of learning the following is the list:—

Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tennessee; Shaw University, Holly Springs, Miss.; Claflin University and Baker Institute, Orangeburgh, S. C.; Clarke University and Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.; New Orleans University and Thomson Biblical Institute, New Orleans, La.; Wiley University, Marshall, Texas; Haven Normal School, Waynesborough, Ga.; Rust Biblical and Normal Institute, Huntsville, Ala.; La Teche Seminary, Baldwin, La.; Bennett Seminary, Greensborough, N. C.; Richmond Normal School, Richmond, Va.; Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Fla.; Centenary Biblical Institute, Baltimore, Md.; Orphans' Home, Baldwin, La.

These institutions have twenty-six professors employed in giving instruction to probably fifteen hundred pupils. They are planted most centrally and advantageously for the work they have to do. They cover an area of 890,224 square miles, and they are planted in States having an aggregate population of nearly twelve millions, of whom four millions six hundred and thirty thousand are colored. Already these centers of learning and training are making visible impress on the Freedmen. Progress is noted in every department. Improvement is recorded in "manners, morals, science, character, and Chris-

tian attainments." In their effect upon teaching and preaching these institutions are displaying their grandest usefulness. Only those who visit the South frequently, or who reside there, can fully appreciate these signs of promise. Their testimony is very clear and strong.

The Freedmen's work among the Baptists was carried on, prior to 1869, as an undistinguishable part of its regular home missions. That year it was assigned, separately, to a secretary, to be called the "Education and Southern Department." During the year previous to that the Baptists were much divided, and less than 5,500 had been received for the schools that year. During the next four years the receipts were: In 1870, $37,007; 1871, $55,993; 1872, $49,260; 1873, $57,400; total, $199,660. An average of $49,915 a year. In addition to this, about $100,000 went to this school work during the same period, (such as Freedmen Bureau grants, etc., through influences brought to bear by the society.) This latter sum did not pass through its treasury; but adding this, it makes an average of $75,000 a year, or $300,000 which went to the Freedmen school work during the four years named. In 1874, $77,063; 1875, $68,769 47; 1876, $70,981; total, $216,813 47. If to this sum be added what has been done among the Freedmen through the Church Edifice Funds, and by the purely missionary and religious donations bestowed before and during the term designated, say $200,000, the aggregate expended for the Freedmen by the Baptists is, say $716,473.

Resulting from all this outlay there are seven higher institutions of learning, as follows: Wayland Seminary, Washington, D. C., 1 professor, 92 pupils; Richmond Institute, Richmond, Va., 1 professor, 75 pupils; Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., 1 professor, 230 pupils; Estey Building, Raleigh, ——; Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C., 1 professor, 118 pupils; Augusta Institute, Augusta, Ga., 1 professor, 52 pupils; Nashville Institute, Nashville, Tenn., 1 professor, 136 pupils; Leland University, New Orleans, La., 1 professor, 92 pupils; total, 795. The States here named have an area of 229,750 square miles, and a population of 6,303,377, of which 2,599,936 are colored. The value of this property is not stated. It must be considerable. I estimate it at $200,000. Besides this, an endowment fund is noted, amounting to $22,604. It is proposed to sus-

tain these Freedmen schools, by current contributions to them, until each has an endowment fund of from $50,000 to $100,000. A marked feature in the Baptist Freedmen operations is the special item of legacies for the Freedmen's work. In 1874, $877 43; in 1875, $1,737 10; in 1876, $2,377, are noted as paid from legacies.

The contributions from co-operating Churches in the Southern States in 1876 were $12,895; from Churches receiving aid, $2,580. Missionaries in that field, 69. Sabbath-school scholars, 5,412.

Aggregating the results of these outlays of labor and money and prayers by the Churches indicated, we have:—

American Missionary Association, now Congregationalist: schools, 32; pupils, 7,209, of which seven are universities and colleges, with an enrollment of 1,620 pupils; churches, 58; Church members, 4,222; Sunday-school scholars, 7,981; expended for Freedmen, $3,000,000, of which probably $1,000,000 in money and clothing were contributed from Great Britain.

Presbyterian Church: ministers, 39; catechists, 27; churches, 128; members, 9,916; Sunday-school scholars, 7,009; schools of all kinds, 44; teachers, 65; pupils, 3,776; value of property, including church and school properties, $134,810.

Methodist Episcopal Church: higher institutions, 13; professors, say 26; pupils, 1,500; value of school property, $250,000. Churches, 129; parsonages, 146; value of both, $2,599,027; value of all, $2,849,027. Traveling preachers, 1,055; local preachers, 2,058; total, 3,199; members, 185,245. Expended for the Freedmen by the Missionary Society, $1,290,363 53; Church Extension Society, $229,383 07; Freedmen's Aid Society, $582,006 90; total, $2,101,753 50.

Thus we have, by all the Churches and voluntary Freedmen Associations, as follows:—

Higher institutions: Baptists, 7, pupils, 807; Congregationalists, 7, pupils, 1,620; Presbyterian, 5, pupils, 905; Methodist Episcopal Church, 13, pupils, 1,500; all other Churches, say 7; pupils, 1,000. Total institutions, 39; total pupils, 5,832.

Schools of less grade: Baptists, 10, estimated attendance, 500; Congregational, 25, attendance, 5,589; Presbyterian, 34, attendance, 2,801. Total schools, 69; total attendance, 8,890.

CHURCH STATISTICS.

Denominations.	Ch's.	Ministers.	Members.	S. Schools.	Scholars.
Baptist.....	200	65	25,000	100	5,412
Congregationalist.....	58	48	4,222	130	7,981
Presbyterian.....	128	37	9,916	130	7,008
M. E. Church.....	1,729	3,199	185,245	1,500	140,000
Total.....	2,115	3,349	224,383	1,860	160,402

Expended in the field:* Baptists, say $716,473; American Missionary Association, $3,000,000; Presbyterian Church, $483,560 42; M. E. Church, $2,101,753 50; Friends, say $200,000; all other Churches, estimated, 350,000; Freedmen's Bureau, (U. S. Government,) $12,965,395 40; Peabody Fund,† $1,000,000; total, $20,817,182 32.

The gross amount expended in thirteen years for the Freedmen will not exceed twenty millions of dollars, an average per year of $1,538,461. The aggregate sum for each freed person $4 44, or 34 cents per year for each.

These Freedmen have augmented the material wealth of this nation by billions of dollars, yet we requite all their wasting toil through centuries of oppression by doling out for them $4 44 each, or 34 cents per year per person. God keeps account for them. He will exact fair payment. If it is not made honestly, cheerfully, it will be wrung from our reluctant hands until the uttermost farthing is paid.

The smallness of this contribution for the improvement and elevation of the Freedmen is seen still more impressively when a few general facts as to illiteracy are considered.

Of 38,558,371, the entire population of the United States, the Territories and the District of Columbia included, by the

* All these sums should be somewhat reduced. How much as to each it is impossible to say. In the earlier movements among the Freedmen, the Freedmen's Bureau supplemented the gifts of voluntary societies by appropriations made through those societies. It may be that those appropriations amount to half a million, possibly to three fourths of a million of dollars.

† It is difficult to say, specifically, how much of this sum has gone directly for the education of the Freedmen. A letter from the venerable agent of this fund, dated April 26, 1877, says: "For ten years the Peabody Education Fund has paid an average of $100,000 for each year for schools in the Southern States. As we make no distinction of races, and as the reports made to us sometimes do and sometimes do not, I cannot make even an approximate estimate of the amount paid for Freedmen."

last census, 12,135,799, or thirty-one and a half per cent., cannot read nor write. In the Northern States, from five to eleven per cent. are thus illiterate; in the middle northern States, from twelve to twenty per cent.; in the middle Southern States, from twenty-one to thirty-nine per cent.; in the Southern States, from forty to fifty-nine per cent. In those Southern States where the colored population is the greatest, over sixty per cent. of the whole population cannot read nor write. Dividing by east, west, and south, we have:—

Eastern and Middle States,*	total	population,	12,303,534.		Cannot	read,	478,606.
Western States,*	"	"	12,023,629.		"	"	409,175.
Southern States,*	"	"	13,878,435.		"	"	3,550,425.

The per centage of the illiterate is: Eastern and Middle States, 3.8 per cent.; Western States, 3.4 per cent.; Southern States, 25.5 per cent., or eight times greater per centage of illiterates in the Southern States than in the Eastern, Western, and Middle States.

The illiteracy of the voting population is greater still:—

Eastern and Middle States,	voting	population,	2,747,694.		Cannot	read,	226,592.
Western States,	"	"	2,644,875		"	"	217,403.
Southern States,	"	"	2,914,736		"	"	1,137,303.

In the Middle, Eastern, and Western States, eight and one half per cent. of the voters cannot read. In the Southern States over thirty-nine per cent. cannot read.

A like disparity is seen as to the amounts expended in all the States and in sections for education. The total amount received and expended in all the States for education is $82,000,000, or $2 15 per annum to each one of the whole population; or $6 75 to each one of the population of school age. Of this $82,000,000, $69,247,700 are raised and expended for common schools in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, or about $9 40 to each one of the population of school age. In the Southern States, $12,252,300, or $2 68 to each one of school age. In the section where the illiteracy is thirty-two per cent. the greater, the amount applied to change that condition is relatively thirty-four per cent. less. Take a few contrasts. In Massachusetts $16 is expended for every one of school age in that State; in South Carolina, $1 13; in Illinois, over $8;

* Not including all the Territories.

in North Carolina, 40 cents; in Ohio, $11; in Georgia 45 cents.

It is granted that these are extreme cases on both sides, but the other Southern States are not much better off. In Texas it is only forty-eight cents to each person of school age.

Take a few facts as to normal schools. As these are sustained, and do thorough work in training teachers, the outlook is promising. In the Southern States, where the illiteracy is thirty-two per cent. the greater, there are 36 normal schools, and in the Northern States 80; in the former 106 teachers, in the latter 325; in the former 1,627 pupils and graduates, in the latter 11,330. There are 118 per cent. more schools, 200 per cent. more teachers, and 600 per cent. more pupils and graduates in the Northern than in the Southern States: that is, of persons qualified to teach there are 600 per cent. more in the Northern States, where they are so much less required, than in the Southern. Or, to state it differently, there is one normal school to every 130,555 of the school population, and one teacher to every 2,883 of school age in the South; and in the North one school to every 97,428 of the school age population, and one normal teacher for every 662 of school age population.

In 1870 and 1871 the benefactions bestowed by individuals for educational purposes amounted in the northern States to $8,391,000, in the Southern States to $279,000, or 3,000 per cent. more in the Northern States than in the Southern for higher education.

A similar startling disparity is seen as to the number of colleges and college pupils in the sections considered. The graduates of a country are those in it best qualified to teach and to develop its resources. It will be seen that as to normal schools and trained teachers, so as to colleges and college pupils and graduates, the South is very far behind the North. This would be true, as we shall see, if the colleges, North and South, were of equal grade and thoroughness; but, relatively, while there are, doubtless, some exceptions, the colleges in the South are inferior to those in the North, some of the former not ranking higher than a seminary or academy would rank in the North.

In the North there are 228 colleges, 2,318 professors, 35,606 pupils, or one college to every 33,000 of the school-age population, and one college pupil to every 208 of the school-age

population. In the South there are 140 colleges, 886 professors, 15,635 pupils, or one college to every 34,000 of the school-age population, and one college pupil to every 293 of the school-age population.

The denominational character of the various higher institutions, North and South, is as follows, namely: In the South, Roman Catholic, 19; State institutions, 15; denominations unknown, 36—in all, 70. Protestant, 62. The State and the unknown added to the Roman Catholic exceed the Protestant by eight. If one half of the unknown and the State institutions are Romanist, then there are three quarters as many Romanist colleges in the South as Protestant. In the North, Roman Catholic colleges and universities, 32; denominations unknown, colleges and universities, 12; State colleges and universities, 27—in all, 71. Protestant, 144.

The relative illiteracy of sections of the Republic presents some very striking and suggestive facts. Persons from ten years old and upward in the United States who are illiterate, 5,643,534. Distributed aggregates: Northern division, 1,353,205; Pacific division, 102,594; Southern division, 4,187,735. Of illiterate male adults there are 1,585,000, of whom 743,402 are whites, and 841,942 are colored, who are voters or who may become voters. Of illiterate minors, that is, of those between the ages of ten and twenty-one years who cannot read nor write, there are 2,000,000, of whom 1,700,000, or about 85 per cent., are in the South. Of these 1,700,000, almost two thirds are white. Over 60 per cent. of the colored population cannot read nor write. In Alabama only 35 per cent. of the white school-age population and of the colored school-age population attend school. These proportions will not vary much in any of the late slave States.

As showing some of the provisions made by law, or existing in fact, to remedy this condition of deplorable and alarming ignorance, the following statements are offered. They are specially furnished the writer by General Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education. "In Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, containing a school population of 733,000, no separate report is made of the colored school population, nor of the schools maintained for the colored people; and there is, therefore, no special provision for their education, except that three

high-schools for colored pupils are reported from Florida. In Alabama, 43,229 colored pupils are reported in 1,288 schools under 1,286 colored teachers; in Georgia, 55,268 colored pupils in public schools, and 4,276 in other schools; in Kentucky, where schools for colored children have been only a short time in operation, about 18,000 such children in 340 reported schools, with 338 colored teachers; in Maryland, 16,947 colored pupils in public schools, out of a colored population of 175,391; in Mississippi, 89,813 colored pupils in public schools, under 2,109 colored teachers; in Missouri, 14,382 colored pupils in public schools, schools for them numbering 326; in North Carolina, 55,000 colored pupils in 1,200 public schools; in South Carolina, 63,415 colored pupils in public schools, with 855 colored; in Tennessee, 770 schools for colored children, with 781 colored teachers for a colored school population of 106,241; in Virginia, 54,941 colored pupils in 1,064 public schools, with 539 colored teachers; in West Virginia, 2,461 colored children in 63 public schools."

It would seem that great responsibility attaches to all the people of the United States. All sections are alike interested, because all are bound up together in political, commercial, and domestic relations. If disaster comes to the body politic, all parts inevitably participate.

The facts set forth in this paper are not so complete as could have been wished. It has been difficult to procure some, and impossible to obtain others, that were sought. This has been true as to the work of the Roman Catholics among the Freedmen. Beyond what is given as to the Roman Catholic colleges, nothing has been found. While the record of several of the Churches has shown a somewhat tolerable appreciation of the claims of the Freedmen upon the Christian philanthropy of the American people, yet it is far below what it should have been. The Methodist Episcopal Church, which has done more than any other in the cause, has averaged thirteen cents per member per year for the Freedmen during the eleven years she has been in the field. Yet, considering the greatness of her obligations, and the grand results secured upon the relatively small outlay, the future should far exceed the past in the amount and character of our benefactions for this people. Especially should large sums be raised to establish liberal edu-

cational foundations in all the higher institutions of learning for the Freedmen. More should be done than to pay current expenditures for sustaining these colleges. Every one of them should be well endowed. Thus will our benevolence be most wisely directed, and most permanent in its fruits. There is no doubt in my mind that the United States Government should establish common schools for the Freedmen, and endow them with a sufficient foundation. It has done this *for the whites* by setting apart public lands for common schools in all the States; but when this was done the Freedmen were not provided for. They are not yet. The school funds of several of the late slave States have been greatly depreciated, if not entirely lost, by the war. Where this has not been the case, yet color caste, and poverty combined, render the education of the Freedmen doubtful and imperfect. If it was right to emancipate the slaves, it is right to enable them to maintain their freedom. This cannot be done without education. Enfranchised, the safety of our institutions demands that they be educated.

ART. VI.—METHODISM IN THE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

CITIES are centers of civilization. A great nation cannot exist without them. Jerusalem was the seat of the Jewish kingdom. The magnificence and power of Egypt centered in Memphis and Thebes. Nineveh was the glory of the Assyrian, and Babylon of the Chaldean empire. Athens was Greece, and the city of the Tiber was Rome. Modern cities are not less potent. Their power is bold, subtle, multiform, far-reaching. London is England's heart, and its throbs are felt by the extremities of the United Kingdom. Paris is the light and pride of France. New York shapes the commercial and financial destinies of America. The burning of a part of Chicago sent a shudder through the land, and saddened the nations of a distant hemisphere. Every great city is the focus of so many influences that its extinction would cause wide-spread disaster and lamentation.

In the great city every form of human life exists. There poverty shivers, and ignorance grovels, and wealth builds its palaces. There science sheds its benignant influence, and art displays her beauty. There literature opens its refreshing fountains, and charity reaches her hand to the needy and weeps over the perishing. There pleasure invites to gay and gilded halls, and music pours enchanting strains. There poetry weaves divinest numbers, and eloquence sways admiring multitudes. There vice shows all its hideousness, and religion shines in its fairest loveliness.

Every aspiring movement is ambitious to become a part of the mighty force of the great city. This is equally true of enterprises that seek the welfare and those that aim at the injury of the race. Great cities are the Thermopylæ of the world. They are the last fortresses of humanity. Vanquished there, truth will go down in final defeat. Victorious there, it will triumph over the earth. Therefore, he who marshals hosts to the conflict, whether for or against the right, cannot ignore the city. Except the strongholds yield there can be no decisive conquest.

The Captain of our salvation early fixed his eye upon the city. When but twelve years of age he began to teach in Jerusalem. In the city and its suburbs he performed his public labors. The two most momentous events of Christianity—the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ—did not transpire in an obscure hamlet, but in the populous metropolis of Judea. When the risen Master sent forth his disciples to preach the Gospel to all the world, he caused them to begin the proclamation in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, too, amid the fiery tongues and rushing sounds of the Pentecost, the Church received the equipment for its warfare and won its first great victory. From the gates of the sacred city it marched with shoutings to the conquest of the nations.

The Church of the apostles was chiefly in cities. So markedly was this so that Renan was almost justified in saying, "This proselytism was confined to cities. The first Christian apostles did not preach in the country." Damascus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Athens, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Rome, are conspicuous in the records of Christian propagandism in the apostolic age. In those great centers of life and thought the

Church lifted her banners, and thence advanced upon the surrounding regions.

Throughout its history the Church has devoted its best resources to the cities. It has given them its treasures. In them it has employed its highest skill, culture, and learning. There it has reared its grandest temples and gathered its greatest assemblies. There it has exercised its loftiest gifts of music and eloquence. There it has printed its Bibles and produced its literature. The great cities of Christendom are to-day towering bulwarks of the Christian faith. They are fountains of evangelic life whence roll the streams that gladden the moral deserts of the world and make them to blossom as the rose.

American Methodism began its career in a city. Without prestige, culture, numbers, wealth, or patronage, it boldly sounded its first trump in the commercial metropolis of the continent. It did not put its candle under a bushel, but on a candlestick. A city set upon a hill cannot be hid. Had Methodism, after a careful survey of the territory, selected New York as the scene of its initial movement in the New World, it would have earned a claim to high sagacity. But as the fortunate place of its beginning was not due to human design, but to providential guidance, the praise must all be ascribed to Him who leads his people like a flock.

Since the founding of Methodism in New York the American Republic was born. In the genial air of freedom the nation has grown from three to forty-three millions, and its giant arms have embraced the shores of the two great oceans. Cities have risen and flourished. Provincial towns have suddenly swelled into vast centers of population, commerce, and wealth. From twenty thousand inhabitants the city of New York has developed into metropolitan grandeur, with more than a million souls. From similar dimensions Philadelphia has advanced to nearly equal magnitude. From nothing Brooklyn has risen to the third in population of American cities. On the lonely and wild prairie, washed by the waves of Lake Michigan, the daring hand of Yankee enterprise has built in half a life-time a city which is among the first in trade and splendor—pride of a continent—wonder of the world —Chicago.

Beginning in a city, American Methodism has advanced

into all the cities of the land. It has grown with the cities. Its vigor has been equal to the demands of their rapid and vast development. In them it has purchased sites, and built sanctuaries for the people at immense cost of money and skill. In them it preaches to hundreds of thousands of willing hearers. In them its Sunday-schools impart religious truth and moral instruction to an equal number of children and youth. It illumines with gospel radiance the mansions and garrets of our populous centers; visits the sick, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, makes the poor rich in faith, and the sorrowful joyful with the comfort of God. Nay, more. In nearly all the great cities of the United States Methodism has put its presses in motion, and in tracts, weekly papers, magazines, and books, it thence scatters its generous and quickening theology, its experience and its songs, employing in this work to-day a capital of a million and a half of dollars. Thus it nourishes the nation's intellect while stirring its mighty heart. Thus it has made great cities the magazines whence its hosts draw their ammunition.

Methodism had a hard struggle for recognition in New York, and other of the older cities. It met not only the hostility of the world, but the contemptuous aversion of the Churches. It, however, maintained the ground in New York, though alternating between victory and defeat, until 1790, when in eight weeks it won four hundred converts to Christ. In thirty-seven years after the first society was formed there were a thousand members in the city; and in fifty years the number was 2,572, nearly a third of whom were colored. Founded by a German-Irish carpenter, and its ministrations chiefly confined to the poor and lowly, it was not until 1821 that the Methodist Church was able to compel the favorable notice of aristocratic New York. In that and the following year John Summerfield was stationed in the city, and his preaching awakened the wondering admiration of all classes. Summerfield, youthful, graceful, seraphic—with a voice whose tones were suggestive of the murmurs of angels' harps; an eye, that beamed with celestial light; a hand that swayed the crowd like a scepter from the skies; Summerfield—clad in the beauty of holiness, eloquent in every movement and utterance, master of the heart, whose audiences no church could hold, the gentlest, sweetest, most captivating pulpit orator America has seen; Summerfield

—more than half a century dead, but whose memory sheds a perfume through the Church that pulsates with a deathless power. Summerfield lifted the Methodist pulpit of New York before the eyes of all the people, and as many of every rank as could crowd around him sat with delight under the spell of his inspired eloquence.

The denomination was, however, jealous of any disposition of the cities to monopolize its best preachers. It showed this by enacting a law that no preacher should remain in any city more than four years at a time, and it is only about twenty years since it was abolished. The most powerful preachers of early Methodism, such as M'Kendree, George, Lee, Bascom, Fisk, Bigelow, Pitman, Olin, devoted their eloquence chiefly to the country. Yet there was wisdom in this method of the fathers. Society was forming. The foundations of a mighty republic were being laid. The expanding energies of the young nation needed to feel in every part the shaping hand of an evangelical, spiritual Church. A rich agricultural land, the greater part of the population was, and would continue to be, outside the cities. It was a great boon to the country that such intellectual and spiritual giants went forth to lead the praying and shouting hosts of Methodism over the continent. The refining and ennobling influence of their labors upon America's gathering millions can never be fully told. One of the results is that in nearly all the States Methodism is predominant. It might not have been so had the best talent of the denomination been given chiefly to the large cities.

At the beginning of Methodism in America the social power of the cities was with the other Churches; and the social influence affects Church life far more in cities than in the country.

In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere, the older denominations were securely founded before Methodism was born. They had good church edifices, schools, colleges, and an educated ministry. In Boston, Congregationalism was sustained by the State. In New York city the Episcopal Church and the Reformed Dutch Church were largely endowed. Methodism, without a school, or an elegant church, or influential members, had, therefore, to make its way in the cities against powerful denominations, who showed it no favor.

It had no means to buy commanding sites for its preaching houses, and commonly had to locate them in poor districts. For many years the circuit system prevailed, which precluded thorough pastoral supervision in the cities. The other sects, while not specially zealous in pushing into the country, put forth their full power in cities. They sought to control and utilize the social influence, culture, and wealth of the centers of population and commerce. Methodism seeing that its parish was the world, pushed out to the frontiers, and made the wilderness resound with its preaching and its songs. In large districts its advance was undisputed, because the other Churches did not venture there. The man of the saddle-bags was every-where where sinners were found, especially among southern plantations and the rude settlements of the West. The settled ministry delivered their sermons in commodious churches, in established and inviting communities; while even within the present century the Methodist preachers delivered theirs mostly in forests and barns, in workshops, in the streets, in school-houses and dwellings. They braved the storms of winter, and the floods of spring. They slept under trees, swam rivers, and ate of the plainest fare. Bascom's biographer relates that, while that great orator was preaching in a frontier abode, the man of the house suddenly rose, grasped his gun, and passed out. Quickly he returned, replaced the gun, and listened with composure until the service was over. Then he explained that, having nothing in the house for dinner, his mind was uneasy, until, seeing a flock of wild turkeys, he went out and shot one, after which he enjoyed the sermon, knowing he would not have to send the preacher away hungry. The itinerants not only met poverty, but frequently scorn and obloquy, and sometimes they were beaten by those whose souls they sought to save. Thus they planted their Church where no others showed concern for the spiritual welfare of the people. They shrank from no hardships or perils, but heroically carried the bread of life to those who otherwise would have been left to cry, "No man careth for our souls."

In the cities, confronted as it has ever been by the best talent, energy, and social force of older denominations, Methodism could not be expected to achieve as great success as in the country regions, where those denominations left it

alone in the field. Yet it has triumphed. Notwithstanding the severe competition it has met in cities, its progress has been steady and victorious, until it has become the most numerous and effective Church, not only in the country, but in most of the cities. It has shown equal adaptation to both. This I shall now demonstrate by unimpeachable proof.

In the following paragraphs all the cities of the United States are given, which have, according to the ninth census, a population of one hundred thousand and upward. These may be called the largest cities.

I include in this exhibit five denominations and seven separate organizations. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are really one denomination. They are identical in doctrine and methods, and with slight exceptions in Church government. The same is true of the Presbyterian Church, North and South. There would have been no division of either but for the slavery controversy. In addition to these I include the Baptist Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Congregational Church. It is difficult to obtain the statistics of the Baptists, but I have succeeded in securing them, and they may be accepted as fairly accurate.

In the following paragraphs the figures represent communicants. Probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church are included because they are communicants, and virtually, if not formally, members of the Church. They were always reported as members until 1849, and, consequently, until then there was not any chance for discussion about what becomes of the probationers. In 1849, when probationers began to be reported separately, there were 639,066 members, probationers included, in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In November, 1876, there were about 1,425,000 full members, not including more than 225,000 probationers. Thus it appears that there are now considerably more than twice the number of *full members* than there were of both members and probationers twenty-eight years ago, and in that time almost a generation of Methodists have gone to their reward. It is very plain, therefore, that the probationers are constantly filling up the ranks of full members. I give the number of full members and probationers in each city, and the total of both. The Church South has abolished the probation feature, consequently

there are no probationers in the statistics of that branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The paragraphs show the numerical *status* of each of the above Churches in the fourteen largest cities in the United States. The data are derived from authentic sources, and, with trifling exceptions, from the latest official statistics:—

New York—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 10,445; probationers, 1,902; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 12,347. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none; total Methodists, 12,347. Presbyterian Church, 16,483; Southern Presbyterian Church, none; total Presbyterians, 16,483. Baptist Church, 12,073. Episcopal Church, 15,818. Congregationalists, 1,883.

Philadelphia—Methodist Episcopal, full members, 20,111; probationers, 3,790; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 23,901. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none; total Methodists, 23,901. Presbyterian Church, 23,480; Southern Presbyterian Church, none; total Presbyterians, 23,480. Baptist Church, 15,108. Episcopal Church, 16,956. Congregationalists, 571.

Brooklyn—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 10,716; probationers, 1,811; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 12,527. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 12,527. Presbyterian Church, 9,145. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 9,145. Baptist Church, 7,340. Episcopal Church, 9,240. Congregationalists, 7,090.

St. Louis—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,381; probationers, 100; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,481. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,437. Total Methodists, 2,918. Presbyterian Church, 2,250. Southern Presbyterian Church, 1,463. Total Presbyterians, 3,713. Baptist Church, 1,783. Episcopal Church, 2,316. Congregationalists, 843.

Chicago—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 5,663; probationers, 630; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 6,293. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 6,293. Presbyterian Church, 4,661. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 4,661. Baptist Church, 5,100. Episcopal Church, 2,549. Congregationalists, 3,623.

Baltimore—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 15,676; probationers, 1,331; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 17,007. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,432. Total Methodists,

18,439. Presbyterian Church, 2,713. Southern Presbyterian Church, 752. Total Presbyterians, 3,465. Baptist Church, 4,648. Episcopal Church, 6,957. Congregationalists, 100.

Boston—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,525; probationers, 620; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,145. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 5,145. Presbyterian Church, 1,579. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 1,579. Baptist Church, 9,287. Episcopal Church, 4,405. Congregationalists, 7,730.

Cincinnati—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,202; probationers, 576; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 4,778. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 4,778. Presbyterian Church, 3,417. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 3,417. Baptist Church, 2,000. Episcopal Church, 1,564. Congregationalists, 736.

New Orleans—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 2,537; probationers, 854; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 3,391. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,188. Total Methodists, 4,579. Presbyterian Church, 118. Southern Presbyterian Church, 2,036. Total Presbyterians, 2,154. Baptist Church, 375.* Episcopal Church, 2,226. Congregationalists, 187.

San Francisco—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,307; probationers, 162; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,469. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 100. Total Methodists, 1,569. Presbyterian Church, 2,234. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 2,234. Baptist Church, 1,500. Episcopal Church, 912. Congregationalists, 1,035.

Buffalo—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,794; probationers, 145; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,939. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 1,939. Presbyterian Church, 2,377. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 2,377. Baptist Church, 1,683. Episcopal Church, 1,747. Congregationalists, none.

Washington—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,938; probationers, 613; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,551. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 285. Total Methodists, 5,836. Presbyterian Church, 2,699. Southern Presbyterian Church, 116.

* There are several colored Baptist Churches in New Orleans, but the number of their membership is not known.

Total Presbyterians, 2,815. Baptist Church, 2,878. Episcopal Church, 3,027. Congregationalists, 569.

Newark—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,494; probationers, 960; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,454. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 5,454. Presbyterian Church, 4,393. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 4,393. Baptist Church, 3,500. Episcopal Church, 1,551. Congregationalists, 697.

Louisville—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 912; probationers, 156; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,068. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,898. Total Methodists, 2,966. Presbyterian Church, 1,499. Southern Presbyterian Church, 902. Total Presbyterians, 2,401. Baptist Church, 2,102. Episcopal Church, 1,948. Congregationalists, none.

Grand total—M. E. Church, full members, 88,701; probationers, 13,650; total M. E. Church, 102,351. M. E. Church, South, 6,340. Total Methodists, 108,691. Presbyterian Church, 77,048. Southern Presbyterian Church, 5,269. Total Presbyterians, 82,317. Baptist Church, 69,472. Episcopal Church, 70,716. Congregationalists, 25,064.

In studying these figures some points should be especially noted:—

1. Methodism is first, as to communicants, in nine of the fourteen cities. Presbyterianism is first in New York, Saint Louis, San Francisco, and Buffalo. The Baptists are first in Boston. In Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Newark, and Louisville, Methodism leads all the other denominations.

2. In these fourteen cities the Presbyterian Church is the chief competitor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The excess of communicants, however, of the latter over the former is 25,303. The two branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North and South) have 26,374 more communicants than the two branches (North and South) of the Presbyterian Church.

3. The communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) exceed in number the combined aggregates of communicants of the Presbyterian (North) and the Congregational Churches in these fourteen cities.

4. According to the ninth United States census the fourteen cities have a total population in round numbers of 4,130,000, of which 1,472,000 are foreign born. Over thirty-five per cent., therefore, of the inhabitants of these cities are of foreign birth. The whole foreign-born population of the United States is 5,566,546. Hence it appears that more than a fourth, or over twenty-six per cent., of all the foreigners are in the four teen largest cities. In addition to the thirty-five per cent. of foreign-born population in these cities are the children of foreign parents, who, like their parents, are generally hostile to evangelical Protestantism. This element added to the foreign-born population must make at least one half of the population of the fourteen cities inaccessible to the evangelical Protestant Churches. In addition to this, ignorance of the English language among the foreign-born people is a formidable barrier to their entering the Churches. It is, therefore, quite just to say that more than half the population of these fourteen cities is practically beyond the reach of Methodism and of the other Protestant sects.

How different is the field which the country presents. After subtracting the foreign-born population of the fourteen cities from the total foreign-born population of the United States we have remaining 4,094,482. The foreign-born population of the fourteen cities, as we have seen, is over thirty-five per cent. of the entire population of those cities, while the foreign-born population outside of these cities is to the total population of the United States exclusive of them—which is 34,426,094—in the ratio of $11\frac{99}{100}$ per cent., or considerably less than one eighth. The communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the fourteen cities are $2\frac{47}{100}$ per cent. of the population, or about one in forty. But more than half of the population, as we have shown, is inaccessible to Methodism, consequently the real proportion is about *one communicant to twenty of the population.* Exclusive of the fourteen cities the ratio to the population is $4\frac{41}{100}$ per cent., or about *one Methodist Episcopal communicant to twenty-two inhabitants.* But the fact to which we have previously alluded, that in large portions of the country the other denominations have left the field almost wholly to the Methodists, must be considered in this computation. Who doubts that Methodism would have immensely more adherents in the cities

than it has if the other denominations had not so zealously contested the ground? They have striven to attain the greatest success in cities. In the country, and especially in the more sparsely settled districts, they have expended less strength, and frequently have no existence. The Methodist Church cultivates equally both the urban and the rural fields, but the Presbyterian and the Protestant Episcopal Churches are chiefly confined to the cities and larger villages. The Rev. Dr. Harrison, of Atlanta, Ga., furnishes us a striking illustration of this fact. He says that in the field which comprises the States of Georgia and Florida the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has 100,000 members, while in the same field the Presbyterian Church has only 7,000. The same authority gives the number of Protestant Episcopal communicants in the same territory as 4,990. That field is quite remote from the large cities, and we see who has cultivated it. The same thing exists, though not always in such a remarkable ratio, throughout the rural portions of the Republic. Had the other denominations contested the field as vigorously in the country as they have in the cities, they would, no doubt, be more numerous than they are, and the Methodist Church would be proportionately less numerous. It must be conceded, in view of the difference in the population Methodism is called to address in city and in country, and the difference likewise in the competition offered by other denominations in the two fields, that the success of the Methodist Episcopal Church is greater in the fourteen largest cities than it is in the rural districts, and that instead of being a failure, the career of Methodism in the cities has been both brilliant and triumphant.

5. The preceding paragraphs do not make a complete showing of Methodists in the fourteen cities. In addition to the communicants shown there are considerable numbers who belong to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, or to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Those two organizations are understood to have at least four hundred thousand communicants in the United States. They are true branches of the Methodist vine, and in a full enumeration of Methodism in the cities they must be included. The Methodist Protestant Church has many adherents in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities. Exclusive of the Churches of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, there are eighteen Churches in Baltimore occupied by other branches of Methodism. The Evangelical Association, often called the Albright Methodist Church, which is almost identical in government with the Methodist Episcopal Church, has considerable strength in some of the cities. In Chicago it has six or seven Churches. The Methodist Church and the Free Methodist Church have communicants in these cities. If all the communicants of the different branches of Methodism in the fourteen cities were aggregated, and then if against that aggregate were placed the united aggregates of the communicants of the Presbyterian Church, and of the Congregational Church, and of every possible branch of Presbyterianism, not excepting the Reformed Church, the German Reformed, and the Cumberland Presbyterian, it would, no doubt, appear that in those cities the Methodists outnumber the whole.

Let us now turn to the study of figures which show the numerical *status* of the Methodist Episcopal Church in ten of the above cities at each decade from the beginning of the present century. Saint Louis, New Orleans, and Louisville are omitted because, as southern cities, they were identified with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, after the division in 1845. San Francisco is omitted because Methodism there is so recent. There was no report of members in that city until 1851, and then the total was but 109.

In the following paragraphs the total number of communicants in the Methodist Episcopal Church is given at the end of each decade in each city. The number gained during each decade is also shown, and the percentage of increase. The numbers of communicants given include members and probationers; for, as we have seen, the two classes of communicants were never reported separately until 1849, and, consequently, up to that year, they cannot be distinguished. This, too, is the proper way to exhibit the progress of the Church. Every decade shows an increase except in the case of New York, which, in that part of a decade which is between 1870 and 1876, shows one per cent. decline. That is the only declension that appears in the Methodism of any of these great cities, and it is very slight. It is attributable, no doubt, to the fact that the tendency of the Methodist population of New York has

been strongly toward the suburbs. While there are large accessions there are equally large, or larger, losses occasioned by removals to the adjoining cities and to the rural districts where more comforts of residence are offered at less cost. New York is constantly reinforcing suburban Methodism. Since 1860 Brooklyn Methodism has increased its communicants over one hundred per cent., and the same is true of Jersey City. The whole region around New York is being populated by Methodists who have abandoned the city as a residence. This outflow is ceaseless. In view of it New York Methodism must be pronounced successful if it does not decline more than one per cent. in a decade. Before this migration to the suburbs began the Methodist Church in New York grew considerably. In the decade ending at 1840 this growth was over sixty-two per cent. In the following decade it was nearly forty per cent., but during the decade ending 1860 it fell to twenty-five per cent. Since then, with the increase of migration the growth has been less, until a very slight decline in numbers appears for the year 1876. Seventy-seven years ago the Methodist societies in New York numbered only 776 members, and in Brooklyn there were only 54 members. A year ago in the two cities there were almost 25,000, and, including Jersey City, the aggregate exceeded 27,500 communicants, which is about a thousand more than any other denomination has in the three cities, which, though under different municipal and State governments, are in reality one. New York Methodism has been and is a decided power, and it is felt throughout the nation and beyond the seas.*

New York—1800, 776: 1810, 2,200; increase, 1,424; per cent., 183$\frac{5}{10}$: 1820, 3,218; increase, 1,018; per cent., 46$\frac{3}{10}$: 1830, 3,955; increase, 737; per cent., 22$\frac{9}{10}$: 1840, 6,413; increase, 2,458; per cent., 62$\frac{1}{10}$: 1850, 8,948; increase, 2,535; per cent., 39$\frac{5}{10}$: 1860, 11,181; increase, 2,233; per cent., 24$\frac{9}{10}$: 1870, 12,516; increase, 1,335; per cent., 11$\frac{9}{10}$: 1876, 12,347; decrease, 169; per cent., 1: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, 54$\frac{4}{10}$.

Philadelphia—1800, 664: 1810, 2,477; increase 1,813; per cent., 273: 1820, 2,767; increase, 290; per cent., 11$\frac{7}{10}$: 1830, 5,010; in-

* Since this article was written I have learned that in the ecclesiastical year ending in the spring of 1877, the Presbyterian Church in the city of New York declined about five per cent. in its membership.

crease, 2,243; per cent., 81: 1840, 10,387; increase, 5,377; per cent., $107\frac{3}{10}$: 1850, 10,907; increase, 520; per cent., 54: 1860, 15,943; increase, 5,036; per cent., $46\frac{1}{10}$: 1870, 18,625; increase 2,682; per cent., $16\frac{8}{10}$: 1876, 23,901; increase, 5,276; per cent., $28\frac{3}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $71\frac{1}{10}$.

Brooklyn—1800, 54: 1810, 255; increase, 201; per cent., $372\frac{8}{10}$: 1820, 327; increase, 72; per cent., $28\frac{2}{10}$; 1830, 566; increase, 239; per cent., 73: 1840, 1,400; increase, 834; per cent., $147\frac{3}{10}$: 1850, 2,980; increase, 1,580; per cent., $112\frac{8}{10}$: 1860, 5,980; increase, 3,000; per cent., $100\frac{6}{10}$: 1870, 10,052; increase, 4,072; per cent., 68: 1876, 12,527; increase, 2,475; per cent., $24\frac{6}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $115\frac{8}{10}$.

Chicago—1840, 154: 1850, 630; increase, 476; per cent., 309: 1860, 1,458; increase, 828; per cent., $131\frac{4}{10}$: 1870, 4,036; increase, 2,578; per cent., $176\frac{7}{10}$; 1876, 6,293; increase, 2,257; per cent., $55\frac{8}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1840, $168\frac{3}{10}$.

Baltimore—1800, 1,040: 1810, 2,370; increase, 1,330; per cent., $127\frac{8}{10}$: 1820, 4,890; increase, 2,520; per cent., $106\frac{6}{10}$: 1830, 6,271; increase, 1,381; per cent., $28\frac{2}{10}$: 1840, 10,766; increase, 4,495; per cent., $71\frac{6}{10}$: 1850, 12,206; increase, 1,440; per cent., $13\frac{3}{10}$: 1860, 15,014; increase, 2,808; per cent., 23: 1870, 15,297; increase, 283; per cent., $1\frac{88}{100}$: 1876, 17,007; increase, 1,710; per cent., $11\frac{17}{100}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $47\frac{9}{10}$.

Boston—1800, 72: 1810, 330; increase, 258; per cent., $358\frac{3}{10}$: 1820, 619; increase, 289; per cent., $87\frac{5}{10}$: 1830, 784; increase, 165; per cent., $26\frac{6}{10}$: 1840, 1,907; increase, 1,123; per cent., $143\frac{2}{10}$: 1850, 2,327; increase, 420; per cent., 22: 1860, 3,392; increase, 1,065; per cent., $45\frac{7}{10}$: 1870, 4,635; increase, 1,243; per cent., $36\frac{6}{10}$: 1876, 5,145; increase, 510; per cent., 11: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $91\frac{3}{10}$.

Cincinnati—1820, 608: 1830, 1,142; increase, 534; per cent., $87\frac{8}{10}$: 1840, 2,765; increase, 1,623; per cent., $142\frac{1}{10}$: 1850, 3,347; increase, 582; per cent., 21: 1860, 3,696; increase, 349; per cent., $10\frac{4}{10}$: 1870, 4,261; increase, 565; per cent., $15\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 4,778; increase, 517; per cent., $12\frac{1}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1820, $48\frac{1}{10}$.

Buffalo—1830, 81: 1840, no report; 1850, 576: 1860, 783; increase, 207; per cent., 35: 1870, 1,032; increase, 249; per cent., $31\frac{8}{10}$; 1876, 1,939; increase, 907; per cent., $87\frac{8}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1830, $51\frac{5}{10}$.

Washington—1810, 159: 1820, 537; increase, 378; per cent., $237\frac{7}{10}$: 1830, 813; increase, 276; per cent., $51\frac{4}{10}$: 1840, 1,293; increase, 480; per cent., 59: 1850, 2,618, increase, 1,325; per cent., $102\frac{4}{10}$: 1860, 3,050; increase, 432; per cent., $16\frac{5}{10}$: 1870, 4,368; increase, 1,318; per cent., $43\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 5,551; increase, 1,183; per cent., 27: per cent. of increase by decades since 1810, $76\frac{7}{10}$.

Newark—1820, 148: 1830, 352; increase, 204; per cent., $137\frac{8}{10}$: 1840, 753; increase, 401; per cent., $113\frac{4}{10}$: 1850, 1,710; increase, 957; per cent., $126\frac{5}{10}$: 1860, 3,258; increase, 1,548; per cent., $90\frac{5}{10}$: 1870, 4,310; increase, 1,052; per cent., $32\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 5,454; increase 1,144; per cent., $26\frac{5}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1820, $87\frac{9}{10}$.

Average increase of membership for each decade of the ten cities taken together from 1800 to 1876 is $81\frac{2}{10}$ per cent.

In noting the increase by decades, it must be borne in mind that if the actual gain were uniform the percentage of increase must necessarily be much larger in the early decades. To advance from five hundred to one thousand members is to increase at the rate of one hundred per centum; but to increase from one thousand to one thousand five hundred members, while the actual gain is the same, is to fall from one hundred per cent. to fifty per cent. of increase. Thus in a city it is more practicable to double or quadruple a Church with a membership of one hundred than it is a Church having a membership of five hundred. It appears from the preceding statistics that the average increase by decades of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the ten cities from the year 1800 to 1870, and including the part of a decade between 1870 and 1876, is eighty-one and two tenths per centum.

We now pass to the controversial phase of this discussion. The "Independent," of New York, has discussed the subject of Methodism in cities in its issues from February 1, 1877, to March 22, 1877, inclusive, in seven full editorial articles, besides minor editorials. In the second sentence of its first full editorial, February 1, it says of Methodism, "It is comparatively a failure in cities." In the last paragraph but one of its last editorial, March 22, it says, "It seems to us that the itinerancy is a sufficient though not the sole cause of the comparative failure of Methodism in cities." Thus it begins its tune

and ends it with the same note, namely, the failure of Methodism in cities.

Inasmuch as Congregationalism *is* "a comparative failure in cities," having, after two centuries of effort, but 25,064 communicants in the fourteen largest cities of the Union against 102,351 Methodist Episcopal communicants in the same field gained in half the time, it would seem that the "Independent" had better devote its columns to the discussion of the failure of the Congregational Church in the large cities, instead of sounding false alarms about the failure of Methodism therein.

It is not uncharitable to say that, in order to apparently make out its case, the "Independent" does violence to the truth. Look, for example, at its treatment of probationers. In giving the census of Methodism in seven cities it failed to include probationers, notwithstanding they are, and have always been, communicants. In its issue of February 15 the "Independent" says: "It has, moreover, been indisputably established that of all uncertain things a Methodist probationer is the most uncertain. One year he is reported, and the next year he is gone, and none knoweth whither. It would be just as fair to count in all the visitors in New York city in any given time, in taking the census, as to include probationers for purposes of comparisons such as we are making." What candor is here! Probationers are persons who have joined the Church, and who are admitted to the communion. They are not full members, and cannot be until six months have expired. The Presbyterian Church or the Congregational Church would not hesitate to admit them, with very few exceptions, into membership at once; but because the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church requires a six months' probation they are reported in the "Minutes" as virtual though not formal members. It would greatly weaken the "Independent's" exhibit to include them, and it therefore dismisses them with a slander. According to it they are unworthy of enumeration. An untruthful man is uncertain, and is, therefore, shunned. A note of hand, a stock or bond that is uncertain, is discarded by investors. A house whose foundations are uncertain is abandoned by its occupants and left to the bats. But, worse than these or any other un-

certain things, according to the "Independent," are the probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, for it affirms that "it has been *indisputably established* that of all uncertain things a Methodist probationer is the *most* uncertain." The figures previously given, showing the increase of full members in the Church from 1849 to 1876, do not look as if it had been so established. The entire millions that have formed the Methodist body were once probationers; and if it be asked, Where are they? our reply is, They are in the Church militant and Church triumphant. Will the "Independent" please inform us when, where, by whom "it has been indisputably established, that of all uncertain things a Methodist probationer is the most uncertain?"

In pursuance of this line of attack on the Methodist Episcopal Church the "Independent," in its issue of March 8, recurs to the subject of probationers in two articles. In the first article, which is on the ninth page of the issue, it has these words, the italics being its own: "The number of probationers reported January 1, 1876, was 196,407. Of this number it appears that *only one sixteenth have been received into the Church during the year.*" This passage occurs in an article which is a review of the General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and other ecclesiastical statistical publications. The "Independent," therefore, professes to speak from a knowledge of the data. Furthermore, it speaks authoritatively and emphatically, for it clothes its utterance in italics. It tells the world in italicised words, with the statistics before its eyes, that of the 196,407 probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876, "*only one sixteenth*" *were received into full membership.* One sixteenth, of course, is six and twenty-five one hundredths per centum.

In the other article—a brief editorial—in the same issue, on page 23, the "Independent" says: "The Minutes of the Annual Conferences for 1875 report a total of 196,407 probationers. The increase of members in 1876, according to the 'Minutes' of that year, was 12,768. In this case only one in fifteen has been added to the membership." This statement is a little better, for, according to it, nearly, though not quite, seven per cent. of the almost two hundred thousand probationers are conceded to have been saved, against six and a quarter

per cent. in the other calculation. For small favors we will be duly thankful.

Now the "Independent" speaks from the "Minutes." It took good care, in scanning the table of Church members, to see just what the increase of full members, as reported, was for the year, and exactly how many probationers were returned the previous year; but its spectacles could not so magnify the numerals in the same table and on the same page, that told of 18,830 deaths during the year, that it could discern them. It strangely overlooked the fact, likewise, that Methodism teaches that any Christian even in full membership, outside of heaven, may fall from grace and forfeit his membership in the Church. Perhaps it fell into the delusion that Methodists cannot die nor yet backslide. It also forgot those members who withdraw from the Methodist Church, or possibly it had not yet obtained its information on this point; but two weeks later, in its issue of March 22, when it sought to establish another allegation, it said that it heard "of whole families quitting the Methodist Church." It would have lessened the effect of the "Independent's" double shot at Methodist probationers if it had, while studying the table of membership in the "Minutes," noted the death column, or bethought itself that excommunications, withdrawals, etc., must cause some diminution of the ranks of one million four hundred and twenty-five thousand full members. In simple candor we ask, What are the statements of such a journal worth? If it will thus glaringly violate the truth, with the effect of traducing nearly two hundred thousand Christian communicants, can its utterances in any case be accepted? *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* To use its own words, "it is indisputably established, that of all uncertain things" the "Independent" "is the most uncertain."

The question of the stability of the annual host of probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church is, however, too pertinent and grave to be hastily dismissed. We propose to consider it with fairness and candor. In doing so, all the sources of reduction of the number of full members must be brought into view. These are death, excommunication, obtaining certificates of membership without presenting them again, removing with letters of membership before the annual report

of members is made up, and not presenting them in another Church until after the annual report is closed; voluntary withdrawal without letter; joining other communions, and long and unexplained absence. Except deaths, none of these items, unfortunately, are reported in the "Minutes." In the absence of official data we must avail ourselves of the best guidance we can obtain in searching for the total loss the Church sustained in its full membership during the year 1876. We will, therefore, take as our chief guide in this investigation the tables of statistics of membership of the Congregational Church for that year.

The members of that Church in 1875 are reported in the "Congregational Quarterly" as being 338,313, and the same authority reports 1,076 as having been excommunicated during 1876. In 1875 the Methodist Episcopal Church had 1,384,152 full members, or considerably more than four times the number of Congregationalists. The "Independent" tells us that the Congregational Church trains its members more thoroughly than the Methodist Episcopal Church does its members. (See "Independent," editorial, March 22.) If that be so, we may expect a larger percentage of loss by excommunication in the latter than falls to the former, for the better trained they are the less likely are Church members to require final discipline. Besides, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a large number of Southern Freedmen in its membership, who have had but a very indifferent training, while the Congregational Church has scarcely any communicants of this class. If, with less than a fourth of the membership, the Congregational Church excommunicated 1,076 communicants during the year 1876, the excommunications from the Methodist Episcopal Church probably exceeded four times that number. We will put the aggregate at 4,500, which is but a fraction more than the Congregational ratio. Then there are the absentees, that is to say, persons who live elsewhere than the place where they hold their Church membership. In 1876 there were 45,033 Congregational members reported absent. Allowing that the Methodists are no more migratory, and applying to the full membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church the Congregational ratio of absenteeism, there would be over 180,000 absentees. But in the Congregational Church

persons who take letters of membership are still reported as members in the Church that issued the letters, until that Church is officially informed of their reception by another Church. Hence persons who hold letters from Congregational Churches are counted in the annual report as "absent," while Methodists who hold letters are not counted nor reported at all. Most Methodist pastors are familiar with letters from one to three years old, and even older. Various causes, personal and other, are assigned for this protracted retention of them; but whatever the cause be, their possessors are not included in the summaries of membership while retaining them. When a member takes a letter shortly before the session of the Annual Conference, and does not hand it into another Church until after Conference, he is not reported as a member. Thus a large number of actual full members fail to be counted in the annual statistics. Many letters, too, are never given to the Church.

Then there is a multitude of absentees, composed of persons who have removed without taking letters. Of these many fail to report themselves, and are finally marked on the Church books as unknown, or removed without certificates, and are consequently no longer reported as members. Our Church record committees and pastors are every year expunging from the records the names of absentees that are not heard from, and the annual aggregate of such expurgations is very large. Estimating the yearly loss of full members from absenteeism at less than half the number that would result from the adoption of the Congregational ratio of absentees, which must, we think, be found within the truth, and we have a loss of 90,000. If we should add the loss that by a reasonable estimate must result from withdrawals, the number would be increased. But we will let the 90,000 stand for all losses, except those occasioned by excommunication and death.

Now all these losses must be made good by the probationers before any gain can be shown in the full membership. The surplus of probationers received into full membership after making good the losses constitute the annual gain. The "Minutes" for 1876 show a gain of 12,768 full members. It happens, however, that for that year the statistics in the Minutes are imperfect. They do not include the greater part of

the East Ohio Conference—that part which until the General Conference of 1876 belonged to the Pittsburgh Conference. The explanation of this omission, no doubt, is the change of Conference boundaries. The result of it is that the membership of the Church is made to appear in the "General Recapitulation" in the "Minutes" between 26,000 and 30,000 less than it actually is. Of the number omitted, probably not less than 25,000 are full members. The gain in full members, then, in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1876, instead of being 12,768, is, probably, fully 38,000. In the light of these facts let us see how the case stands.

Increase of full members	38,000
Deaths	18,830
Expelled	4,500
Losses occasioned by absence, withdrawals, joining other Churches, and retaining letters	90,000
Total	151,330
Number of probationers reported in 1875	196,407
Number of probationers admitted to full membership, as shown in the above table	151,330
Probationers not admitted to full membership	45,077

By this computation we discover that 77 per cent. at least of the probationers reported in 1875 may be fairly considered to have attained to full membership in the Church. But all of the remaining 23 per cent. are by no means to be regarded as lost. Many, from various causes, are prevented from being at Church at the time of reception of full members, and consequently are continued from time to time, until they are able to be present. All pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church are familiar with these cases. Their aggregate each year is considerable, and many of these persons go over to the next Conference year before being received, and consequently are not counted in the reports of full members until that year. Then others, who, for one or another reason, fail to give entire satisfaction to the Church, or who are not themselves entirely satisfied with their religious state, have their probation prolonged, and finally are received. There are many such cases. Others remove their residence to a place distant from the Church they joined and thereby fail to be received in due time, but eventually

reach full membership. Still others unhappily fall back into the world, for, as of old, some seed falls upon stony ground, and some by the way-side. Investigation shows that the ratio of probationers that are apparently lost is greatest in the Southern States, where they are principally comprised of Freedmen. On the whole, it is evident that no considerable percentage of final loss of Methodist probationers occurs. It is certain that an overwhelmingly large proportion are received into full membership.

The "Independent's" refusal to count the probationers of the Methodist Episcopal Church as communicants cannot, then, be justified by the allegation that they are worthless, and that, therefore, they should be rejected. They are the recruits that are constantly filling up and augmenting the ranks of our Zion, and they must not be despised.

The "Independent" assails the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and alleges that it impedes the progress of the denomination in the cities. It draws a comparison between Methodism and Congregationalism by which it disparages the former. It says, March 22: "It is not the largest but the best trained army that is the most efficient. Methodism represents a very large army, Congregationalism a comparatively small one; yet see how much stronger, more influential, and efficient proportionately is the latter!"

We understand the true test of the strength, influence, and efficiency of a Church of Christ to be its success in extending the kingdom of God, and the measure of that success is the number of souls that are saved and added to its membership. If Methodism with its itineranoy is so much less efficient proportionately than is Congregationalism with a settled pastorate, it will appear, of course, in a smaller ratio of increase. A comparison of the increase of the two denominations shows that in the year 1860 the Congregational Church reported 253,765 members, and in 1876 it reported 350,656. In 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church reported 994,447 communicants, and in 1876 it had about 1,651,000, including the number omitted from the East Ohio Conference, in the official statistics. In the sixteen years the increase in the Congregational Church was 38 per cent., and in the same period the increase in the Methodist Episcopal Church was 66 per cent.

These figures show that the "Independent" is once more seriously in error. If we were to adopt the "Independent's" mode of speech we should say, "See how much stronger, more influential, and efficient proportionately is Methodism than Congregationalism." It were useless to devote more space to such a critic of Methodism.

From this investigation we learn, 1. That there are no signs of decay in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the largest cities of the United States, but that, on the contrary, it is vigorous, aggressive, and decidedly more successful than any other denomination in those cities. 2. That it is even more successful, in view of all the conditions, in the cities than in the country; and, 3. That there are no indications that its present polity is not equally adapted to both country and city. What Methodism needs for its continued success in its great mission is not readjustment with reference to any special conditions of society, but the faithful and zealous application of its doctrines and methods in the spirit of its illustrious founder.

The fruit of Methodism, during the period of its existence in these great cities, does not all appear in this review. Throughout that period it has been constantly sending its members from its Churches in New York, Philadelphia, and the rest to the Church triumphant in the New Jerusalem. They have exchanged the love-feast on earth for the love-feast in heaven. They have exchanged the songs of free grace here for sweeter songs of free grace there. Their shoutings are hushed here, but are there renewed in eternal halleluiahs before the throne. Besides, the awakening preaching and revivals of Methodism have largely recruited the other sects. Multitudes trained in other denominations, and converted through Methodism, have for various reasons joined the communions in which they were reared. It has furnished them many ministers, and they still show their appreciation of Methodist preaching by inviting our preachers to their leading pulpits. They see the power of our unequaled system, and while we discuss the revision of our methods, many among them sigh that they do not possess them. They have long imitated our direct, hortatory, impassioned preaching, and have, through the influence of our rational and wholesome theology, almost entirely banished Calvinism from their pulpits. They have caught up our songs,

and sing them with a fervor inhaled from us. They have adopted our experience meetings, lay preaching, and revival enginery. They have in one particular adopted our itinerancy, for their pastoral changes are almost as frequent as ours. In fine, Methodism has diffused its life through the other Churches, and is, in the great cities of the United States, the first and mightiest evangelical power.

Art. VII.—HOLINESS.

Holiness, St. Paul declares, is requisite to see the Lord. But is it not said, "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him?" In the last day all shall look upon the Judge of quick and dead. The unholy, as well as the holy, shall see the Lord. But they shall behold him with very different eyes. The unholy, wailing because of him whom they pierced, shall call on the rocks and mountains to hide them "from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb." The holy shall shout for joy at the sight, when the Lord shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God. But it is evident that St. Paul in Hebrews, and our Lord in the parallel passage, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," employ the words "shall see the Lord," or "shall see God," in some special sense. Before we tell what that sense is, let us ask, Who is meant by "the Lord" of St. Paul, and who by the "God" of the sermon on the mount? There can be no question as to whom our Lord refers. But whom does the apostle mean? The weight of authority is that "the Lord" of St. Paul is the Lord Jesus Christ. Whether this be so or not makes no difference, for the Son and the Father are one, and he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father. And, since to see the Lord Jesus is to see the Father; and to see as he is the Lord Jesus is to be like him, to enjoy him, and to live with him forever, we are at no loss to know what the apostle means, and what our Lord means, when the one affirms that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, and the other that the pure in heart shall see God. To see the Lord and to see

God—which are Hebraisms to signify the greatest honor and happiness—when applied to this life, as they may be in an accommodated sense, denote peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, access by faith into his grace, conformity to his image, and fellowship with him. They indicate, as applied to the future life, to see God as he is, to be like him, to enjoy him, and to live with him forever in heaven.

But what is holiness? Who can tell what it is, seeing that the heavens are unclean in the sight of Him who hath said, "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" and that in His presence the seraphim, with folded wings, cover their faces? Spirit of holiness, give the clean heart! Spirit of truth, revealing the deep things of God, tell us what is that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord!

In answering the question, What is holiness? we shall seek to avoid the discussions of Church polemics who have written and spoken much on the subject. We pray to write, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth. Interpreting scripture by scripture, comparing spiritual things with spiritual, and seeking, by the help of the Spirit, to bring to remembrance what inspired men of God have written of holiness, we answer—*Holiness is purity of heart; a heart washed from sin by the blood of the Lamb.* For, if the pure in heart shall see God, purity of heart is that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

The Scriptures clearly teach the natural or inbred corruption of the human heart—that man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin. But, whether born in sin or not, all *have* sinned, and from within, from the heart, proceeds every abominable thing, the understanding darkened, the conscience blunted, the affections sensual, the thoughts evil, the will rebellious, and the whole heart "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

But such was not man from the beginning. In God's own image Adam was created. In moral character he bore his likeness. But this likeness was defaced by Adam's guilty fall. The original purity of his sinless state gave place to uncleanness; his moral nature was defiled and corrupted by sin. This defiled and corrupt nature he transmitted to descendants whom he begot in his own likeness. These descendants, true

to his sinful likeness and example, are by nature unclean, and gone far astray from God in actual transgression.

To save us from its condemnation God gave his only begotten Son to make atonement for sin. Christ Jesus "was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification." To save from the guilt of sin, to cleanse the heart and make it pure, the blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot or blemish, was shed that a fountain might be opened for sin and uncleanness. The justifying and cleansing power of this blood avails for all who, with faith in Jesus as a present Saviour from sin, offer the sacrifice of a broken heart and contrite spirit, crying, "God be merciful to me a sinner." "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And the word of this salvation is nigh us, even in our mouth and in our heart: that is, the word of faith, which by the Gospel is preached to us; that, if we confess with our mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in our heart that God hath raised him from the dead, we shall be saved.—To deliver from the power of sin—from its being and indwelling—we have a Saviour who is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him.—And to bring us back to God, the Holy Ghost creates anew in Christ Jesus, causing old things to pass away and making all things new; quickens those dead in sins to live unto righteousness; purifies the body, sealing it his and making it a temple for his own indwelling; and, sanctifying the believer, restores him to the image of God. To sum up all, to be pure in heart is to be delivered, by the cleansing blood of the Lamb, from the condemnation, guilt, power, and being of sin; and to be made, by the quickening, renewing, and sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost, a new man in Christ Jesus, which after God is created in knowledge, in righteousness, and in true holiness.

But purity of heart is demonstrated by *a pure life*. A pure heart is such a radical change—such a renewal of the whole man—that a new man is the result; a new birth—a new creation—has taken place. Begotten of God, made a new creature in Christ Jesus, the understanding enlightened, the conscience quickened to a sensibility of sin, the affections spiritualized, the thoughts brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, the will submissive to the will of God, and the whole heart

cleansed from wickedness and guile, the transformation in spirit and soul and body is, indeed, complete. This transformation, if it be in truth a new creation, will be attested by newness of life. The fruit of this divine renewal will be unto holiness. By their fruit we know them that are made free from sin, for by its fruit the tree is known.

The unholy are carnal and mind the things of the flesh; the holy are spiritual and mind the things of the Spirit. The unholy, walking after the flesh, work the *works* of the flesh; that is, such as corrupt nature of itself brings forth; called works of the flesh, because they are begotten solely by the fleshly mind. The holy, walking after the Spirit, show forth the *fruit* of the Spirit; the singular number being used to denote the connection and harmony between the graces called fruit, so called because the Spirit produces them by his regenerating, sanctifying, and fructifying power on the renewed heart and mind, just as sunshine and dew and rain bring the harvest from seed sown in the prepared soil. The works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: "Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like." But the fruit of the Spirit is "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." This fruit demonstrates that the whole man is washed, sanctified, justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. The old man is crucified with Christ, that, the body of sin being destroyed, the new man should not henceforth serve sin. Dead, indeed, unto sin, but alive unto God, the believer washed, sanctified, justified, rises in the likeness of Christ's resurrection and walks in newness of life. By pureness within and pureness without, by yielding himself a willing and obedient servant to Christ, by believing, loving, obeying, and serving him, he seeks to glorify Christ in his body and spirit which are his. Hence, purity of heart is also demonstrated by *a life of devotedness to Christ.*

Every believer whose sins are truly forgiven, and who is begotten of God, is pure in heart, free from sin, and *sanctified.* And this sanctification is contemporaneous with the new creation. For God from the beginning, that is, from the believer's

hearing and obeying the Gospel, hath chosen him to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. When old things are passed away and all things made new, the believer is sanctified, free from sin, and becomes servant to God. From that moment he is one of the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. When the elect strangers, to whom St. Peter wrote his epistles, obtained like precious faith with himself, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that is, were made righteous according to God's plan of justification—their faith being accounted to them for righteousness—from that moment they, as well as he, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, were made partakers of he divine nature.

The salutations of the Pauline epistles to the Churches demonstrate that every believer, when created a new man in Christ Jesus, is sanctified by the Spirit; that, unless he is sanctified, he is not a true believer; his sins are not forgiven; his faith is not accounted to him for righteousness; and hence, there has been no new creation whatever. All the Churches to which St. Paul wrote, except the Galatians who were fallen from grace, he saluted as saints of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, faithful brethren, or as in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are the called in Christ Jesus, beloved of God, and called to be saints. The Corinthians are called to be saints, and sanctified in Christ Jesus. As saints and faithful in Christ Jesus he saluted the Ephesians; as saints in Christ Jesus, the Philippians. The Colossians are saints and faithful brethren; in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Thessalonians. All of these Churches are thus saluted, except the Galatians, who are simply saluted as "the Churches of Galatia." It will be noticed that the only Church saluted as sanctified in Christ Jesus is the Church at Corinth, the least spiritual of all the Churches commended in these salutations. But the Church at Thessalonica is saluted neither as saints of God, nor as sanctified in Christ Jesus, but as those who are in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ, though the Church there was the most spiritual of all the Churches to which the Pauline epistles were sent. For the apostle elsewhere

calls this Church elect of God; and commending its work of faith and labor of love, and patience of hope, declares that it was an ensample to all that believed in Macedonia and Achaia, and that in every place its faith to God-ward was spread abroad. Now, then, if sanctification be ascribed in the salutations of these epistles to the Church at Corinth, and to that Church alone—the least spiritual of all the Churches therein commended—is sanctification some special and extraordinary grace, some second blessing, distinct from, and superior to, the grace received in the new birth?

What is sanctification? It is both the act of God's grace renewing the fallen nature and purifying the heart; and it is the act of consecrating, setting apart something to a holy use. It has both senses. In the first sense, does it not agree both with regeneration or the new birth, and with holiness or purity of heart? It agrees with the new birth; for they that are born again—begotten of God by his incorruptible word—have purified their souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren. And we know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not—is free from sin, and overcometh the world, because he *is* begotten of God. It agrees with holiness; for the same word—*ἁγιασμός*—which is translated holiness, is translated sanctification. And it agrees with purity of heart; for holiness and purity of heart are one and the same.

But sanctification or holiness has, also, an idea inseparable from itself, but incidental to the new creation and simultaneous with it. That idea is the second sense above mentioned—consecrating, setting apart something and devoting it to a holy use. As applied to God, it is the work of the Holy Spirit, sealing as his, until the day of redemption, him that is begotten of God and, therefore, free from sin; and, the moment he is begotten, setting him apart and consecrating him to the worship and service of God. As applied to him that is created a new man in Christ Jesus and, therefore, sanctified by the Spirit, it is his own free, voluntary, and grateful act, whereby acknowledging that he is not his own—that he is bought with a price, and has nothing which he has not received—the believer, from the moment he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, consecrates, sets apart, devotes spirit, soul, body, prop-

erty, and all, to him who bought him; whose most precious blood made atonement for his sins, and cleansed him from them; whose own powerful will begot him by the word of truth; and whose Spirit made him a new creature, and taught him to say, "Abba, Father." The true believer or new man in Christ Jesus, having thus consecrated himself to God, feels that he is henceforth and always the Lord's. His first question is, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" The love of Christ constraining him, and devotedness to Christ being now the rule of his life, he resolves henceforth not to live unto himself, but unto Him who died for him and rose again. To please Him whose blood renewed and cleansed him by the Spirit; to win souls to Christ who died for all; to glory in the cross by which he is crucified to the world and the world to him; to know Christ, not only in the power of his resurrection, but in the fellowship of his sufferings; to imitate his example; to be more and more conformed to his image; and to be found of him, at the last, in peace, without spot, and blameless—these, and things like these, are the controlling motives of his life; these his high, exalted, and sanctified aims. This devotedness to Christ and a pure life attest purity of heart, or that holiness without which no man shall see the Lord. Holiness, therefore, is purity of heart; a heart washed by the blood of Christ and sanctified by the Spirit; a heart whose purity is proved by a pure life and by devotedness to Christ, by freedom from sin, and by sanctified and acceptable employment in the service of God.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the holiness which consists in purity of moral character is relative, or comparative in the creature; in God alone is such holiness absolute. Man is made relatively and conditionally holy; God is absolutely and infinitely holy. In comparison with his holiness the heavens, as we have noticed, are unclean in his sight, and in his presence the seraphim vail their faces. Wherefore, if there be, not even in seraphim, absolute moral perfection, much more in man is such perfection an absurdity and impossibility. In the creature, whether angelic or human, no more absurd and impossible is absolute perfection in knowledge. The absolute in all things belongs to the infinite alone. When, then, God commands us to be holy as he is holy, and to

be perfect as he is perfect, he means not absolute, but relative perfection in holiness:—

> "Holy as thou, O Lord, is none;
> Thy holiness is all thine own;
> A drop of that unbounded sea
> Is ours,—a drop derived from thee."

From this it will be seen there *is* a perfection which God does command, and which is, therefore, attainable by the creature—attainable, because it is most dishonoring to God to suppose that he requires the impossible. What is that perfection? and where does it begin? It is relative; and, because it is relative, it begins the moment the believer is created a new man in Christ Jesus. In the new creation he is made as perfect in moral character as it is possible for him then to be. He can be no more or less holy, no more or less perfect, than he is made at the time by the sanctifying Spirit. All his moral purity being derived, he becomes, through faith in Christ, relatively just what God would have him to be, for he is then just what God makes him. His repentance and faith have been perfect: at least God graciously so regards them. They have been what God requires, and in that sense perfect. And, as an evidence that God does so regard them, his sins are forgiven and their guilt washed away; he is accounted righteous, and treated as though he had not sinned; he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, has peace with God, access to his favor, and rejoices in hope of his glory. His repentance and faith being approved of God, he has done all that grace demands. His sacrifice—a broken heart and contrite spirit—in the sight of God is relatively a perfect sacrifice, and is, therefore, accepted; and, being accepted, the blood of Christ and the Spirit cleanse and purify the believer, and make him relatively holy and perfect. Hence, if he were to die the moment he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, the believer would be taken at once to heaven to see the Lord. With God he is holy, sanctified, made perfect in Christ Jesus, and meet to see the Lord, and be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless. Having done all he could—all that grace required of him—he has relatively perfected holiness in the fear of God. Who, then, shall lay any thing to his charge? and who is he that condemneth? Surely, not God who justifieth him, or Christ who died for him, and rose again, and maketh intercession for him.

But what of Christian perfection after the new birth? does it cease to be relative? By no means. Begun, continued, and carried on in its search after the absolute and the infinite, it is always relative and only relative. And because it is relative it has a beginning, a growth, and a development, limited only by the conditions which infinite grace has imposed. If the creature, therefore, be relatively and conditionally holy, and God be absolutely and infinitely holy, there must always be an infinite distance between God and man—between absolute and relative perfection. Hence there must be, under grace, infinite room for the growth and development of the creature in holiness as well as in knowledge. No one doubts the infinite distance in knowledge between God and man; and, hence, no one questions the infinite room for growth therein. But it is no more difficult to conceive of infinite holiness than of infinite knowledge; and, consequently, no more difficult to conceive of infinite growth in the one than in the other. Hence, as the new man is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created him, as well as in true holiness; and as these in man are relative and conditional, while in God they are absolute and infinite, there must be to the believer infinite room for development in both. Hence, the comparatively holy may become comparatively more and more holy. To be relatively like God is to be perfect; to be relatively more and more like him is to be more and more perfect. God, the absolutely and infinitely holy and perfect One, remains unchangeably the same. Man, whose moral purity is derived from God, may grow more and more like God, this growth going on indefinitely here and indefinitely in the world to come.

Now, let us go back to the question, What of Christian perfection after the new birth? We answer: It is the living in obedience to the constitution and laws of the new life, to which the believer is introduced as soon as he is made a new man in Christ Jesus. And what are these? They may be summed up in a single word, and that word is, *growth*. It is going on to perfection; that is, toward the absolute perfection of God. The holiness of the infinite One is ever before the relatively perfect. In the search after it the holiest here does not regard himself to have already attained. There is something here always ahead—something toward which, forgetting those things

which are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, he is constantly pressing. Every thing with which the life of God in the soul is compared denotes progress. It is walking, a journey, a pilgrimage, a voyage, a warfare, a race. It is likened to a grain of mustard seed, which develops into the greatest of herbs; to leaven which works its way till the lump is leavened. Cleansing himself from all comparative filthiness of the flesh and spirit, the growing Christian goes on to perfect holiness in the fear of God; that is, to be relatively more and more holy. With open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, he is changed into the same image from glory to glory; that is, from one degree of holiness to another, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Following this law of progress he keeps himself relatively a perfect Christian; growing more and more like God, he becomes more and more perfect. Healthful Christian growth, therefore, begun at the new birth and continued through life, is Christian perfection in its truest sense. And this is *active* holiness—a life, not only of freedom from sin, but a life of acceptable service to God, of consecration, and of obedience to his will.

If this be so, the believer, when he ceases to grow, is no longer perfect; he no longer perfects holiness in the fear of God, for he no longer lives in obedience to the constitution and laws of his new life. Nor does he grow symmetrically unless all the graces of the Spirit—faith, and virtue, and knowledge, and temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity—have their full, harmonious, and relative development. These graces are to be added to one another; or, rather, they are to accompany, *ἐπιχορηγέω*, and mutually assist one another, as in a choral song. With faith as the leader, and with the other sister graces to join harmonious voices as in a perfectly trained choir of singers, the choral song of a healthy Christian life accords with that grand diapason of praise sung by the redeemed around the throne of God and the Lamb. And, if all these graces be in us and abound, they make us to be neither idle—*ἀργός*, (contracted from *ἀεργός*, *a* privative, and the obsolete *ἔργω*, *not working*, *idle*)—nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things, that is, fails to obey this great law of Christian growth, is blind and cannot see afar off—that is,

loses faith itself, the telescope of the spiritual eye which reveals things hoped for and unseen by the natural eye—and hath forgotten that he was purged—purged once he was—from his old sins; that is, denies the Lord that bought him, and counts the blood of the covenant wherewith he was once sanctified an unholy thing. It is upon this the great apostle to the circumcision bases the earnest exhortation: "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall:" the converse of which is equally true, If ye do not these things, ye shall fall. And to stimulate us in our efforts after greater conformity to the divine image, and greater faithfulness to the service of him who hath called and elected us, he adds, "For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Faith and her sister graces joining hands and leading the many precious souls given as the reward of their united and harmonious labors, shall be admitted to the celestial city, not at its pearly gates, but through a breach in its jasper walls to receive them and their trophies to the cross of Christ.

Healthful Christian growth, however, or Christian perfection, be it remembered, is not inconsistent with certain mistakes and infirmities here. Being relative in all respects and absolute in none, it has its comparative failures and weaknesses. The holiest, when made conscious of these, do the more earnestly strive after the infinite in moral character, and more perfect obedience to the divine will. The more assimilated to God, the truer their conceptions of his holiness and the obedience demanded by his perfect law, the more conscious are they of their own imperfections. The holiest often write bitter and condemnatory things against themselves. For the more abundant the entrance of God's word, the brighter its light. The rays of the sun shining through a crevice in the wall of a room reveal ten thousand motes, unseen till then, floating, or dancing in the sunbeam. Once the writer saw a drop of water, taken from the yellow Savannah, under a powerful microscope. A drop of that water to the naked eye seems but a little more discolored than the rain drop newly fallen from the filtering clouds; and yet in that drop the microscope revealed many living things, of various shapes and colors, disporting them-

selves without jostling or interfering with one another. It is thus the Holy Spirit discloses to the Christian, when striving after greater conformity to the divine image, and more perfect obedience to the divine law, comparative filthiness of the flesh and spirit, roots of bitterness, and failures in obedience and service he never saw before. When the Holy Spirit thus more perfectly shows to him his inner-self, and makes him see so much of earthliness in his holiest exercises and best efforts to serve and please God, he prays the more eagerly for more perfect crucifixion with Christ, and more perfect truth in the inward parts. And the better he knows himself, and the more clearly and steadfastly he looks into the perfect law of liberty, the more does he long to see himself just as God sees him, to look on sin just as God looks upon it, and to have

> "A sensibility of sin,
> A pain to feel it near."

Nor is this all. Sins of ignorance or other unavoidable infirmity revealed to him by the Spirit cause him to lament the comparative weakness of his faith and hope and love. Life with him being a continued temptation, he mourns because he is never beyond its reach, never beyond the possibility of sinning and grieving the Holy Spirit. But, seeing the end of the Lord in all his temptations; knowing that thereunto he is appointed; that the same afflictions are accomplished in his brethren that are in the world; that the chastisements of his Lord are proofs of his Lord's love to him as to a son, and not as to a bastard; and that his Master, having felt the same, knows what sore temptations mean, he the more patiently watches, and prays, and believes, and hopes, and loves, and endures. He is consoled by the thought that it is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master and the servant as his Lord. Tribulation working patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope, he glories in tribulations, not only because God sends them, but because, without them, he could never know the comfort of sanctified patience, the trust of approved experience, the assurance of confirmed hope, and the fearlessness of love made perfect. Having begun a babe in Christ and grown up into the courage and firmness of a young man who has overcome the wicked one, he seeks the settled peace and abiding rest of a father in Israel who has known

Him that is from the beginning. Nor does he who is athirst for God and his holiness ever relax his efforts, as if he were beyond the reach of temptations and infirmities, and having attained all the perfection possible in this life had already seized upon the prize of his high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

From what has been written the following things are worthy of remembrance:—

1. They are in gross error, if there are any such, who think it possible to attain here absolute sinless perfection. For, not only, even in the holiest, is all perfection relative, but there are sins of ignorance or other infirmity from which, till God is seen as he is, no one can be delivered. It is of such sins it is written: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

2. They, likewise, are in great error, who, because the holiest here are relatively sinful, and constantly falling into sins of ignorance, deny that there is in this life any such thing as sinless perfection. There is sinless perfection here, not absolute, it is true, but relative; a state in which the believer does not knowingly and willfully sin in deed, or word, or thought. "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not;" that is, knowingly and willfully. For "whosoever is born of God doth not," knowingly and willfully, "commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." But, if we sin ignorantly, we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, who for such sins is a gracious and special propitiation.

3. In grossest error are they, who, living in known and willful sins here, excuse themselves on the plea that, in this life, they cannot be free from them; but expect to be delivered from them only at death, and, after death, to see the Lord and live with him forever. For every one that hath this hope of seeing the Lord purifieth himself, even as he is pure. "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. And he that committeth sin is of the devil." "Be not deceived: they that are in the flesh cannot please God; they that live after the flesh shall die." "Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment?"

4. The higher Christian experience developed by patience cannot be attained by mere faith; no, not even by the faith

that can remove mountains. The tribulation that worketh patience is the only thing that can give it. The patient endurance of repeated trials is necessary to experience. The soldier who has fought many battles is a veteran. The physician who has healed many diseases is an experienced physician. The pilot who through many storms has safely guided his ship to port is an experienced pilot. The believer who has patiently passed through much tribulation has won an experience. It is not faith which gives toughness and strength, skill and experience, to the arm of the blacksmith, but repeated strokes of the hammer upon the anvil. These strokes, it is true, are more hearty when faith inspires them. But, without the blows, all the faith in the world can neither give the toughness, the strength, the skill, nor the experience. And so, it is preposterous to expect that a Christian by mere faith, without tribulation, can attain any very deep and thorough experience in the things of God. Trial is necessary to develop the Christian as well as others. Hence, we are to expect the higher experience of the saints—the hope that maketh not ashamed and the love that casteth out fear—only by patiently enduring, for Christ's sake, all the trials to which a loving Father may subject our faith. The believer who thus endures will have not a second blessing distinct from the new birth, but continued and repeated blessings—the peace of him whose mind is always stayed on God. Glorious was the day to the humble fisherman of Galilee when, leaving his nets, he denied himself and took up his cross and followed Jesus; more glorious the day when, on Tabor's height, he beheld the transfiguration of his Lord. More glorious still the hour when, from Olivet, he witnessed his Lord's ascension. Far more glorious the hour when the Holy Ghost descended on him at Pentecost; more glorious still the time when the Holy Ghost, shaking, as if by an earthquake, the house in which he was praying, gave him to bear witness with greater power to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. But most glorious of all was the hour when, in old age and in exile on Patmos, he had the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem and the marriage of the Lamb and his Bride.

Having tried to show what holiness is, we urge its necessity, asking the reader to pause a moment to offer with us the prayer of the psalmist: "Search me, O God, and know my heart:

try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

1. As it regards the necessity of holiness, there can be no higher reason for it than this: God, who has said, *Be ye holy, for I am holy*, declares that without holiness no man shall see him. No one will question his right to fix the conditions of access to his favor here, and of admission to his presence hereafter. It is enough God has declared, "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." It is enough that in the holy city, the New Jerusalem, whose temple and light are the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb, "There shall in nowise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."

Holiness, then, God has made an indispensable condition of admission to his presence. If this be so, there can be no possible substitute for it. No self-righteousness, no mere morality, no Church relations here, no imposition of hands, no succession from the apostles, no formulas of faith, no penance by fastings and scourgings; no rites, or ceremonies, or modes of ordinances, or forms of admission into the Church below, can secure heaven without holiness of heart and life. A broken heart and contrite spirit alone God accepts for sacrifice. Faith in the blood of the Lamb alone is accounted for righteousness. Wanting these, vain are all things else. Worthless the imposition of hands, though the mitered bishop who lays his hands upon our heads may trace an unbroken descent from St. Peter. Useless the baptism, though he who performs the rite may trace his own baptism directly from him who baptized the Lord Jesus. Vain, indeed, the baptism were it performed in the Jordan itself, and the baptized one could stand in the very footsteps of our Lord imprinted, and, to this day, miraculously preserved in the sands, or on some rock, of its bed. Nothing, then, can be a substitute for holiness, and nothing can be a substitute for the blood of Jesus and for faith in that blood. And as holiness is the one condition of admission to heaven, so faith in Jesus' blood is the one condition of holiness here and of admission into the Church militant. Made holy, and

kept so by the blood of Jesus, nothing can keep us out of heaven. Believing on him, nothing can prevent an application of that blood. Even God's faithfulness and God's justice are pledged to this.

2. Benevolence to the holy in heaven demands that its gates be closed against the unholy. There is nothing there defiled by sin. All there are holy. Seraphim and cherubim are holy, angels and archangels are holy, the saints redeemed from earth, and washed in the blood of the Lamb are holy, and holy are the throne and city of the triune God. Heaven is, also, a place of supremest bliss. Nothing there to interrupt its harmony. No variance in its conversation, no disagreement in its intercourse, no diversity in its tastes, no conflict in its employments, no discord in its worship, no dissonance in its "sounds intermixed with voice, choral, or unison." "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?" If the presence of the unholy and unhappy in the Church on earth mars its purity and vitiates its joy, how much more would it disorder the Church in heaven? Wherefore God's benevolence to the holy in heaven will not allow any thing to enter there to dim its spotless purity, or diminish its unalloyed bliss.

3. To shut them out of heaven is the only mercy God can show to the unholy. Heaven to the unclean is a worse hell than the bottomless pit. The unclean man has no love to God here, no delight in his law, no joy in his worship, no communion with his saints. Place him in company with the redeemed whose conversation is about heaven and heavenly things; shut him in for a day with the holy and compel him to listen to the experiences of the saints, and you doom him to a day the most irksome and unhappy of his life. Place him in heaven before the throne, with seraphim and cherubim, with angels and archangels, with the four beasts and the four and twenty elders; let him see the lightnings and hear the voices and the thunders proceeding from the throne; let him behold the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne which are the seven spirits of God; and let him stand before him that sits upon the throne, the only one in that dread presence who is defiled and polluted by sin. And how can he join in the voices of those round about the throne, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord

God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come?" Place him before the King in his beauty; let him stand in the presence of the beatific vision; let him behold the one hundred and forty and four thousand standing before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands. And how can he, clad in torn and soiled and filthy garments, with a heart unclean, with guile in his mouth and blasphemy on his tongue, unite with the harpers harping with their harps, and singing, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever?"

It is said that Lord Nelson once presented the pilot of a coal barge with a midshipman's commission as the reward of some signal service to the British fleet, and assigned him to duty on his own flagship. In a few days the young man came to Nelson and returned the commission. The admiral was amazed; for this rude and ignorant young man, the pilot of a coal barge, was declining an honor coveted for their sons by British noblemen, whose armorial bearings were won at Hastings or at Agincourt. To the inquiry why he threw up the commission, the pilot, in effect, replied: "On my coal barge I was happy, with equals for my companions; here I am miserable, for my companions are the sons of the wealthy and the noble. Their conversation is about the high descent, heraldic honors, and great estates of their fathers—about things in which I have neither share nor interest. Take the commission, and send me back to my boat." This young man, when in after life he recounted this incident, would tell how happy he was when he trod again the sooty deck of his barge. And just so would it be with the sinner were he taken to heaven in his sins. It would be to him more intolerable than hell. His cry would be, "Send me away to the blackness of darkness, with fiends and devils, with lost and damned spirits for my companions, where no purity shall ever pain my lascivious eyes, no anthems of the redeemed torment my sensual ears, no felicities of the blood-washed, no corroding memories of what I might have been, torture my guilty conscience."

Wherefore, since these things are so, follow holiness. There is a metaphor here taken from the pursuit of game. Follow

it, pursue it as eagerly as the huntsman pursues the fleeing quarry. Let the penitent at once enter on its pursuit. Let him offer the sacrifice of a broken heart, and cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner." And though his sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow; and though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. Let the backslider return to the fountain for sin and uncleanness, that he may be cleansed from all his idols. Let the saint pursue it, remembering that eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him—things which he is ready to reveal to us by his Spirit. And God is able to do exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us. All things are possible to him that believeth. If any man thirst, let him come to Christ and drink, and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters. God has fixed no limits here to the capabilities of a soul restored to his image. Indefinite here as well as in eternity its growth in moral character and in knowledge. Behold the difference between the mind of a new-born babe, and the mind of John Milton or of Sir Isaac Newton. Witness the difference in moral character between the tyrants Caligula and Nero, and the philanthropists Howard and Wilberforce; between the apostates Judas and Julian, and the apostles St. John, the beloved disciple, and St. Paul, who was caught up into the third heavens. And yet these are but feeble illustrations of what development the human soul, under grace, is capable of even here. Its development through the eternal ages transcends all conception. For cycles on cycles of ages in the presence of God, growing more and more like him, and yet eternal ages more for indefinite growth. Let this thought ravish the soul, and give new strength to its wings in its flight heavenward after the absolute and the infinite. But O, almighty God, eternal Spirit—Spirit of holiness—how great the contrast between a soul restored to the divine image and still pursuing holiness, and a soul lost, polluted by sin, growing worse and worse here, and, through eternal ages, wandering farther and farther away from God! Wherefore let us follow holiness. As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, let us thirst for the living God, and never be satisfied until we behold his face in righteousness and awake with his likeness.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. Thomas Munzer. 2. Modern Evolution Theories. 3. Present Aspects of the Disestablishment Movement in England. 4. Dr. Dale on Baptism. 5. The Chronology of the Gospels. 6. Ancient Attica and Athens. 7. The Mendicant Orders.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1877. (Andover.)—1. The First Book of Esdras. 2. Aristotle. 3. Revelation and Science. 4. Irenæus of Lyons. 5. Strictures on Revivals of Religion. 6. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, April, 1877. (Boston.)—1. Orris Sanford Ferry. 2. Conference of the Elders of Massachusetts with the Rev. Robert Lenthal, of Weymouth, held at Dorchester, February 10, 1639. 3. A Church Creed: What Shall it Embrace? 4. Ought Congregational Churches to Dispense with Public Assent to their Creeds as a Prerequisite to Membership. 5. Agrippa's Reply. 6. Water as a Mirror of the Wisdom and Goodness of God. 7. Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1876–77. 8. Congregational Necrology.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, March, 1877. (New York.)—1. The Impressions and Reminiscences of Edward L. Sears, LL.D. 2. The Science of Political Economy. 3. The Stellar Atmosphere. 4. The Comic Dramas of the Restoration. 5. National Art Education. 6. The Political Situation in the United States.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Dean Stanley. 2. The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth. 3. Expository Preaching. 4. Principles of Domestic Taste. 5. The Apocryphal Period of Hebrew History in its Relation to Christ. 6. Woman's Right to Public Forms of Usefulness in the Church.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, April, 1877. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Eldership of the New Testament. 2. Materialism and Pedagogy. 3. The Legacy of Iyeyas. 4. The Power of the Keys. 5. What Constitutes Qualification for Admission to Sacramental Communion? 6. The Sermon as a Work of Art. 7. A Few Words more about the Ministerium. 8. Conscience under Revelation and Grace. 9. History of the English Lutheran Church in New York. 10. Public Libraries in the United States.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, April, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. Plymouth Brethrenism. 2. Women of the Southern Confederacy. 3. Christian Consecration. 4. Life and Letters of George Ticknor. 5. The Sonnet. 6. Gregory's Christian Ethics. 7. Examination of Edwards on the Will. 8. Terms of Communion.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The Realm of the Practical. 2. Luther and Schliermacher as Preachers. 3. Dr. Crombie, a Universalist. 4. Universalist Conventions and Creeds. 5. The Study of Psychology. 6. Shall we retain the Bible in our Common Schools? 7. An Ethical Criterion. 8. The Divine Anger Compatible with the Divine Love.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May–June, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The American Constitution. 2. Revelations of European Diplomacy. 3. Abraham Cowley. 4. African Explorers. 5. Soul and Substance. 6. The Relations of Debt and Money. 7. Harriet Martineau. 8. The Progress of Painting in America. 9. Political Reflections. 10. Recent Progress in Physical Science.

We are frank to say that the emancipation of the North American Review from the nightmare of the Adams dynasty is an emancipation into life. Under that dynasty its Articles

were not only weighty, but heavy. Its numbers were a succession of icebergs, solid, perhaps crystalline, and frozen. Even in its atheistic period, under the sway of Charles E. Norton, it had more life. It has rounded the circle, and come near to the period of its youth, when the Everetts and Sparks were its graceful and scholarly, but not brilliant, Unitarian editors.

The first article, by Senator Morton, is brief but statesmanlike. Mr. Morton has rendered great services to his country, has maintained an unimpeachable record, has nobly earned the onslaughts of the New York "NATION," and the gratitude of the American nation. It is to be hoped that he will continue his labors for modifying the method of our presidential elections. Some mode by which that election may be a sure and peaceful expression of the national will is the great *desideratum* of our politics.

James Freeman Clarke gives us a fine article on the great, disjointed, and upset intellect of Harriet Martineau. Harriet was bred a Unitarian, grew very pious under an evangelistic teacher, became afterward a Materialist in accordance with Priestley, and finally a firm Atheist under the tuition of a Mr. Atkinson. Of the atheistic correspondence between this pair Mr. Clarke piquantly says: "They seem like two eyeless fishes in the recesses of the darkness of the Mammoth Cave, talking to each other of the absurdity of believing in any sun or upper world." What strikes us with wonder is, the satisfaction Harriet feels in attaining to this belief in no God, no soul, no future life. Of that satisfaction her death record leaves no doubt. She wrote to Mr. Atkinson:—

> I see every thing in the universe go out and disappear, and I see no reason for supposing that it is not an actual and entire death—and for my part, I have no objection to such an extinction. I well remember the passion with which W. E. Forster said to me, "I had rather be damned than annihilated." If he once felt five minutes' damnation, he would be thankful for extinction in preference.—Pp. 274.

And the year of her death she says:—

> Night after night I have known that I am mortally ill. I have tried to conceive, with the help of the sensations of my sinking fits, the act of dying, and its attendant feelings; and, thus far, I have always gone to sleep in the middle of it. And this is after really knowing something about it; for I have been frequently in

extreme danger of immediate death within the last five months, and have felt as if I were dying, and should never draw another breath. Under this close experience, I find death in prospect the simplest thing in the world, a thing not to be feared or regretted, or to get excited about in any way. I attribute this very much, however, to the nature of my views of death. The case must be much otherwise with Christians—even independently of the selfish and perturbing emotions connected with an expectation of rewards and punishments in the next world. They can never be quite secure from the danger that their air-built castle shall dissolve at the last moment, and that they may vividly perceive on what imperfect evidence and delusive grounds their expectations of immortality or resurrection reposes.—Pp. 274.

This will hardly compare with the death of myriads of Christians; not only rapturous martyrs in the flames, but triumphant sufferers on the dying bed. It is at best dogged submission to the inevitable; and the feeling of insecurity lest there be error, is of a far more terrible kind. The atheist "can never be quite secure" that "damnation" is a fable; and if the Christian is mistaken he knows that the result can be nothing worse than the very annihilation that the atheist expects. If the unhappy Harriet was mistaken, it was a *dire* mistake; if the Christian is mistaken, he is as well off as Harriet at her best.

Akin to these thoughts is the tenor of a book-notice in this Review of the "Discussions" of Channcey Wright. Some of Mr. Wright's articles in the North American Review have been noticed in our Quarterly. Mr. Wright was an extreme, an *ultimate*, sensationalist. He rejected the super-sensible, and so rejected not only God, but Herbert Spencer's unknown absolute, as a gigantic phantasm, and reduced all knowledge to sensible experimentalism. He was a genetic evolutionist, yet rejected the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest;" and so, also, rejected the beneficent idea of *progress*, which, in the reviewer's view, is necessary to a just deduction of theism from evolution. And to this "dreary landing-place" he was brought, as the reviewer thinks, by his "quest of truth."

Inferentially the reviewer then adds:—

Few expressions have been more fanatically abused than the phrases, "An evil heart of unbelief," and "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." No doubt there have been many in ancient times who ignored a supreme Ruler because their deeds

would not endure inspection, and their desires and passions were too gross to be indulged without compunction while God was in their thoughts; and in these latter days there may be as many who wish Christianity to be false and theism an illusion, because the former interferes with their wickedness by teaching retribution, and even the latter might imply responsibility and a hereafter. But to class all skepticism as proceeding from a wicked heart, and all doubt of a God as a certain mark of sinful folly, is pure fanaticism. There are at this day many unbelievers whose characters are as lofty, and whose lives are as pure and useful as the lives and characters of most orthodox believers; and among this number we must reckon Chauncey Wright.—Pp. 497, 498.

Now, before we can assign Chauncey Wright this "lofty" moral position, we must have answer to the question, Are there such sins as sins of *the spirit*, in contradistinction to sins of *the flesh*? Is there any responsibility for the use or misuse of our intellectual powers? A murderer, a traitor, is guilty of sin of the flesh, and our reviewer would utter no apology for such a villain. But what shall we say of the intellectualist that promulgates the sophism that led the murderer to the murder, and the traitor to his treason? The gross, external, muscular sinner is thus cruelly damned; while the refined, internal, cerebral sinner, though really the primely responsible, is glorified. Are we, then, accountable only for the deeds of our hands, and not for the exercise of our brains? And all this resolves itself into the one great question, a question which the transiently great men of our day would do well to ponder—*Are we in any way responsible for our moral beliefs?*

On the reviewer's authority we doubt not that Mr. Wright performed with more than average completeness the duties of equity and courtesy to his fellow-men. But we ask—and our reviewer is no atheist—did he perform his duties to God? Was reverence to the Divine in his heart, prayer to the Supreme upon his lips, communion with the Holy Spirit in his spirit? Who was it that said, "Thou shalt *love* the Lord thy God with all thy heart?" Has the Decalogue any authority, or is the table of duties to God, forming half that Decalogue, broken to pieces? Is it true, or is it not, that God is the great good; indifference to God the great apostasy; separation from God the great damnation? If these are truths they cannot be sacrificed in compliment to the good behavior of Henry Wright. They are not to be judged by Henry Wright; they it is that

must judge Henry Wright. What right has any man to suppress all the high and holy intuitions that God has bestowed upon him; to exclude the aspirations of the spirit toward the divine Spirit; to cast off fear and restrain prayer; to give heed only to those lower faculties that tell of matter and its properties, and then come forth to the world and proclaim that God does not exist? It *was* this suppression that made Mr. Wright the "fool." It *was* "an evil heart of unbelief." And we do class all "skepticism" that rejects God as revealed to us "as a certain mark of sinful folly." Atheism is in itself a heinous sin. It is not a *crime* which man may punish, but a *sin* which God will judge. And the apostle truly and justly pronounces a final judgment upon "those that *know not God*, and obey not the Gospel of his Son." If that is "fanaticism," it is the "fanaticism" of the entire Bible. That may be no argument with our reviewer, but there is a remnant, and a pretty large remnant, too, who believe that the grand old Bible will stand when the North American Review (as well as our own M. Q. R.) is forgotten.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Church and the Princes of Europe. 2. What the United States owes to James II. 3. The Liberalistic View of the Public School Question. 4. Last Summer's Expedition against the Sioux and its great Catastrophe. 5. The Red Man Gauged by his Speech. 6. Schulte's Roman Catholicism: the Plea of an Apostate. 7. The Immortality of the Soul.

The fifth article, which is the first of a series which, we hope, will not fail of completion, is designed to furnish us a view of the interior soul of our Indian race by an accurate analysis of their language. That there are different "races" of mankind with different qualities of brain and different capacities, is a fact very clearly established. The origin of those differences including the origin of race is a different question. The historian Bancroft, whom the reviewer quotes and criticises, assumes to decide from a very imperfect knowledge both questions. He is sure, first, that the Indian languages prove our aborigines to be incapable of reflection; and, second, that their condition never has been higher, as the phenomena show no indications of former superiority.

The first phenomenon in their language is the stupendous length of their words, such as kitosawasoniyawiwasaskuteniganabiskumisisinowok, or kitayamiewosawasoniyawiwasasku-

teniganabiskumisisiwawok, etc. It soon appears, however, that these stupendous vocables hardly belong to conversation. "But now, waiving for a moment the task of explaining those truly hyperpolysynthetic words, let us invite the reader to a party of harmless Ojibwas engaged in one of their ordinary avocations. Do they still speak the same language? Let us listen to them. Eidon abwi! Bring the paddle! Oma aton! Put it down here! Anindi koss? Where is your father? Tibidog. I don't know. Aia-na kizhime? Is your younger brother here? Ka; zheba gi-gopi. No; he went into the woods this morning. Nin gabiskab, ikitoban. He said he would return to-day. Noï dash? And Louis? Megwa madabi. He is just coming down to the shore. Pien, awi-nadin makak! Pierre, go and fetch the box! Tiwe, nin bwawinan? O, I can't lift it up! Bositon! Put it aboard! Kizhikan, Saswe; bosin! Hurry up, François; get into the canoe! Andabin! Sit elsewhere! Kidebab-ina? Have you room enough to sit? Taya, bidanimad! Ah, the wind is getting up! Ombakobijigen! Put up the mast and hoist the sail! Kigaminwashimin. We shall have a fine sail." The long word is really a definition or short description of an object, formed when the object was new to Indian knowledge, and stereotyped by use into a "bunch-word." If we were to call our Vice-President *the-man-who-will-be-President-if-the-President-dies*, and this should become his regular designation, we would have a regular "bunch-word." And our word *Vice-President* is, in fact, an abbreviation of such a "bunch-word."

The criticism upon Bancroft's views is as follows:—

Passing over several other statements in Bancroft's essay, either similarly erroneous or greatly exaggerated, we now come to some conclusions the historian draws from them. The first is that language, so far as its organization or its grammatical forms are concerned, is not the work of civilization, but of nature. On this question, as lying outside of our present scope, nothing need be said. Another "momentous" and "more certain" conclusion is this, "that the ancestors of our tribes were rude like themselves." Over this assertion we have no disposition to quarrel, provided we be allowed to determine the degree of rudeness and the point where the ancestral line of our tribes must be conceived to begin. But our author continues: "It has been asked if our Indians were not the wrecks of more civilized nations? The language refutes the hypothesis; every one of its forms is a witness that their ancestors

were, like themselves, *not yet disenthralled from nature.* The character of each Indian language is one continued, universal, all-pervading synthesis. They to whom these languages were the mother tongue,* were still in that earliest stage of intellectual culture *where reflection has not begun.*"

We have again to complain of a certain want of definiteness in the use of terms. What does our author mean by "reflection?" Reflection on the parts of speech and the rules of grammar and syntax? Then we fully agree with him as to its total absence among our untutored Indians, at least among those who never had their attention turned to those rules by a white man blundering in the use of their difficult dialects. We have no objection against placing the ancestors of the red man on the same stage, so far as grammatical knowledge is concerned, with our own sires, or their cousins who composed the Vedic hymns and the great epics of the world. None of the latter, if we are rightly informed, were able to parse a sentence, or even to distinguish by name a noun from a verb. Would our historian, on that account, call them "rude," and assign them "to that earliest stage of intellectual culture where reflection has not begun?" He knows too well that quite a respectable height of civilization can coexist with a total want of reflection on the parts of speech and the rules of grammar. We must, then, presume him to have had in view what is ordinarily understood by reflection: the reverting of the mind to its own inward operations, the attentive and continued consideration of one's own thoughts or feelings, or the like. Here we must distinguish. If men should study psychology and logic ere they can be looked upon as disenthralled from nature, then again we shake hands with the historian, and even give up all hope of ever seeing our Indian friends throwing off the shackles of intellectual bondage. But if reflection on thought, as distinguished from sensation or volition, be understood, or reflection on thoughts as different from and opposed to one another, as standing in various relations to the idea of truth, and so forth, then we claim for the Red Indian and his ancestors, back to the very beginning of their particular form of speech, a moderate share of that self-consciousness and that capacity of reflected self-determination which prove the white man to be something more than the bondsman of nature, and that very speech, fairly presented and competently tested, will bear out our assertion. Our next step, to this end, would be a comparison of the Algic tongues with the principal types of human speech.—Pp. 323, 324.

The sixth article is a very stern polemic against Dr. Schulte, of Canada, who has renounced Romanism and written a book. Renouncing Romanism is depicted in the following style,

* From the context we must understand this phrase to mean, "they who first used these languages." Bancroft inclines to the hypothesis according to which language was given to the several families of mankind together, and in proportion with their other endowments.

which renders it easy to see how natural the Romanistic transition is to inquisitorial persecution:—

He [Dr. Schulte] knows that conversion from heresy to the Church of Christ is one of the greatest triumphs of God's grace; and that, without this conquering grace, no amount of human certainty, no fullness of conviction, can accomplish it. He knows, too, as none but a Catholic can know and understand, the dreadful meaning of apostasy with all that it implies. It is not for him a mere exchange of one form of Christian opinion for another, as the blind unchristian world is pleased to regard it. It is in his case the deliberate renouncing of salvation, the casting away of all hope, the voluntary surrender of one's self to final reprobation. It is to renew the denial and betrayal of Peter and of Judas, for Christ our Lord is one with his Church. Apostasy, however, may possibly be preceded by loss of faith; but even this is sad and horrible to contemplate. For the Catholic does not believe as other men do, because he has argued himself into the persuasion that the doctrine is true. There can be among us but one ground of faith for all, for the peasant and the philosopher, for the beggar woman and the one who sits and teaches in the apostolic chair. All must believe on the authority of the Church bearing witness to what God has revealed. And even thus we cannot believe without the grace of faith, which is a special gift of God. Being God's gratuitous gift, it may be forfeited; but this can happen only through our own fault, through some prevarication, actual or habitual, which renders us unworthy depositaries, and forces an angry God to take back his gift. The loss of faith, therefore, reveals the moral ruin of the soul, and that apostasy should ensue can cause no wonder.—Pp. 327, 328.

The favorite mode of expressing a *reductio ad absurdum* seems to be as follow: "Had any fifth-rate Methodist ranter discoursed in this style, we might excuse his boldness on the score of ignorance."—P. 341. "All this would be unpleasant enough to listen to, if it were the extemporaneous effusion of some half-crazed ranter in a Methodist conventicle."—P. 344.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1877. (London.)—1. University Systems—English and Scotch. 2. Genius of Islam. 3. Mr. Wood's Discoveries at Ephesus. 4. The Public Works of India. 5. Across Africa. 6. Russia. 7. Reform in Turkey and Coercion.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1877.—1. The House of Fortescue. 2. Jebb's Attic Orators. 3. Wallace's Russia. 4. The Dramas of Alfred Tennyson. 5. Life and Letters of Charles Kingsley. 6. Native Policy in South Africa. 7. Brigandage in Sicily. 8. Gregor Samarow's Cross and Sword. 9. Wellington and Gentz on Eastern Affairs. 10. Note on "Railway Profits and Railway Losses."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1877. (London.)—1. The Norman Conquest of England. 2. Celebrities of Florence. 3. The Book of Genesis and Science. 4. Hungary: its Races and Resources. 5. Thomas Wade. 6. Spinoza. 7. Reuss and Urwick on the Later Isaiah.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1877.—1. Mr. Elwin's Pope. 2. Political Biographies. 3. The Kitchen and the Cellar. 4. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. 5. George Sand. 6. Mr. Wallace's Russia. 7. Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. 8. The Balance of Power. 9. The Military Position of Russia in Central Asia. 10. Turkey.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1877.—1. Popular Fallacies concerning the Functions of Government. 2. Courtship and Marriage in France. 3. Charles Kingsley. 4. Slavery in Africa. 5. Lord Macaulay as an Historian. 6. The Factory and Workshop Acts. 7. Russia.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Twelfth Year. March, 1877.—1. Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland. 2. The Greek Spirit in Modern Literature. 3. Spinoza: The Man and the Philosopher. 4. The Social Methods of Roman Catholicism in England. 5. Turkish Invasions of Europe in 1670–83: Sobieski's Letters to his Wife. 6. Reasonable Faith. 7. Prussia in the Nineteenth Century. 8. Balder the Beautiful: A Song of Divine Death. 9. Race and Language.

The first article, by Rev. Dr. Tulloch, is a remarkably free-spoken narrative of the modernizing movement in Scotch theology during the last fifteen years. Previous to that period the high biblicism and high Calvinism of the olden time, under the *regimen* of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish, were absolute. Since that, bold and successful insurrections have taken place, and the progress, whether upward or downward, is at any rate onward.

In 1865 Norman Macleod made the following avowal as to the Christian Sabbath:—

> He believed that the authority of the Jewish Sabbath was an insufficient, unscriptural, and therefore perilous basis on which to rest this observance, and that to impose regulations as to one institution which applied only to the other must, with the changing conditions of society in Scotland, be productive of greater evils in her future than in her past history.—P. 542.

For this he was assailed and ostracised in a manner described by Dr. T. as very violent, though for a period of a very few months. How far Macleod's view became prevalent he does not say.

The next heretic was Dr. Tulloch himself as thus stated:—

> About this time I published a pamphlet, in the shape of an address to my students, which ventured to criticise the Confession of Faith as a document of human composition belonging to the seventeenth century, and as bearing upon its face the impress of the "religious party" from which it emanated. This added to the prevalent excitement, although it seems a sufficiently harmless

statement, as we write it now in cold blood; but the theological temperature of Scotland was heated in those days, and the statement was hailed with wild invective. That not only the Fourth Commandment, but the Confession of Faith itself—the sum of all the doctrine owned by the Church—should be the subject of criticism, and the Church seriously summoned to consider its relation to the Confession, was intolerable to multitudes who had been sleeping contentedly behind the old defenses, and awoke anxious concern in a few others who were apprehensive of what might be coming next, and where all this disquiet with the old landmarks might end. A venerable Glasgow theologian—it was strange how the loudest noise came from that "westland" district which was famous in the days of the Covenant—wrote with bated indignation: "When Dr. Tulloch tells us 'that it is well-nigh impossible that the old relation of our Church to the Westminster Confession can continue, does it not occur to him that men who have any right sense of moral obligation must draw the conclusion that it is high time that 'the old relation' of the Confession to all ministers and professors of theology, in the pulpits and chairs of the Established Church who hold his views, should instantly cease and determine, and they should leave their places to be occupied by those who will humbly fulfill their compact both to Church and State, and not prove traitors to both?" Here again ministers of the Free Church led the van of intolerance, although they were by no means alone in their ignorance and violence.

The agitation of 1865 lasted on through the winter, and was only quieted after the General Assembly of 1866. For a time the flame threatened to blaze up afresh at this Parliament of Scottish Presbytery. A petition came up from "the Elders of various Congregations within the Presbytery of Paisley," praying that the assent of elders to the Confession should be "wisely modified and amended." A counter-petition, bearing among other names that of the Duchess of Sutherland, prayed "for inviolably maintaining the Westminster Confession of Faith as the doctrinal standard of the Church." It seems as if there would have been a great clash of hostile arms; but the ungenerous *mêleé*—ungenerous because the voice of one of the culprits was shut by the rules of the Assembly, although he himself was present—passed over without any definite issue. No formal accusation was attempted. Dr. Macleod escaped, as he himself notifies in his journal, without "any unkind word;" and he seems hardly to have been able to realize all at once his deliverance. "Most unaccountable!" he says. "It is a state of things which I cannot take in. I cannot account for it." The fact was that after six months the fit of dogmatic zeal had begun to wear off, and men, who had not hesitated to join in the controversial noises which had enlivened the winter, were beginning to be ashamed of the din which they themselves had made. A reviving feeling also of respect for Dr. Macleod's character, and above all a well-founded distrust of what might be the effect of any definite prosecution and the elaborate discussions

which must ensue, all tended to give the agitation its quietus. It was rightly felt by the liberal party that the real gain had been on their side, and that a certain measure of liberty in relation to the Confession of Faith had been secured by all that had taken place.—Pp. 543, 544.

The next heretic was a young professor of the Free Church, Aberdeen College, Robertson Smith, who having been well trained in Germany, was invited to furnish an article on Biblical Criticism in the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He was arraigned for its skepticisms:—

The spirit of the times was greatly changed from those in which Dr. Cunningham held the helm of Free Church Evangelicalism, and is said to have rejected a contribution to the Review which has been the main advocate of that Evangelicalism, because the writer had impugned the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here now was a Free Church professor who, not only questioned but denied the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy, although this book bears *ex facie* to be the record of the utterances of Moses, to whom the Song of Solomon is "a lyrical drama" representing merely the love story of a Shulamite maiden, and the Fifty-first Psalm, so pathetically associated with the repentance of David, "is obviously composed during the desolation of the temple" in the later times of Hebrew psalmody; to whom, more than all, the Synoptical Gospels "according to all the earliest external evidence" seem to be "non-apostolic digests of spoken and written apostolic tradition."—Pp. 546, 547.

The committee before whom he was tried reported "no ground sufficient to support a process of heresy against him."

We do not herein quite sympathize either with Dr. Tulloch's spirit, or with the tenor of the report of this committee. The statement of the "non-apostolic" character of the gospels is rather more Straussian than we could indorse as non-heretical.

Of the further anti-Calvinistic revolt we have the following narrative:—

But it is not merely changed and new views as to the Bible that are springing up in Scotland. The old question of the relation of the Churches to the Westminster Confession of Faith has come once more to the front. In evidence of this I cannot do better than present my southern readers with the following extracts from speeches delivered within the last two months by two notable clergymen—the one, as I have already said, a prominent member of the United Presbyterian Church.

At a meeting of the U. P. (United Presbyterian) Presbytery of

Paisley during January, the Rev. David Macrae, of Gourock, who has obtained some literary reputation as the author of a book on "America and the Americans," as well as other sketches, brought forward a motion regarding the Confession singularly formidable and significant in its terms: "The continued timidity of the Church," it stated, "in dealing with her standards is becoming discreditable to her faith." "Two hundred years' research and experience have developed differences between the professed and the actual faith of the Church; and the spectacle of a Church professing to hold all these articles as articles of faith, while holding many of them only as matters of opinion, and not holding some of them at all, is a bad example to the world, and demoralizing to the Church itself."

These are bad words, and the language of Mr. Macrae in supporting his motion is not less courageous and decisive: "The Confession," he says, "teaches that God for his own glory has predestinated some men to be saved, but that all the rest of mankind he has predestinated to damnation and everlasting torment in hell. It teaches that while there is no fear of the elect, there is no hope for the non-elect. . . . It teaches that by reason of the sin of Adam, apart from any fault of their own, men come into the world wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body, utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. It teaches that because of this sin, which they could not and cannot help, they are bound helplessly over to the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and so made subject to spiritual, temporal, and eternal death. It teaches that even in heathen lands, where they have never heard, and therefore have had no opportunity of accepting the Gospel, they cannot be saved, no matter how earnestly they may frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess. . . . It teaches that of the countless myriads of babes who have died and are dying in infancy, only the elect are saved. For the non-elect, young or old, it has no fate but the unending and unspeakable torments of hell. *I ask the fathers and the brethren of the Presbytery to say honestly if this is the theology which they preach?*"

It is beyond our province to inquire whether Mr. Macrae's representations of the doctrine of the Westminster Confession are to be accepted as correct. They are highly colored beyond doubt, and drawn out into rhetorical flourishes from which no document in the world is more free than the production of the Westminster divines. If Mr. Macrae were more of an historical student of Christian dogma, he would have laid on his color less strongly, and been more careful of exaggeration. But the significant fact for us is that such a motion was made, and such a speech delivered, in one of the large sections into which Presbyterianism is divided in Scotland; and that all this was done, not, indeed, without exciting deep commotion, but without any one threatening there and then to libel Mr. Macrae, and have him deposed from his sacred

office. There is no evidence that any one proposes to disturb Mr. Macrae. All the evidence seems rather to point toward the fact that his views, if somewhat extravagant, are not without a sympathetic echo in the thoughts of his "fathers and brethren."

Following Mr. Macrae's speech has appeared the report of a lecture by Dr. Cunningham, the parish minister of Crieff, well known as the author of an admirable History of the Church of Scotland, and other works equally distinguished by intellectual ability and literary skill. In the lecture Dr. Cunningham deals with the Confession of Faith in a calmer and more historical manner, but points out with hardly less decision its obvious errors and exaggerations: (1) its disproved theory of creation; (2) its intolerance in the power which it assigns to the civil magistrate in religion; (3) its doctrine of the non-salvability of the heathen; (4) its extreme Calvinism. He thinks it impossible to read the clause about reprobation in the third chapter of the Confession "without a shudder." In contrast to a "creed so full of metaphysics and ecclesiastical learning," he places the simple *credo* of the Apostolic Church, "I believe that Jesus is the Son of God;" and he asks, finally, whether any Church has a right to exact a creed like the present—"so wide in its range and so minute in its details"—of any of its office-bearers? He is unable to see how a Church "could exist without some consensus of belief," and he would therefore neither abolish the Westminster Confession, nor attempt to revise it, but leave it alone, as an "old document—a monument of seventeenth-century piety," changing the formula of subscription, or, in other words, the relation of the Church to a document the contents of which so many have ceased to believe, and which are in part capable of disproof.—Pp. 548–550.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1877. (London.)—1. Rambert's Life of Vinet. 2. The Procession of the Spirit, in its Relation to the Division of the Eastern and Western Churches. 3. Age of the Pentateuch, with Special Reference to Revelation and Inspiration. 4. Lord Stair's "Vindication of the Divine Perfections." 5. Comparative Religion an Apologetical Basis for Christian Doctrine. 6. Extempore Preachers: Beecher, Parker, Spurgeon, and Talmage. 7. Formosa and the Gospel. 8. Vatican Approval of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. 9. Review of Literature on Church History in 1876.

The Article on "Extempore (why not *extemporaneous*?) Preachers" gives an admirable analysis of Beecher's theological position. The portraiture of Talmage is also graphic:—

Dr. Talmage is a man of genius, but he is much the least considerable of the four preachers we are discussing. It is but a short time since he burst into a popularity, which, on the whole, he is maintaining. But his defects are so glaring, and his merits so obvious, that they may be pointed out in a few words.

His main power is intensity. His sermons seem to be spoken at fever heat, and abound in thrilling expressions. This causes him to exaggerate so habitually and so grossly that it is difficult

for people with cultivation to read him with any patience. Still, on the *si vis me flere* principle, it must give him immense power over an audience. His next merit is the astonishing variety of his anecdotes and allusions. Names may be counted in scores in his pages, and anecdotes, good, bad, and indifferent, abound. This is really a considerable source of power, and it is greatly ignored by most preachers. The very mention of a name in the midst of an argumentative paragraph causes the whole to be listened to. Dr. Talmage has evidently read widely, but he is far from accurate, and his style of quotation and reference is frequently grotesque in the highest degree. He has great power of word-painting, and his language is often rich and varied. As often, however, it transgresses all the rules of taste. He searches for short and memorable texts, and by taking them out of their connection sometimes presses them into unaccustomed service. His divisions are very pithy and striking. We mention as his last and best characteristic, that he is an urgent Gospel preacher, and that his appeals seem to have been much blessed. We think he fails very much in merely appealing to the unsaved without clearly explaining their duty. The question with many hearers in our Churches is, "What is meant by believing and not working?" Into really practical discussion Dr. Talmage does not go, hence his preaching is somewhat too much like a display of fire-works. We are most anxious not to disparage him unduly, and repeat emphatically that in popular power he has very few, if any, equals; and though most of us have had our fling at popular preachers on certain occasions, we all know that want of popularity means, in most cases, want of success.—Pp. 327, 328.

Of Spurgeon he rightly says: "He is, if we may be allowed the expression, a typical John Bull, and it is his John Bullism in religion that has made him so popular with all classes of the community." He accounts for Spurgeon's intense Calvinism on the ground that "Calvinism is the system that an unbiased reader will find in the word of God." That reason does not, however, account for the fact that so few of our great preachers either believe or preach said "system;" and that the faster the "unbiased reader" among the people studies the Bible, the faster Calvinism disappears. Among all our great preachers, for narrow-minded, obsolescent, eruptive Calvinistic bigotry, Spurgeon stands unenviably alone.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Studies.) Third Number. 1877. *Essays:* 1. KLOSTERMANN, (Professor at the University of Kiel,) Ezekiel. 2. NÖSGEN, The Historiographic Procedure of the Third Evangelist. *Thought and Remarks:* 1. LEY, (Professor at Saarbrücken,) Emendations to the Psalms, by the Aid of Metrics. 2. WIESELER, (Professor at the University of Greifswald,) The Era of the Seleucidæ in the Books of the Maccabees. 3. GRIMM, (Professor at the University of Jena,) Additions to English Lexicography of the New Testament. 4. LEHMANN, On Rom. ii, 14. *Reviews:* 1. LIPSIUS, Manual of Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics, reviewed by HERMANN. 2. SCHMID, The Darwinian Theories and their Relations to Philosophy, Religion, and Ethics. 3. LEY, Outlines of the Rhythm, and the Construction of Verses and Strophes in Hebrew Poetry.

Prof. Klostermann begins his article with the remark that "poor Ezekiel has had to suffer much, both during his life-time and after his death, both from Jews and from Christians." Couched at the very beginning of his prophetic activity amid thorns and upon scorpions, reviled by the evil tongues of his fellow-sufferers when his prophecy had mercilessly to destroy their hopes, and subsequently ridiculed by them when he was directed to raise in them new and better hopes, he appeared so strange to the later Judaism that his book was not received into the Jewish canon until after long conflicts and negotiations. In modern times, one of the greatest Jewish scholars (Zunz) has even attempted to prove that the name Ezekiel was only an assumed name, and that there never was a prophet of that name. Among the Christian theologians of the rationalistic school, some (especially Duhm, in his work on "The Theology of the Prophets") express a very low opinion of the character of the book and its author. Professor Klostermann undertakes a vindication of the prophet and his book, and specially enters into a very elaborate investigation of the sickness of the prophet, who for nearly three years was deprived of his voice, and of his sudden recovery. He arrives at the result that Ezekiel, in the thirtieth year of his age, in connection with an exciting vision, was seized by an attack of catalepsis, and that the peculiar character of this disease sheds a great deal of light upon the literary peculiarity of the book of Ezekiel and the prophetic activity of its author. In conclusion, Prof. Klostermann undertakes to show that his view of the relation existing between the sickness of the prophet and his prophecies could not in the least militate against the divine inspiration of the latter.

Prof. Thayer, of Andover, Mass., having called the attention of Professor Grimm to the omission of a few English works in the valuable essay published by the latter in the *Studien und Kritiken* in 1875, (the substance of the article has been given in our notice of the *Studien* in the "Meth. Quar. Rev.," 1875,) Professor Grimm now gives some additions to his article. He mentions the following works: Trench's important work on *Synonyms* appeared in a seventh revised and enlarged edition in 1871, and the eighth edition in 1877. This work has been very extensively used by German writers on the New Testament Greek, and sometimes has been misunderstood. Robinson's Lexicon of 1836 was republished in 1844, in Scotland, by Prof. Alexander Negris, a Greek, and John Drennan. The last impression seen by Prof. Thayer bears the date of Edinburgh, 1867. This work is greatly inferior in value to the American edition of Robinson. Parkhurst's Lexicon was edited in 1829, in a revised edition by Rose, who made use of the works of Schleusner, Bretschneider, and Wahl. In 1845 and 1851 it was again revised by J. R. Major, but also, in this enlarged edition, it is not a work worthy of the nineteenth century. Of much greater value than Parkhurst's book is the Dictionary of Bloomfield, (third edition, London, 1860,) which is extensively used in colleges and schools.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Third Number, 1877.—1. THOMA, Apocalypse and Anti-apocalypse. 2. TOLLIN, Servetus' Life in Toulouse. 3. HOLTZMANN, The Relation of the Epistle of Clement to the Canon of the New Testament. 4. KREY, Contributions to a Chronology of the Book of the Kings. 5. ROSSCH, Studies on the Itala.

The publication of the complete text of the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, by the Greek Metropolitan Bryennios, continues to call forth an immense number of articles in the theological periodicals of Germany. Professor Holtzmann, of the University of Strasburg, takes occasion from it to discuss the relation which the Epistles of Clement have to the history of the canon in general, and to the Johannean literature in particular. As is generally the case in articles of the German periodicals, we receive a complete review of the entire recent literature on the subject, the most important works of which are the two new German editions of the Epistles of Clement, by Harnack, (Clementis Romani ad Corinthios quæ dicuntur epistulæ. Re-

censuerunt Oscar de Gebhardt, Adolfus Harnack, Leips., 1876,) and by Hilgenfeld, (Clementis Romani Epistulæ, Leips., 1876.) The author undertakes to show that some of the writings of the apostolical fathers are older than the later books of the New Testament, and that at the time when the former were written the canon of the New Testament as the authoritative Holy Writ of the Christian Church had not yet been formed, the dogmatic authority for the Christians being the Old Testament and the words of the Lord Jesus Christ. As regards the relation of the Epistles of Clement to the several books of the New Testament, Professor Holtzmann, in full agreement with Harnack and Hilgenfeld, finds no passage in the epistles that indicates an acquaintance of their author with the three synoptical Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles; but they show, in his opinion, a very careful perusal of the Pauline epistles, especially of those to the Romans and the Hebrews. The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians is expressly mentioned. Though many expressions in the epistles show a remarkable resemblance to expressions peculiar to the fourth Gospel, nothing indicates that this Gospel was known to, or used by, the author.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg. Vol. I. Fourth Number: *Researches and Essays:* 1. J. L. JACOBI, The Original System of Basilides. 2. WEINGARTEN, The Origin of Monasticism in the post-Constantine Age. (Concluding Article.) 3. BENRATH, On the Author of the Writing: On the Benefit of Christ. *Critical Reviews:* Works on Church History published in 1875. 4. Works on the History of the Reformation in England, reviewed by BUDDENSIEG. 5. Works on the History of the Reformation in Italy, by K. BENRATH. *Analecta:* 1. LENZ, A work proceeding from the Council of Basel on Ecclesiastical and Political Reform. 2. BRIEGER, On a pretended New Report on the Marburg Colloquy.

The New German periodical on Church History, published in connection with Dr. Gass, Dr. Reuter, and Dr. Ritchl, by Dr. Theodor Brieger, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg, completes with this number its first volume. The appearance of this periodical raised unusual hopes among the friends of theological science, and the first volume has more than realized these hopes. It not only exceeds by far its predecessor, the defunct "Journal for Historical Theology," and is not only without a rival in its special sphere, but it is one of the ablest and worthiest representatives of the theological periodicals of Germany; and we confess for our part we find it more interesting and more ably edited than any of its many

German compeers. We know, in particular, of none which is so well suited to show the non-German readers the real excellences of German theology, and to benefit the entire Protestant world. A carefully prepared index of the first volume, appended to this number, and containing, 1. A list of the documents printed; 2. Of the books reviewed; and, 3. A general index of subjects, shows at a glance the unusually large amount of information supplied by this volume.

The present number contains a selection of articles, and briefer notices, which could hardly be more interesting. Prof. K. Benrath, a young theologian, who by his first work on the Capuchin Ochino has at once risen to the rank of one of the highest authorities on the history of Italian Protestantism, and now privat-docent at the University of Bonn, undertakes to prove that the celebrated Protestant work "Del Beneficio di Giesu Christo," (Of the Benefit of Jesus Christ,) was not written by Aonio Paleario, but that its real author was Don Benedetto, of Mantua, a Benedictine monk. The rediscovery of the original Italian text of this work in 1855 in the library of St. John's College, in Cambridge, created a sensation in the theological world, and secured to the new editions and translations an immense circulation in all the languages of Protestant Christendom. The work, which in a clear, plain language, and without direct polemics against Rome, gives a statement of the Pauline doctrine of justification, was originally published, without the name of its author, at Venice toward the close of 1542, or at the beginning of 1543, found at once a great circulation, and was burned in 1543, as heretical, at Naples. The Roman Inquisition regarded the book as *liber perniciosissimus*, and persecuted it so energetically, that the original text was believed to be entirely lost until its rediscovery in Cambridge. The first editor of the rediscovered text, Churchill Babington, tried to show by a learned argumentation that the author of this book was the celebrated Italian reformer Aonio Paleario. The same opinion had in the eighteenth century been expressed by Schellhorn in his celebrated work, "Amoenitates Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ and Literariæ," and had been adopted, among others, by M'Crie, ("History of the Reformation in Italy,") and by Tiraboschi, ("Storia della Lett. Ital.") After the defense of this theory by Babington, it was accepted as undoubt-

edly correct by the two recent biographers of Paleario, Jules Bonnet and Young, ("Life and Times of Aonio Paleario." 2 vols. 1860.) The most prominent opponent of this view was heretofore the distinguished German historian Leopold Ranke, who showed that at Rome the book was believed to have been compiled by a Sicilian monk, a friend of Valdez, and to have been revised and improved in its style by Flaminio, another Italian reformer of note, which circumstances appeared to him to be irreconcilable with the supposition that Paleario was the author. Benrath believes that not only is this a very strong argument against Paleario, but that from documents recently published in Italy it can be conclusively demonstrated that Paleario was not the author, and who the real author was. He chiefly refers us to the minutes of the trial of the noble Florentine, Pietro Carnesecchi, well known in the history of the Italian Reformation as one of the intimate friends of Valdes, who in 1566 was surrendered by Duke Cosimo, of Florence, to Pope Pius V., and in August, 1567, sentenced by the Roman Inquisition to death. Extracts from this trial appeared in 1870 in the "Miscellanea di Storia Patria." (Turin, vol. x.) Carnesecchi had become acquainted with the book "On the Benefit of Christ" at Naples, where he had resided until May, 1541. Now Paleario stated, in his trial in 1542, that the book written by him had appeared in the same year. It would, therefore, seem to be impossible that he was the author of the work spoken of by Carnesecchi. The latter, however, also mentioned the name of the real author, replying on August 21, 1566, to a direct question of the inquisitors: "The first author was a black Benedictine, *Don Benedetto, of Mantua;* he stated that he compiled it while he was in a monastery of his order not far from the Etna. Don Benedetto, as a friend of Marcantonio Flaminio, acquainted the latter with his book, and requested him to read it and improve his style, in order to make it the more readable and acceptable. Thus Flaminio rewrote the book; from him I received it, and have also given copies to some friends." Such a testimony will undoubtedly be admitted on all sides to be of great weight. The only argument, Dr. Benrath thinks, that can be adduced against it, would be the reference by Paleario to a book of his own on the same subject, as the question will certainly be asked to

which book those words refer if not to the "Beneficio," and whether there is no clue to the book of Paleario himself. Even this question, Dr. Benrath says, he is now enabled to answer. A distinguished Italian historian, Professor Giuseppe de Leva, of the University of Padua, the author of a valued "History of Charles V. in his Relations to Italy," has found a reference to Paleario's work in a library of San Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome. Its title is, "Della Pienezza, Sufficiencia, ed Efficacia della Morte di Christo." The work itself is as yet not known, and Dr. Benrath concludes with the hope that a rediscovery similar to that of the "Beneficio" may be in store for the work of Paleario.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS OF EUROPE.

WE published in a former number a statistical summary of the leading creeds of the world, embracing, among other statements, statistical tables of Christianity, as well as of the Catholic and Protestant divisions of Christianity in America, Europe, and the other large divisions of the world. Having since carefully revised the ecclesiastical statistics of every country of Europe, we now present to our readers the following statistical table, which will show them at a glance not only the number of Protestants, of Roman Catholics, of the populations connected with the eastern Churches, and of Jews, but also the percentage of Catholics and Protestants in every country. The total population of the countries has, as before, been taken from the excellent annual periodical by Behm & Wagner, called "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," (the population of the world,) which is deservedly recognized every-where as the highest authority on this subject. The total population of Europe is now estimated at 309,000,000, which is 7,000,000 more than the figures given by us (on the authority of the preceding volume of Behm & Wagner) in our article on the "Creeds of the World." The increase of population in most of the European countries is very rapid, but, in general, the Protestant countries and those in which the Eastern Church prevails are, in this respect, ahead of the Catholic countries. As the absolute numbers of population are steadily changing, while the relative percentage changes but little, the percentage of Protestants and Catholics will enable the readers of the "Quarterly Review," whenever later figures of the total population of any foreign country reach them, to

calculate, with a high degree of probability from the slowly changing percentage, the actual numbers of Protestants and Catholics.

Countries.	Total Population.	Percentage of Rom. Cath.	Percentage of Prot.	Percentage of Mis.	Total number of Roman Cath.	Total number of Protestants.	Total number of East. Ch.	Total number of Jews.
Spain	16,551,847	99.9	....	....	16,547,000	10,000	.....	6,000
Andorra	12,000							
Portugal	4,298,831	99.9	....	....	4,295,000	2,000	.....	1,000
Azores	2,386							
Italy	27,482,174							
San Marino	7,816	99.7	0.1	....	27,416,000	50,000	.....	40,000
Monaco	5,741							
Belgium	5,336,634	99.6	0.4	....	5,314,000	20,000	.....	2,000
Luxemburg	206,156	99.5	0.1	....	199,000	5,000	.....	600
France	36,102,921	98.3	1.5	....	35,508,000	542,000	.....	45,000
Austria Proper	21,500,000	91.9	1.8	2.3	19,572,000	383,000	489,000	892,000
Lichtenstein	8,060							
Poland	6,696,491	76.2	5.4	4.8	4,596,926	327,815	296,000	315,428
Ireland	5,315,000	76.7	23.4	....	4,075,000	1,242,000	.....	300
Hungary	16,4 0,000	59.1	20.6	16.7	9,692,000	3,378,000	2,739,000	558,000
Switzerland	2,669,147	40.8	59.1	....	1,085,000	1,578,000	.....	7,000
Netherlands	3,809,527	36.7	61.4	....	1,400,000	2,341,000	.....	68,000
Germany	42,722,249	36.2	63.5	....	15,464,000	26,740,000	.....	512,000
England & Scotl'd	27,913,000				1,478,000	26,400,000	.....	45,000
Malta, Gibraltar, and Heligoland.	173,660	5.3	94.6	....	160,000	10,000	.....	2,000
Finland	1,882,622	....	97.7	2.3	880	1,846,000	35,000	.....
Denmark	1,908,000	0.1	99.5	....	2,000	1,938,000	.....	44,000
Faroer & Iceland.	81,900							
Norway	1,802,882	....	99.9	....	.....	1,800,000	.....	20,000
Sweden	4,383,291	....	99.9	....	.....	4,379,000	.....	.....
Russia without Poland	65,704,559	4.4	8.6	86.0	2,893,000	2,855,000	56,886,000	1,944,000
Roumania	5,073,000	1.0	0.7	95.0	51,000	36,000	4,819,000	150,000
Greece	1,457,894	0.7	....	99.2	10,000	.....	1,443,000	2,100
Servia	1,377,058	0.2	....	99.2	2,000	.....	991,000	2,000
Montenegro	190,000	....	....	99.9	.....	.....	189,000	.....
Turkey	8,500,000	6.0	....	48.2	510,000	2,000	4,067,000	100,000
	300,000,000	49.4	24.3	22.9	149,670,700	75,074,800	70,929,000	5,181,490

Thus the table shows that there are in Europe about 149,700,000 Roman Catholics, 75,100,000 Protestants, 70,900,000 persons connected with the Oriental Churches, and 5,200,000 Jews. The number of Mohammedans in Europe is about 6,380,000, of whom 4,000,000 live in Turkey proper, 2,359,000 in Russia, 10,000 in Roumania, 6,000 in Greece, and 5,000 in Servia. Russia has in its European dominions, also, a Buddhist population of about 2,000,000. The religious opinions of the remainder are not known. Only a very small number disclaim having any religion.

It would be of great interest to compare the percentage of the large divisions of Christendom in different countries at different times, and thus to obtain the material for proving their statistical progress or decrease. But, as has been shown in former articles in these pages, the ecclesiastical statistics that are entitled to any claim of reliability are of very recent date. Comparing the figures given with those in Schem's "American Year-book for 1860," we find the following interesting comparison :—

Year.	Total popul'n of Europe.	Total number of Catholics.	Total number of Protestant.	Total number of Eastern Ch.	Percentage of Cath.	Percentage of Prot.	Percentage of East. Ch.
1860	274,000,000	123,517,000	62,315,000	55,000,000	50.5	22.4	20.1
1877	300,000,000	149,670,000	75,075,000	70,929,000	49.4	24.3	22.9

This proves statistically the interesting fact, that during the time from 1860 to 1877, the Roman Catholics have lost in Europe 2.1 per cent., the Protestants have gained 1.9 per cent., and the Eastern Churches 2.8 per cent. The transitions from one of these large sections to another have mostly been of an individual character; the most important change of larger communities being the separation of the United Greeks in Poland (about 250,000) from the Roman Catholic and their union with the Russian Church. Although Protestant, as well as Roman Catholic, reports make it probable that this re-union is neither so complete nor so sincere as Russian papers represent it to be, the statistician has to follow in such matters the official statements. We have not yet deducted from the number of Roman Catholics that of the Old Catholics, (about 200,000 in 1877,) because, in the first place, it barely affects the percentage of Roman Catholics in Europe; and, secondly, the Old Catholics persist in claiming an abiding membership in the (Roman) Catholic Church. This claim is to them of great value in a legal point of view, though the breach between them and the Roman Catholics is actually as great as between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

OF the revised and enlarged edition of Herzog's "Theological Cyclopedia," which has already been noticed in the January number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," nine numbers have thus far appeared, (*Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 1877. New York: B. Westermann & Co. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.) The great hopes which have been raised in the theological world by the first number of the new edition of this standard work are fully confirmed by the articles in the additional numbers which have since appeared. Every important article bears witness that it has been revised or written anew by a scholar fully conversant with his subject, and that the rich theological literature of the last twenty-five years has been carefully made use of. Any theological scholar in or out of Germany who desires to acquaint himself with the latest and best results of theological research on any particular subject, should not omit to consult the new edition of this work. He is likely to find there valuable information that otherwise might escape his attention. Among the many specimens of ripe scholarship that are met with in the numbers which have thus far appeared, we mention the articles on the *Acta Martyrum* (by Professor Zöckler), *Adoptianism* (W. Möller), *Egypt, Ancient* (Lepsius), *Egypt, Modern* (Lüttke), *Aera* (Wieseler), *Ethiopic Translation of the Bible* (Dillmann), *Ailli* (Tschakert), *Albert the Great* (F. Nitsch), *Alcuin* (Werner), *Alexander* I–VIII, *Popes* (Zöpffel), *Ambrose* (Dr. J. Th. Plitt), *Anglo-Sax-*

ons (Schöll), *Anselm* (Jacobi), *Ansgar* (Michelsen), *Anti-Christ* (Kähler), *Antinomianism* (G. Plitt), *Antioch, School of* (Möller), *Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament* (Schürer), *Apocryphal Books of the New Testament* (R. Hoffmann), *Apologetics* (Christlieb), *Apostolic Creed* (Harnack), *Arabia* (F. W. Schultz), *Archæology, Biblical* (Rüetschi), *Archæology, Church* (Brockhaus), *Arius and Arianism* (Möller). In comparing the numbers of the German work thus far published with the American Cyclopedia by M'Clintock and Strong, we are strongly impressed with the insufficiency of the German work in every thing that relates to the Protestantism of the English-speaking world. We also prefer the plan of the American work in some other respects to that of the German. We miss in the latter the numerous wood-cuts, as well as the copiousness of the biographical department, which distinguish the American work. Nevertheless, we venture to assert that no one who can afford to buy this German work, in addition to the American, will be willing to part with it after acquainting himself with its rich contents.

FRANCE.

We have already referred, in a former number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," (October, 1876,) to the forthcoming publication of a Protestant Theological Cyclopedia at Paris, the first work of its kind in the literature of the French-speaking world. Since then the publication has been begun, and the first six numbers are in our hands. They extend to the article *Bégurds*, and constitute the first volume of the work, with about 770 pages, and 160 pages of the second volume. (*Encyclopedie des Sciences Religieuses publiée sous la Direction de F. Lichtenberger.* 1876, 1877. New York: F. W. Christern.) If it is remembered that almost every-where where French is spoken—in France, in the French colonies, in Belgium, in Canada, in Hayti—the immense majority of the population is connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and that only in a few small cantons of Switzerland French is the national language of a compact Protestant population, we admire the courage of the editors and publishers in undertaking a Protestant work on so comprehensive a plan. It presupposes among French-speaking Protestants, to whose patronage it must, of course, look for its chief support, a very extensive interest in theological and religious questions, an interest, in fact, more general than has hitherto been taken in works of this kind in the large Protestant countries. The work has been looked forward to with the most favorable anticipations; for, although the number of French-speaking Churches is so small, the number of distinguished theologians and scholars is considerable, and it was announced that the ablest representatives of all the theological parties had united in its publication. The numbers thus far published fully realize the anticipations of the friends of the enterprise, and leave no doubt that when completed the work will be one of the greatest Protestant productions of French literature. Among the most important articles of the first volume are those by Carrière on *Abyssinia* and *Armenia;* by Sabatier on the *Acts of the Apostles*

and on the *Apocalypse;* by Pressensé on the *Christian School of Alexandria;* by Gabriel Monod on the *Acts of the Saints;* by Stapfer on the *Apostolical Age;* by Ch. Schmidt on the *Albigenses* and an *Ecclesiastical Archæology;* by Nicolas on the *Jews of Alexandria* and the *Philosophical School of Alexandria;* by Delaborde on the *Conspiracy of Amboise;* by Cunitz on *Ambrose;* by J. de Visme on *Amyraut;* by A. Réville on the *Anabaptists* and on *Arminianism;* by Chartel on the *Reformation in England;* by Colani on the *Anglican Church;* by Bonifas on *Anselm;* by Vernes on *Jewish Apocalypses;* by Bouvier on *Apologetics;* by Chaponnière on the *Apostles' Creed;* by Matter on the *Religious Philosophy of the Arabs;* by E. Reuss on *Biblical Archæology;* by Bois on *Asceticism;* by Berger on *Assyria;* by Rabier on *Atheism;* by Berdier on *Agrippa d'Aubigné;* by Jundt on *Augustine.* All these articles establish the thoroughly scientific and original character of the work, and secure for it an honorable place in the theological literature of the Protestant world. We miss in some articles the exhaustive completeness which we admire in the new edition of the German work of Herzog, and especially the fullness of literary references. In some articles, like that on Germany, the style is not suited for a cyclopedic treatment; but defects of this kind may be found in any cyclopedia, and do not detract from the value of the work in general. The work has, on the other hand, some excellent features of its own. Being not exclusively intended for theological scholars, but addressing itself, as even the selection of the title indicates, to all who take an interest in "religious" (not only theological) science, it treats of many interesting subjects in a more popular and lucid style than the German work of Herzog, and will on that account be found by many English-speaking Protestants more instructive. It also gives, for the same reason, a number of articles which are not found in the German work, devoting, for instance, greater attention to the religious statistics of the world. As may be expected, every thing relating to France, and especially to French Protestantism, is treated with a fullness and thoroughness that no one will expect to find in works of either the English or the German tongue. No French Protestant clergyman, of course, should be without such a work; but it will also find many warm friends among educated Frenchmen in general. Besides them, all who take a special interest in France and its religious condition will find in this work a source of a large amount of information not to be obtained from other works.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. 8vo., pp. 502. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1876. Price, $6 00.

Professor Bruce's title does not instantly suggest the scope of his work. It is an able, learned, and eloquent treatise upon the Incarnation. It is a comparative survey, historical and analytical, of the various leading theories held by the mind of the Church. It successively reviews the doctrine as Patristic, Lutheran, Reformed, and modern Kenotic. The Reformed, as adopted mainly by the English Church, has been inherited by Methodism. To the great subject the professor brings a free and expansive spirit. He recognizes that so important a doctrine requires for its true comprehension an aspiring faith. Faith, indeed, in order to rise to the sublimity of divine truth, must not allow itself a grudging, small-minded, exacting temper. "Successful treatment," as he heroically says, "demands not only reverence and caution, but audacity. Without boldness, both in faith and thought, it is impossible to rise to the grandeur of truth in Christ, as set forth in Scripture. Courage is required even for believing in the Incarnation, and still more for the scientific discussion thereof. What can be done, then, but proceed with firm steps, trusting to the gracious guidance of God; expecting, in the words of St. Hilary, that 'He may incite the beginnings of this trembling undertaking, confirm them with advancing progress, and call the writer to fellowship with the spirit of prophets and apostles, that he may understand their sayings in the sense in which they spoke them, and follow up the use of words with the same conception of things.'"

He earnestly maintains that these most transcendent truths have a deep and vital bearing upon the Christian life. And how true it is that when the loftier views of Christ's nature grow dim, and the energy of faith that boldly grasps the Trinitarian doctrine is relaxed, the entire tone of spiritual life is enervated, and an easy inclined plane into rationalism and skepticism opens before the Church!

The early fathers of Christianity tended rather to emphasize the divinity than the humanity of Christ. Though they energetically and successfully shut completely out of the Church the *doketic* doctrine that his human body was a mere *seeming*, yet their high

faith dwelt most on the divine nature of Christ, tending to lose his humanity in the exaltation of his deity.

At the reformation this tendency was reversed. The more thorough, as well as more broadly popularized, study of the Gospels, fixed the mind's eye of the Christian world upon the *man* Christ. The new Christian life claimed sympathy with our truly human brother. Instead of starting from the divinity, and adjusting the humanity thereto, the Protestant Church started from the humanity, and sought to attain a consistent adjustment of the divinity. It was the Lutheran section of the reformation that adhered most to the old view. Curiously enough, this tendency of Lutheranism arose from the sacramental discussion. When Luther rejected *transubstantiation*, which imported that Christ's body and the bread were one, yet adopted *consubstantiation*, according to which the body, though not being the bread, was *in* the bread as heat is in the iron, he compelled a vast speculation upon the body of Christ. The material body had to be endowed with metaphysical ubiquity. A limited amount of matter had to be furnished with one of the attributes of divinity. But, under the lead of Zwinglius, the Reformed body, in distinction from the Lutherans, viewing the words of Christ as symbolical, recognized only a commemorative rite in the supper, were relieved thereby from a stupendous cloud of metaphysics, and were left to contemplate the person of Jesus in the Gospel narrative in its truly human, as well as its divine, aspects. Questions enough were left to exercise all the acumen of the theologians in forming a consistent view of the union of the two natures in one "person." To the question, How was the Logos humiliated from his full glory down to a unity with man? the reply became, Not by physical diminution, but by "*occultation*." The divine glory was not diminished in magnitude, but *vailed* from view. To the question, How is the one "personality" secured? the usual reply was, That the personality of the man was merged in the personality of the Logos, so that the man was truly impersonal, and the personality was thereby one.

But our own day has broached a new theory, which unquestionably, whatever its defects, does amply secure the unity of Christ's personality. The Kenotic theory is derived from the Greek word "*Kenosis*," *emptying*, the word used in its verb form by Paul in Phil. ii, and rendered in our translation, "made of no reputation." This theory, in its simplicity, is, that the *soul* of Jesus was the Logos self-reduced to the magnitude of a human soul. Jesus, then, body and soul, was a body, and the Logos voluntarily made finite and human. Of this theory our author gives

a very lucid account, historical and analytical, followed by his own reason for rejecting it. Its real author "seems to have been Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Brotherhood. The grain of thought cast by him into the ground lay dormant for a hundred years; then, in the fourth decade of the present century, it began to germinate, and ever since it has gone on multiplying abundantly, till now the Kenotic school has attained considerable dimensions, and can number its appearance among theologians by scores."

In Zinzendorf it sprung from his spirit of intense affection for the man Jesus, into whom he loved to absorb and humanize the divinity. The view attains all the personal unity in Christ of the simplest Socinianism. Jesus was a mere man in reality; only his soul had a peculiar history, a different origin from ordinary human souls. Hence Bengel said that Zinzendorf was like a man starting west from Socinianism, and coming round to it again from the east. Our author classifies this Christology into four forms, as presented by its four leading theologians, Thomasius, Gess, Ebrard, and Martensen. It is that of Gess which we have represented most nearly in the above remarks, which is the simplest and most readily adopted of the four, and which has been reproduced in modified form in a translation by Professor Reubelt, published at the Andover press.

In our argument against the Kenotic theory we should differ at the start from Professor Bruce. The graveling difficulty in our own mind he discards as unadvisable. It is the ontological, or, as he calls it, "the metaphysical question, Can the infinite One limit himself?" He is "not inclined to dogmatize on what is possible or impossible for God." And then he fears to give a handle to the ontological inferences of Strauss from the nature of the "absolute." To these points we feel no difficulty in replying. We would not "dogmatize" about the possible with God, but we would *think and infer*, to the best of our power, upon that, as upon any other ontological subject. Reasonings from the essential attributes of the divine nature are legitimate in theology; and there are multitudes of cases in which Professor Bruce would use them as freely as any body. The impossibility to even Omnipotence of performing a contradiction is, in our opinion, a fundamental axiom basing all valid theodicy. Without such an axiom, in our view, a consistent Christian theology cannot be written. Nor do we stand in such awe of Strauss's "absolute," or of Spinoza's, or Mansel's, or Spencer's, as seems the professor. The specimen argument, which he quotes from Strauss, to warn us withal, appears

to us a very cheap sample. It does not scare us "worth a cent" from still affirming that the God we believe in is necessarily existent, cannot non-exist, cannot annihilate himself, and so cannot finite himself. If it is possible for the Infinite to finite himself, to annihilate himself, then Atheism is possible. And when we say that God necessarily exists, we mean that he exists in all the necessary fullness of his infinite attributes. The Kenosis, meaning thereby the ceasing of the Infinite to be infinite, is, therefore, as impossible as any mathematical absurdity. Remove that difficulty, and all our objections to the Kenotic theory would very probably terminate.

The closing part of this work, touching "the official aspects" of the "humiliation," presents, in a very interesting way, a comparative survey of the various views of the atonement at the present hour. This subject has been undergoing a voluminous discussion in Scotland and England. Our own American Methodism is so well satisfied with the views read in Wesley and Watson, and sung in our hymns, and preached and prayed in our revivals, that we have ceased speculation ourselves, and have not much regarded the speculations of others. A universal substitutional atonement seems to lie deep in the heart of our Church.

The Papacy and the Civil Power. By R. W. THOMPSON. 8vo., pp. 750. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Mr. Thompson is a Methodist layman of Indiana, who will be pleasantly remembered by many as a member of the Brooklyn General Conference, a lawyer by profession, and a statesman of such ability that President Hayes, in the formation of his cabinet, selected him as his Secretary of the Navy. He entered upon the investigations, of which the present volume is a result, from the conviction that it was his duty, as an American citizen, to become familiar with the pretensions and history of the papacy in its relations to civil government, and so careful and thorough has he been in his inquiries that he is said to have learned, when over sixty years of age, several languages that he might study his authorities in their originals. A more candid production, or one more free from passion or bigotry, would hardly be possible; and one of more able, manly discussion need not be desired. For the Roman Catholic, as a man and a Christian, Mr. Thompson has the broadest charity, rightly holding that for his dogmatic opinions and his religious worship and life he is responsible only to his God, and freely granting all that he claims for himself. With

Romanism as an ecclesiastical system he makes no quarrel, but insists that it is entitled to the same rights, privileges, and protection that any other Church may properly ask and no more. But with it as a political system, claiming for a mighty all-grasping, papal imperialism, supremacy over all governments and all human affairs, he raises the present issue.

And, truly considering the constant puttings forth of the Romish press, the frequent manifestoes of Romish dignitaries, and the proofs of their purposes in attempted legislation and united movements upon the ballot-box whenever opportunity offers of success, it would seem that none but the willfully blind could for a moment question the purpose and plans of the papal hierarchy. It is not easy for Americans, who see Methodists, Presbyterians, and others flourishing side by side under the equal protection of the laws and arrogating no peculiar privileges, to understand that the freedom which Rome demands is the complete subjugation of their laws and institutions to the pope, and liberty for him to be autocrat of their country, or that designs hostile to their free institutions are really entertained. Nevertheless, the facts of the hour precisely accord with the teachings of the history of a thousand years.

The body of Roman Catholics in the United States accept the dogma of papal infallibility within the domain of faith and morals. In their schools it is taught as a matter of religion by thousands of teachers, that the authority of the pope is supreme. Most of their priests and educators are foreigners, trained for the support and defense of the papacy, and acknowledging allegiance to Pius IX., to whom they believe God has given "full power over the whole world in both ecclesiastical and civil affairs." In their view, all human enactments which contravene his will are contrary to the law of God. The Church is above the State, and the pope is the head of the Church; his voice is the voice of the Church, infallible, and authoritative over the consciences of all good Catholics every-where. He is the expounder of God's law; and the Council of Baltimore, in 1866, declared that "in prescribing any thing contrary to that law, [of course as expounded by the pope,] the civil power transcends its authority, and has no claim on the obedience of the citizen." Every Romish bishop is solemnly sworn to be "faithful and obedient" to him, and to "defend and keep the Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter," and to "preserve, defend, and increase" "the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of our Lord the Pope."

The papal claim of divinely given authority over temporals is unequivocally made by Pius IX. "It is of necessity," he says; in order that the Roman pontiff may exercise the supreme power and authority divinely given to him by the Lord Christ himself, of feeding and ruling the entire flock of the Lord with fullest liberty, and may consult for the greater good of the Church, and its interests and needs, that he shall never be subject to any prince or civil power." If it be supposed that the reference is to Victor Emmanuel, let it be remembered that his "flock" is in all lands, and that it is denied that he can be a foreign prince anywhere, but is a *domestic* prince in every country where Catholics reside. In any conflict, then, between him and any civil government, his will must prevail or God is disobeyed, because the sovereignty divinely vested in him is infringed upon. Such are the pretensions of "the Hildebrand of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Thompson not only shows from numerous authorities what is the claim of temporal power put forth for the papacy, and the intensifying effect of the decree of infallibility, but enters into a full historical inquiry of its origin and growth, its conflicts with civil governments, and its influence upon the liberties of the people. It is a terrible picture that he spreads upon his canvas. The question of toleration in Maryland, of which so much Romish boast has been made, turns out not on that side. The Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX. receive appropriate notice, and are correctly shown to be a part of the great effort to lead the world back into the middle ages.

There cannot be the least doubt that the papal hierarchy are bent upon subduing the United States to the Pope of Rome. The danger is not immediate; but a papal empire and a free Republic cannot exist on the same soil. Mr. Thompson does not enter upon a discussion of the proper method of averting the danger, but seems to think that it is half done when the people are informed of the real state of the case. For them he has written rather than for scholars, yet the latter will linger with satisfaction over his pages.

Messianic Prophecy: Its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to New Testament Fulfillment. By Dr. EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated from the German, with the approbation of the Author, by the Rev. John Jefferson. 12mo., pp. 266. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1876.

Dr. Riehm is one of the editors of the "Studien und Kritiken," and this little work first appeared in numbers in that scholarly

publication. He is eminent as a devout student of the Bible. The views unfolded in the numbers of the periodical attracted much attention, and in compliance with a general demand they were embodied in a volume, and rendered to our English and American world in a translation remarkable for its clearness and easy flow. It is a book of compressed erudition and thought, treating a large subject in small compass by analyzing principles, and furnishing an organon which the student can apply at his leisure in reading and studying the sacred oracles.

Messianic prediction, pictures of a good time coming, a time good and glorious from the holy luster that irradiates it, abound in the Old Testament prophecies. It usually appears in contrast either with the dark present, or with a dark future just preceding the good time, and to be gloriously overcome and compensated by it. And just here lies the difficulty for the interpreter. The golden age seems, in the prophet's description, just at hand. The celestial light is pouring its glory on the farther edge of a near mass of clouds; the clouds, pierced and streaked already by long golden wedges of splendor, will disappear, and then comes the full glory. For this difficult phenomenon in prophecy the genius of Hengstenberg had its solution. It was the theory of *vision*. The prophet was a *see-er*. It is abundantly provable that the prophet describes what is visible to the eye of his spirit. And as he looks to the future, the objects lying in line before his ray of sight appear connected; the time-space intervals between them being excluded from view. The time element is thence dropped out of prophecy, and the full antithesis between the glorious far future and the inglorious present and its immediate future, is left undiminished in order to cheer the dark with the light. And even when a given prophecy is not visional, still the visional influence remains, and the glory still skirts the cloud. It was Daniel who at length came in as pre-eminently the *time prophet*, measured the intervals, and told in definite, though symbolic, arithmetic, *when* the Anointed should appear. In the present volume Dr. Riehm writes to oppose this theory, and to substitute in its place the theory of "limitation of prophetic foresight." Prophetic inspiration did not infuse omniscience into the prophet's mind. It did not reconstruct his brain. It took him with the knowledge he possessed and offered him glimpses of the Messianic future, colored and limited by his necessary human narrowness. If there were literal mistake, the mistake must not be denied, but explained by placing ourselves in the

prophet's position, and it will then appear that the mistake is perfectly consistent with the *limited* inspiration. We see that there are, in fact, laws of the mistake, enabling us to calculate the error, and estimate the true amount of real truth. Riehm, therefore, agrees to surrender Daniel as being out of the range of these laws of prophecy. He surrenders half of Isaiah and Zechariah under the same regimen. Hereby he thinks "the way will be prepared for an understanding and reconciliation between the orthodox and the historico-critical direction of Old Testament science." In other words, he is showing that these surrenders of the canon can be made, and the established view of Messianic prophecy stand firm. Great as is the learning of our author, and unquestionable his piety, we cannot at present accept in fullness his views. We are not prepared to surrender the vision doctrine, nor to give up Daniel. We, nevertheless, largely accept the "limitation" theory, believing that it is extensively applicable in its place, and stands in no antagonism to the vision theory in *its* place.

We should do injustice to this little volume if we left the impression that this antagonism was its main work. On the contrary, the author shows with great clearness the reality of the prophetic connection of the Old Testament with the New. He first portrays those connections in their generic masses, and then shows how the application of specific predictions are controlled and directed by the generic. The inquisitive theological student, who desires that the prophetic pages of the Old Testament should not be a mass of mist before his eyes, or who is distressed either by apparent mistake and non-fulfillment, or by the apparent irrelevancy of many of the quotations of the Old Testament by the New, may find seed-thoughts and broad views here which will go far to clear his prospective. The last third of the book treats in detail the quotations of the New Testament, and the nature of the Messianic fulfillments.

The Christian Doctrine of Sin. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews; one of her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. Small 12mo., pp. 243. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

From a few pages of our Synopsis of Reviews our readers will perceive that Dr. Tulloch is Broad-Church Presbyterian, occupying in Scotland very much the position of Stanley in England. The present volume may serve to show how large a residue is left, after all concessions to modern criticism, to the old evangelical theology. The doctrine of sin is here very much of a test point.

In Dr. Tulloch's view, Darwinism, the genetic derivation of all

species from a few primitives, does not of itself destroy the true idea of sin, but the additional views of the chief advocates of geneticism do. They mean that man is a mere growth from lower unconscious nature; and being mere necessary growth, *right* or *wrong*, in a moral sense, are terms of no meaning. All actions, as well as all limbs and fibers, are part of the growth. Hence a true doctrine of sin is a true refutation of these fatal deductions from geneticism.

This doctrine Dr. Tulloch explains and sustains by what may be in a sense called the *historical* argument. He first examines the views and feelings of mankind outside the area of revelation. Exploring human thought among savage tribes, through Egypt and Phenicia, through the Vedic and Hellenic mythologies, through Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism and Buddhism, and through the drama of ancient Greece, he finds a vague and undefined yet most unquestionable sense of sin in all the human race.

Entering, thence, the Old Testament, we find a far more elevated position and clearer atmosphere. A sole and supreme Deity, who is perfection and holiness impersonated, holds sin to be a complete opposition to himself. A law exists to lay its prohibitions upon all sin as rebellion against God. After all the most liberal concessions made to "criticism," of later documents interpolated, of errors in morality, and of failures of prophecy, and claiming the Old Testament to be a mere body of unquestionably old Hebraic literature, that Old Testament still stands alone in antiquity in its view of sin and holiness.

Passing into the New Testament it is easy to see that God appearing as the impersonation of goodness, and sin as his opposite, we have the very highest conception of the badness of sin. This is the key-note of the redemption unfolded in the gospels. In Paul we find a philosophy of sin. Of this Pauline view Dr. Tulloch gives a brief and not wholly satisfactory analysis. He clearly admits that *guilt*, in its true sense, cannot be hereditary. When the term *guilt* is applied by theology to the hereditary nature, he admits that the term is used out of its true sense, and that such use is condemnable as confusing the truth. It is gratifying to find Calvinism thus seeking to remedy the evil which the falsehood of her language, if not the falsehood of her meaning, has for so long a time produced.

Without the variegated richness of style belonging to Stanley, Tulloch is clear, animate, and very readable. The work is very suggestive, and we could wish it a broad circulation.

Tafsîr Matî aur Marqus kî Injîl kî. Muallifa-o-Musannafa E PADRI' T. J. SCOTT SAHIB, M. A. Lucknow: Printed at the American Methodist Mission Press. 1875.

This is a translation, with modifications, into an Oriental language, of the first volume of a commentary on the New Testament, written in English by "Whedon sâhib." The translator is our missionary brother, Rev. Dr. T. J. Scott. It is no ordinary pleasure we experience in knowing that through our notes on the Gospels we are enabled to speak the things of the kingdom of heaven to our Hindu brethren. The translation is, of course, a sealed book to the author of the original, and so we call in our esteemed translator to furnish it a fitting notice.

Dr. Scott says: "The translation is in the Hindustani language, spoken by nearly one hundred millions of people, or perhaps ten millions more than speak the English. In this number both Hindus and Mohammedans are included. This translation, with the exception of some additions and omissions, keeps close to the English text. The omissions are where texts are plain to persons in the Eastern world. The Bible, being an Oriental book, needs in many places an interpretation for the western mind on points that are plain here. Again, there are points that require special comment in a pagan or Mussulman country. Some texts in the New Testament need special exposition and defense for a Moslem mind. Hence the omissions and additions mentioned.

"The native Church in her present state requires an exegetical literature. The Hindu mind is casting off the old faith, and there is with many a great tendency to cast off all faith. The Christian Scriptures are attacked, and our people must read and understand them. Just now we are beginning an era of commentary making. We have as yet but few attempts at native authorship. Your commentary on the New Testament will meet a want in this part of the world. I propose carrying (D. V.) the translation through all your volumes on the New Testament. The work so far has taken very well. The present volume has been done, as you see, in the Roman type, and it is proposed to issue another edition in the Persian type, available to a larger number of readers, but not so compact."

Handbook of Methodism, Prepared for and Dedicated to the Methodist Church of India. By Rev. JAMES MUDGE, B.D. 12mo., pp. 484. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission. Rev. T. Craven, publisher. 1877.

It is a great gratification to receive from our mission-field at the antipodes so admirable a summary of Methodism as this volume

contains. It is a clear and joyous echo from India to America, bringing to us the clear expression of our own beloved evangelical Wesleyan doctrines and institutions. The volume is remarkable for clearness, conciseness, completeness, and symmetry; is true to our theology, and heartily loyal to our institutions and usages.

It is divided into three parts: The History of Methodism, the Doctrines of Methodism, and the Polity and Usages. Of the historical part, about ninety pages are given to the history of English Methodism, its founding and missions; about two hundred to American Methodist history and mission survey, including India. To the doctrinal part are given about eighty pages, and the remainder to polity and usages.

It is gratifying in particular to notice the explicitness with which our missionary theologian in the actual missionary-field maintains that more cheering view of the heathen condition which assumes that thousands are saved through Christ who never heard of Christ. On that subject, in accordance with our old Arminian standards, we maintained in a very full and strenuous chapter in our work on the Will the doctrine of heathen salvability, and have been sometimes told that such a view was adverse to the cause of missions. Our present reply is, let our missionaries decide that question. Mr. Mudge has quoted and re-echoed our strongest words on that topic.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution. From the German of OSCAR PESCHEL. 12mo., pp. 528. 1876.

From the high source whence it comes it may be safely assumed that, apart from some of its speculations colored by the author's individualisms, this volume is the most valuable ethnographical manual yet published. So rapidly are materials gathered from fresh observations of travelers and experimentists accumulating, that he was disposed to make a new arrangement of races in his second edition. Such a fact is enough to check hasty speculation, and teach us patience and hope for ultimate truth.

The volume is divided into five general sections. The *first* treats man's place in creation, his unity, origin, and antiquity. The *second* treats the varying physical traits of men in brain, face, proportions, skin, and hair. The *third* discusses comparative lin-

guistics. The fourth traces the various supposed steps of man from savageism to civilization. The fifth analyzes the various races of mankind as they present themselves on the map of the world, reckoned by him as seven in number. Beginning with the lowest, the Australians, he ascends to the highest, whom he calls the Mediterranean race.

He believes, with Darwin, that all species are in some way derived by transmutation from lower orders, but rejects Darwin's "natural selection" as the mode. But the connecting link or links between man and the lower orders are, he thinks, lost, and may never be found; but if found, as they may be, they would be decisive. Hence the chasm is somewhat broad; and the increased acquaintance with races once supposed to be almost brutal so raises their reputation for intelligence as to broaden the interval between man and brute, and suggests the doctrine of human unity. And this unity is confirmed by the established fact that sexual conjunction between the most opposite races is prolific. We may, therefore, rather assume that there is amid variety a one *humanity*. But this humanity is of very high antiquity. To prove this he parades the old story of flint implements, Swiss lake dwellings, bone caves, and the rest of that vanity. He does not here furnish any thing new, and what he does furnish was not worth the paper and ink. On the other hand, he gives some remarkable testimony, showing how easily the hardy races of early men could rapidly fill the earth: "We will only observe in anticipation, that the more rude, and hence the more frugal and hardy, a people is, the more readily does it change its abode, so that, in their lowest stages of development, all families of people were capable of accomplishing the migrations which we have ascribed to them. The difficulties generally exist only in the imagination of the spoiled children of civilization. In Central Australia, where European explorers were exhausted by starvation, hordes of black men roam about, free of care; and if we are startled by the idea that, thousands of years ago, Asiatic tribes are supposed to have crossed Behring's Straits to people America, we quite forget that even at the present day a naked nation of fishermen still exists in Terra del Fuego, where the glaciers stretch down to the sea, and even into it."

Why, then, may not the human race in six or seven thousand years, beginning from the ancient civilization inherited from the antediluvian world, growing more barbarous as their distance of emigration increased, have populated the world from the Euphrates to Terra del Fuego? We see an immense deal of assumption, but

a small amount of proof to the contrary. Nothing that Peschel advances is unanswered by the great work on this subject of James C. Southall.

As to the first home of the human species, Peschel adopts the argument of Hæckel and others. That home was not on an island, for the islands have nearly all commenced to be inhabited during our historical period; a fact, we think, suggesting that man is less than seven thousand years old. It could not have been in America, for here are no animals approximating man; an argument that takes the development theory for granted. And this reason excludes Europe and Asia, and guides toward Africa. But not even Africa is satisfactory; for the human race is clearly not descended from apes, but from an earlier stem, from which both apes and man have branched. We are, therefore, pushed into the Indian Ocean, and must dredge up a lost continent at its bottom, of which Madagascar is one of the remnant summits. This submerged continent is to be named LEMURIA, from the *lemur*, an animal below the ape in development, and so nearer the stem whence ape and man diverged. Professor Marsh has dug up the primitive horse in America; let some explorer fish up the primitive man in Lemuria, so that science may rejoice in "the man on horseback."

A strong proof with Peschel of the unity of the human race is the existence of customs of a very peculiar character precisely alike among very distant peoples. As a marked instance we may mention that the custom, that when a child is born, the father, as well as the mother, should go to bed and undergo a "lying in," was found in ancient Corsica, in Borneo, in South America, and various other distant points. A dozen or so of such coincidences are quoted. These prove, he thinks, either a unity of racial origin, or a most extraordinary "psychical identity." It is remarkable, however, that he omits to mention some instances that point to a primeval origin in Western Asia. Not to insist on the "handled cross," there are the tradition of the flood, the serpent worship, and the remembrance of the golden or paradisaic age. These point to that region where both the Assyrian tablets and the Mosaic records agree that man originated, without ages of previous savageism, in full possession of a civilization. What right have our scientists to hold those significant customs and those recorded histories as *nihil?* We lay down Peschel's book more confirmed in the conviction than when we took it up in the unity of the human race, and its date according to the record. Pseudo-scientism prattles garrulously about "the prehistoric man;" but, to all present appearance, there

never was "a prehistoric man." The first man was historic man. Men locally prehistoric, that is, *unhistoric* barbarians, have plentifully existed. But we wait for the proof that history does not name the first man of the human race.

Religion, with Peschel, is a part of our own nature, and is an instinctive and gradually purifying truth. It is a growth in the race, and progresses with the growth of the race. Its lowest and universal form is Shamanism. A Shaman is one who professes to possess the power to deal with the occult powers of nature, whether by incantations, drugs, ceremonials, fetiches, sacrifices, or prayers. This Shamanism exists not only among uncivilized tribes, but shows traces of its power among our modern and most civilized nations. The supposition that our prayers influence the divine will, and obtain any answers or fulfilment from the divinity, he holds to be Shamanism. All intercourse between the divine and human spirit is thus cut off. Religion thus comes up from nature below; it does not come down from God above. His religion is, therefore, truly *natural* religion. This excludes not only all inspiration, miracle, prophecy, but all descending of the Spirit of God into our hearts. Yet Hebrew monotheism he views as the most remarkable of religious growths. Its culmination in Christianity is the highest natural religious development in human history. A survey of comparative theology proves the immense inferiority of all other systems to the Gospel as a religious attainment of humanity.

On the whole, we go to Peschel for physical and physiological facts, but not for biblical criticism or theology.

Annual Record of Science and Industry, for 1876. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the Assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 609. New York: Harper & Bros. 1877.

THE six hundred and nine pages of this book are preceded by an Introduction of nearly two hundred and forty pages not therein counted. This Introduction consists of a survey of the progress made in each of the departments of science furnished by some eminent scientist in each department. The body of the work thereafter consists of brief paragraphs, arranged under classified heads, detailing the new inventions and discoveries of the year. Our scientific brethren are alive and working. Yet the year does not appear to have been signalized by any great scientific masterstrokes.

This volume is, indeed, distinguished by a marked absence of

passages about the archæological proofs of the great antiquity of man with which the last volume was rife. We have no instructions about the measureless millions of ages and æons it would take for a savage tribe to make the stupendous transition from a rough stone to a rubbed stone, and from a stone without a hole in it to a stone with a hole in it. Measurements of ages by means of stalagmites, and peats, and extinct animals, do appear to be somewhat played out. Indeed, it is fairly acknowledged, (p. 293,) that one "interesting" instance of apparent remains of man in the tertiary was probably the work of beavers or friction of woods. The only report furnished of geologic man is a very slender one from Buenos Ayres. Meanwhile the learned editor never seems to have heard of the discovery of Schliemann, in his Trojan diggings, of a series of archeological strata in which the metal age precedes the stone age, all within the historic period, and so upsets the whole chronometric theory by implements. That forlorn fact, though given by Schliemann in the face of all Europe, receives no notice by the scientists, simply because it lays them upon their backs.

We next have the following "*death-blow*" *to the theory of central heat in the earth*:—

The origin of the interior heat of the earth is treated of in a few words by Professor Mohr, who states that if the interior is still molten, it follows that the nearer we approach the nucleus, not only must the temperature increase, but must do so in an increasing ratio: so that for a given increase of temperature we require to penetrate into the interior of the earth through a decreasing number of feet. Now the deepest artesian well as yet executed is at Sperenberg, about twenty miles south of Berlin. This well was begun in 1867, and has already reached a depth of over 4,000 feet, at which depth Magnus measured the temperature (38·5° Reaumur) by means of his geothermometer. The observations of temperature that have been made in this well were executed with the greatest care, each position of the thermometer being cut off from connection with the upper or lower portions of the well by plugging up the tube. The most probable results of these measures are given in the following table:—

Depth. Prussian Feet.	Temperature Reaumur.	Depth. Prussian Feet.	Temperature Reaumur.
700	15·654 deg.	1700	25·633 deg.
900	17·349 "	1900	27·315 "
1100	19·043 "	2100	28·906 "
1300	21·261 "	3300	36·756 "
1500	23·630 "	4052	39·500 "

There results from these measurements a very remarkable but well-established result—that the rate of increase of temperature is continuously growing less as we descend. This increase diminishes at the rate of one twentieth of a degree for every hundred feet, so that it is easy to compute at what depth the temperature will cease to increase. This depth is found to be the very moderate one of 5,190 feet, at which a temperature of about forty degrees might be expected to prevail. Even if we do not attribute absolute accuracy to these observations, yet we see that a constant temperature must be attained at a depth far within twenty miles; and that the temperature itself even at that depth must be far less than the melting-point of the rocks. The result of these observations at Sperenberg is therefore completely in accordance with those deduced by Vogt from operations at the arte-

sian well at Grenelle; and if we attribute any value at all to these calculations, they seem to give a death-blow to the Plutonic theories of former geologists.—P. 119.

What then becomes of the "nebular hypothesis?" What of that grand cosmogony according to which, by purely physical forces, the planets were assigned their places and the solar system was framed?

On the subject of *Archebiosis*, or the origin of living beings by "spontaneous generation," the following seems to be the situation:—

The Tyndall and Bastian controversy is still *sub-judice*. The simple question is, Can air retaining all its gaseous mixtures, but self-cleansed from mechanically suspended matter, produce putrefaction? In all the various experiments made by Dr. Tyndall, when the substances were exposed to common air at a temperature of 60° to 70°, all fell into a state of putrefaction in from two to four days—not one in six hundred escaped; but in no instance did air which had been proved moteless by passing a concentrated beam of light through it show the least power of producing bacterial life, or the associated phenomena of putrefaction. Both sides are preparing further experiments. Thus far, however, Dr. Tyndall has come out of the controversy with all the weight of scientific evidence and philosophic gravity of discussion on his side, while Dr. Bastian has done injury to his cause by adopting the well-known symptom of defeat, "abuse of the plaintiff's attorney."—P. 281.

We can easily imagine that with both Huxley and Tyndall it is very much against the grain that transition from inorganic matter to living organic cannot be demonstratively traced. It would, in the present state of the question, greatly aid their theories of genetic evolution. Nevertheless, denote it by a good straight mark, that they firmly adhere to the truth of the matter.

Another defeat of Huxley is the refutation of his whimsey about "bathybius." This "bathybius" is the name given by him to a sort of slime which the visionary professor imagined to be the intermediate between non-life and life, the transition stage from inanimate to animate existence. The following paragraph contains his confession, as well as a statement that even his confession was a blunder:—

Professor Wyville Thompson, in a letter to Mr. Huxley, says that the best efforts of the *Challenger* have failed to discover *bathybius* in a fresh condition; and Professor Huxley states that it is seriously suspected that the thing to which he gave this name is little more than sulphate of lime precipitated in a flocculent state from the sea-water by the strong alcohol. It is much more likely that what Professor Huxley observed was the gelatinous secretion of *diatomaceæ*, which is produced in immense abundance in the ocean depths, and which behaves, under chemical reagents, very much like the so-called *bathybius*.—P. 342.

The following are the results of experiments upon the *physiological action of alcohol*—

Dr. Lauder Brunton, in a summary of a memoir before the Medical Society of London regarding the physiological action of alcohol, states that in small quanti-

ties it increases the secretions of the gastric juice, and thus aids digestion. However unnecessary this may be in health, it is useful for the feeble and debilitated. Second, it increases the force and frequency of the pulse. Third, a large dose diminishes digestion by the too great irritation of the stomach. Fourth, it is capable of producing death by reflex action. Fifth, after absorption in the blood it diminishes the power of oxidizing the globules of the blood. This is useful in lowering the temperature; but when this is done suddenly or very frequently, it causes an accumulation of fat and a fatty degeneration of the organs. Sixth, it undergoes a sort of combustion in the organism, and maintains the increase of weight of the body. In this respect it may be considered as a food. Seventh, if taken in large doses, a portion is excreted in an unaltered condition. Eighth, it dilates the blood-vessels, increasing the force and frequency of pulsations of the heart by its action on the central nerves, and facilitates intellectual and physical action. It does not give any greater power, but renders a man capable of keeping more energy in reserve. It can thus furnish assistance to effort of short duration, but not for prolonged exercise. Ninth, it has the same effect upon the heart; but in disease alcohol frequently relaxes the pulsations of this organ instead of accelerating them, thus economizing the energy instead of wasting it. Tenth, in dilating the vessels of the skin, alcohol cools the surface at the expense of the internal organs. It is thus injurious when taken during exposure, but after such exposure it is useful as tending to prevent the congestion of the internal organs. Eleventh, the symptoms of intoxication are due to a paralysis of the nervous system; the brain and the cerebellum are first affected, then the protuberance, and finally the medulla oblongata. Death by alcohol is generally caused by paralysis of the medulla.—P. 286.

Every student of the scientific progress of the day will find this series of annuals very valuable.

The Problem of Problems, and its Various Solutions; or, Atheism, Darwinism, and Theism. By CLARK BRADEN, President of Abingdon College, Illinois. 12mo., pp 480. Cincinnati: Chase & Hall. 1877.

President Braden here furnishes the general result of lectures, articles, and public debates, in which he has discussed, often in the face of opponents present, the great question of the origin of things in its relations to revelation and science. His book, therefore, stands like an ancient trophy made up of the spoils of fight and claimed victory. It is offered as a comprehensive and compact survey of the whole field of debate, as it appears before the popular and thoughtful mind of the day. As such, it exhibits no little breadth and power, and is for effective purposes the best, if not the only, synoptic view of the subject in its totality. It claims this character, however, under the drawback of a style never elegant though often strong, and a mechanical execution, material, and proof-reading of no very high grade. The diction, especially in the large appendix, is culpably careless, and on one couple of pages we have a story told us of a Mormon and his wives which we read in our boyhood's edition of Æsop's Fables, some decades earlier than the apostolate of Joseph Smith.

The author first presents at large a comprehensive view of the magnitude of the subject, enabling us to feel that it opens the

broadest field possible for human thought, not for science alone, but for philosophy and religion. Next he discusses the means we have for the solving this great problem, showing that our highest intuitive faculties are the truest instruments, and that the great error of scientists is their aiming to exclude these faculties from testifying, and struggling to make the sense faculties sole and supreme. Then comes a section on the failures of modern scientism to solve the problem, in which he grapples with the facts, and assumes to show that evolutionism, as presented by Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndal, gives us no satisfactory solution. The great argument then closes with an extended proof that Theism alone does solve the problem. We have then an appendix, in which a number of special topics belonging to the subject is discussed. Among them we especially note a reply to Huxley's late lectures in New York, and a dealing with the biblical contradictions of science.

The most effective argument of the present day for Atheism, stated in brief form, is: "If the great world requires a creator to produce it, much more does the infinite God need a creator to produce him. You say God made the world; who, then, made God?" This argument originated with Hume, and no well-conducted atheistic defense ever omits it. Various replies have been given, but none we have seen better than Mr. Braden's, which we here give as a fair specimen of his style. He is showing that when we arrive at the infinite we rightly stop:—

> From finite space we rise through relatively infinite space to absolutely infinite space. Here we stop. Reason does not ask what bounds absolute space, knowing that because it is absolute it can have no boundary or limitation. In like manner, we rise from finite duration, through relatively infinite duration, to absolute duration, or eternity; and reason stops, knowing that absolute duration, being absolute, has no limitation, and no beginning or end. In like manner, from finite displays of causation reason rises through relatively infinite displays of causation to absolute causation. From finite displays of intelligent causation, reason rises through relatively infinite displays of intelligent causation to absolute intelligent cause. Reason does not ask what caused absolute intelligent cause, any more than it asks what bounds absolute space, or what preceded or succeeds absolute duration, knowing that as absolute space can have no limit because absolute, and absolute duration neither beginning nor end, because absolute, so absolute intelligent cause can have no limitation in causation or being, and can have no cause, because absolute. The attempted extension of the argument is as absurd as it would be to continue to apply the limitation and boundaries of finite space or duration to absolute space or duration. As one is absurd and a violation of all reason, so is the other.—P. 393.

He then adds a conclusive retort upon Spencer, (as Mr. Bowne had brilliantly done before him,) by showing that Spencer's Unknown Absolute just as truly requires an antecedent Maker as the Theist's deity.

The Mosaic Cosmogony he holds to be a Psalm of the Creation, not a literal detail responsible to science. His account of the origin of the early Genesis chapters appears not to be very clear. Of the two records, that of the Assyrian tablets as deciphered by George Smith, and the Mosaic, he admits the former to be the earlier, and thinks that Moses collected his account from various quarters. Now we prefer to say that the Mosaic is the pure and primitive, and the bricks the late and corrupted. The latter he may call Accadian, the former is Shemitic. The one is polytheistic, the other monotheistic. Both came from Chaldea; the latter being brought thence to Palestine by Abraham, inherited from Shem, and preserved with the Shemitic genealogies and other traditions in the Abrahamic family. Assuming the great age of the patriarchs, how easy the preservation of these primitive documents in written or oral form. The true author of the cosmogony may have been Adam; the true author of the narrative of the flood (which Tayler Lewis so strikingly showed to possess all the traits of an autoptic journal) may have been Shem. Most assuredly, according to Moses' own account, there was a well-retained and traceable line of descent from Adam to Moses. Of course, then, the Genesis history came down that line, and is primitive and pure, as it is monotheistic. The Assyrian tablet version is depraved, fabulous, and polytheistic, yet useful as a corroboration of the Mosaic.

Some parts of the reply to Huxley are ingenious, and original, we believe, with Mr. Braden. The four successive forms of the horse, which Huxley holds to be deduced by evolution, our author maintains to be four different species. They are no more nearly connected than the horse, zebra, ass, and gnu; which are demonstrated to be different species by the test of non-prolificacy. This view he holds to be confirmed by the fact that one of Huxley's four horses, the *orohippos*, though drawn in Huxley's diagrams as large as the rest, was really *no larger than a fox*. Finally, the series of horses, like the series of canoe, boat, ship, and steamer, is a development through the mind of the Creator and not by generation. To this last argument, the scientist will reply that development by generation is natural, development by creation supernatural; and that science never admits the supernatural when the natural suffices to solve the problem. This is with scientists the decisive argument, in view of which they seem to be stampeding into Darwinism. The only reply we know is that derivation by generation is, indeed, natural within the limits of a

given species, but not natural from one species to another. A leap from species to species requires the supernatural. And that brings on the complex argument about the nature of species, whirling us into logical circles. Mr. Braden would go far toward settling that question if he could demonstrate his position that a specific *life-power* limits the species:—

> Similarity of structure does not prove sameness of species, nor is structure the highest standard in determining species. The real distinction lies outside of observation. It is in the life-power; that produces progeny like the parent, although the germs of animals be in structure precisely alike. And the same life-power or principle refuses to hybridize in different species, although the germs brought in contact are precisely alike in structure.—P. 434.

The Microscopist: A Manual of Microscopy and Compendium of the Microscopic Sciences, Micro-Mineralogy, Micro-Chemistry, Biology, Histology, and Pathological Histology. Third Edition. Rewritten and greatly enlarged. With two hundred and five Illustrations. By J. H. WYTHE, M.D., Professor of Microscopy and Biology in the Medical College of the Pacific, San Francisco. 8vo., pp. 259. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1877.

This is the latest edition of a work which has maintained its standing as a reference book in microscopy for twenty-five years, undergoing the changes required by the rapid growth of the science it treats. It first gives a descriptive history of the origin and improvements of the microscope, from the earliest perception of the magnifying power of certain media to the present wonderful perfection of the instrument. It then describes the uses of the microscope, laying down principles and giving judicious practical directions, to aid the young microscopist in his work. And then the main body of the work is devoted to a tracing the applications of the instrument to the wide range of the sciences. And wonderful are the revelations it makes by enabling our senses to travel downward toward the infinitely minute. Herein the microscope rivals the telescope. The world of the small is even more wonderful, certainly more paradoxical and surprising, than the world of the great. What limit is there to the universe downward? The various applications of the microscope to the sciences are unfolded by Dr. Wythe with great clearness and beauty, and his descriptions are rendered luminous by the great number of engraved illustrations. Nothing is more fascinating than the romance of nature strangely opened up to the eye of man by this peculiar instrument.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March, 1874. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M. A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. With an Appendix containing Emanuel Deutsch's article on "Islam." 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Christianity and Islam. The Bible and the Koran. Four Lectures, by the Rev. R. W. R. STEPHENS, Prebendary of Chichester. 12mo., pp. 169. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877. Price, $1 25.

Bosworth Smith's book is a very eloquent advocacy of Mohammedanism as pretty much a sect of Christianity, requiring a generous recognition and a changed mode of treatment by our missionaries, under assumption that the number of the sect is increasing, and can never be converted. Mr. Smith is of a "broad Church," exceedingly "broad." His character is so scholarly, his style so flowing, and his spirit so generous, that it is easy to close his book in a very genial spirit of pro-Mohammedan charity.

Quite as able, as scholarly, as elegant in style, is Mr. Stephens in his reply. Freely and gladly admitting all that is good in Mohammed, his religion, and his followers, he, nevertheless, firmly describes the evils of the Mohammedan system, and its baneful effects, as tested by its almost uniform history, among the nations it has ruled. The study of these two works will be a great aid in forming an impartial decision upon the merits of Islam and the Turk, as well as upon the chronic problem of the "eastern question."

Charles Kingsley, his Letters and Memoirs of his Life. Edited by his Wife. Abridged from the London Edition. 12mo., pp. 501. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Price, $2 50.

Charles Kingsley was a decided unique. He was endurably so, because consistently and naturally so. Like Byron's Hunchback when reproached by his mother for his deformity, he could retort, "I was born so, mother." He enacted no artificial fantastics for effect. And what proves this is the fact that, taken as a whole, his incongruities formed a sort of total symmetry. In fact it may be said that a one idea predominated through his life and writings. That idea was, the so bringing religion to bear upon our modern life and character as to form us to a true and noble manhood. This thought has been trenchantly, but not quite truly, nor really *by him*, condensed into the phrase "muscular Christianity." His idea of a real saint was not a medieval monastic, but a Christian manly man of this our nineteenth century. His fidelity to

this idea he manifested in his rural pastorate at Eversley, in which he seemed to magnetize every individual with his own personal Christianity. There was in him a tendency to diverge from established notions, a proclivity to heresy. He was a restorationist, a Broad-Churchman, a Darwinian, and a believer in brute immortality. Yet he took good care to rein himself within the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles, professed an intense belief of both head and heart in the Athanasian Creed, and learned how to soar from Broad-Churchism up to a pretty decided High-Churchism. Our impression is that he grew in Orthodoxy as he grew in age. Early suspected of radicalism, he smoothened his front until high ecclesiasticism was surprised to find how genial he was. He became Canon of Westminster; hints are given that he might have become a bishop; and had his muscularity been solider and so his life longer, he might uniquely have become a High-Church and high-tory Archbishop of Canterbury. There are a freshness and individuality about his writings, and a coloring in his biography, that render them very attractive, instructive, and improving reading.

The Cruise of her Majesty's Ship "Challenger." Voyages over many Seas, Scenes in many Lands. By W. J. J. Spry, R. N. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Her Majesty's ship has been for some years engaged in exploring the depths of old ocean by means of dredging apparatus. Her investigations have dispersed some old notions that claimed to be "science," and added some new and very interesting facts to the stock of scientific knowledge. The present volume, however, narrates mostly scenes and events above the surface, and is popular in its character. The ship started from England, and with a devious course—visiting a great variety of points, passed around the south coast of Africa, cut through the Indian Ocean to China and Japan, thence down the American western coast through the Straits of Magellan—returned homeward after having circumnavigated the globe.

Across Africa. By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L., Commander Royal Navy. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. Red and Gilt. Pp. 508. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

This bold crossing from Indian to Atlantic Ocean was a sublime insult to the venerable and mysterious continent. It was ominous that she must surrender her secrets to science, and prepare for the reign of a coming civilization. The direct motive of Cameron was the humane project of discovering Livingstone, and he suc-

ceeded in finding his corpse, doing it honors, and sending it homeward. The closing three chapters furnish the energetic traveler's views of the physical geography and the moral future of Africa. He believes that the slave-traffic may be made to give place to a legitimate commerce. The beautiful map and copious illustrations aid in making large additions to our knowledge of the country and the grade of its native civilization.

Educational.

Gustavus Bickel's New Hebrew Grammar.

The attention of American students has been so largely directed toward the Aryan languages that they have almost entirely overlooked the progress that has, in the last fifty years, been made in the domain of Semitic philology. The fact in the case, briefly stated, is, that the methods that have in this period produced the most abundant and satisfactory results in one of these departments of linguistic science have been applied with hardly less success in the other.

Sixty years ago Gesenius published his "Lehrgebäude," a book in which he embodied "the empirical facts" of the Hebrew language interpreted, to some extent, in accordance with the comparative method. He said in the preface: "My aim has been in general, on the one hand, a complete and critical observation and presentation of the grammatical phenomena; on the other, as correct and analogous an explanation as is possible of the results of observation." He was, however, unable perfectly to free himself from the fetters of tradition.

Six years later Ewald appeared as a grammarian. A sentence from one of his prefaces is characteristic of the man. He said: "One may hold the languages of the Bible never so high, and place these books above all others, yet they, also, must follow the eternal laws of all languages, for upon this material foundation rises all that is spiritual which they contain." He agreed with Gesenius upon the position of the Hebrew among the other members of the Semitic family, but not upon the original form of Semitic roots. He did not live to complete the application of the comparative method, to which he was devoted. Justus Olshausen, whose excellent "Lehrbuch" was published in 1861, in the opinion of the latest Hebrew grammarian, "first succeeded, by the consistent use of the historico-critical and comparative

method, in tracing the linguistic phenomena to their source." The latest Hebrew grammarian is Gustavus Bickel, D.D., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck, whose little work has been pronounced by one of the most competent judges "the best Hebrew grammar yet written." The occasion for calling attention to it at this time is its recent translation, by Rev. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Ph.D., an American, who was a year ago honored with a degree by the University of Leipsic.

The translation is entitled, "Outlines of Hebrew Grammar." It is not of so *discouraging* proportions as German "Grundrisse" commonly assume, being a neat octavo volume of a hundred and forty pages handsomely printed by F. A. Brockhaus, of Leipsic, and bound in English cloth.

The book is divided into five parts: I. History of the Hebrew Language and Writing; II. Phonology; III. Doctrine of the Formation of Stems; IV. Doctrine of the Formation of Words; V. Syntax.

In the first part Professor Bickel takes issue with Gesenius and Ewald, asserting, with Olshausen, that the Hebrew language is the *niece* and not the *aunt* of the Arabic; that, in other words, the Hebrew has developed beyond the stage in which the Arabic is found. This is an important distinction.

The author in the same, and again in the third part, very decidedly asserts the biliterality of the original words, in this particular agreeing with Gesenius and Olshausen, but disagreeing with Ewald.

In the second part one finds several departures from the theories of Olshausen, by which the author in fact justifies himself in giving to the world his work.

The third and fourth parts show how completely Professor Bickel, by the aid of his theories respecting their origin, has transferred himself to the pre-historic period, when the several members of the Semitic family only potentially existed. The justice of his conclusions depends, of course, upon the validity of the premises from which they are deduced.

The fifth part is evidently added merely for the sake of giving to the book a certain completeness. It contains nothing striking.

The style in which the book is written is strikingly bold and epigrammatic. One is often startled by the confidence with which the author presents his views, and astonished at the extent of his generalizations. It is, in truth, a succinct and fearless statement of the latest deliverances of science touching the

language. It is not intended for novices. One needs to have a good degree of acquaintance with its subject in order to its appreciation. It cannot but be of great usefulness to the Semitic scholar.

The work is rendered additionally valuable by a short treatise on the accents by Professor Franz Delitzsch, of Leipsic, and a table of Semitic characters, the most complete thing of its kind, by Dr. Julius Euting of Strasburg.

Dr. Curtiss deserves great praise for the patience and industry which is displayed in the translation. He has not only rendered the original into excellent English, but added many notes, especially bibliographical, of great value, and three indices, which make nearly every sentence available at a moment's notice.

H. G. M.

L. Annæus Seneca. Treatises on Providence; on Tranquillity of Mind; on Shortness of Life; on Happy Life: together with select Epistles, Epigrammata, an Introduction, copious Notes, and Scripture Parallelisms. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D., President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., and HENRY C. WHITING, Ph. D., Professor of Ancient Languages of the Centenary Collegiate Institute, Hackettstown, N. J. 12mo., pp. 308. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Seneca was among the first philosophers who, as Lecky says, took to preaching; and so well did he preach that Jerome, and others of the early Church, were willing to give him not only "local preacher's license," but even a title to saintship. His history was memorable, as first the tutor and guardian of Nero, and then the martyr of his cruelty. His life, save some submissive flatteries to tyranny, was pure. His death does not exhibit all the dignity of a dying Socrates, as painted by Plato; but it was such as to to command our high respect and our profound sympathy.

This is a beautiful edition, made up of choice selections. It is adapted primarily to academic or university classes, but will be acceptable to all readers who desire aids in running over one of the noblest Roman classics. The list of authorities used is ample. The introduction exhibits Seneca's character and place in history and literature. The notes are full, presenting an analysis of the argument of each piece, abounding in references to grammars and other sources of information, furnishing no verbal analyses from comparative philology, solving the difficult problems of the author's meaning by brief translations, and supplying in brief all needed illustrations. The attention of professors and scholars is called to this fine classic.

Aids to Latin Orthography. By WILHELM BRAMBACH. Translated from the German, with the Author's sanction, by W. GORDON M'CABE, A.M., Master of the University School, Petersburgh, Virginia. 24mo., pp. 165. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Our Latin scholars are discussing two reforms in the teaching of their favorite language. The first is the revival of the ancient pronunciation, so as to utter appropriately the spelled word as it would have been pronounced by a real ancient Roman, and not as it would be naturally pronounced by a recent Yankee. The second is to spell the word as each author spelled it, as appears by old codices and inscriptions, and not by an artificial uniformity imposed upon all our Latin editions by modern grammarians. If a language is to be taught at all, it seems desirable, *first*, that it should be written right, *second*, pronounced right. Both *reforms* aim at truth; at presenting the Latin as it really is, and not as it is transformed by both an unhistorical orthoepy and an unhistorical orthography.

This little manual is a translation of Brambach's Hülfsbüchlein, published in 1872. The Trübners of Leipsig, upon the publication of that work, formed the purpose of conforming their future Latin editions to the reformed orthography. The Latin school-masters of even conservative England are working in that direction. Professor B. L. Gildersleeve's Latin Primer, Philadelphia, adopts it, and the revised edition of Andrew's Latin Lexicon will adopt it.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Ueber die religiösen und kirchenpolitischen Fragen der Gegenwart. Von Dr. J. FROSCHAMMER. Elberfeld: Ed. Loll.

A collection of essays which had mostly already appeared in German journals, and which treat of the prominent religious and ecclesiastical crises of the day. Dr. Froschammer is an extreme Old Catholic, so extreme that he will not stop with Döllinger and Reinkens, but is in danger of passing beyond the most extreme Protestant orthodoxy. Formerly a priest and professor of Roman Catholic theology in the University of Munich, he is now there professor of philosophy. The best manifesto of his position he gave some time since in his "New Knowledge and New Faith," (*Das neue Wissen und der neue Glaube*, Brockhaus, Leipzig,) a book that was called out by and was in some sense a rejoinder to Dr. Strauss' "Old and New Faith." The author regards Dr.

Strauss' "*Leben Jesu*" as having done a good indirect service to essential Christianity by the fearful shock which it gave to an over-literal and almost somnolescent orthodoxy, and by the rich stream of earnestly critical investigation of the fundamentals of Christianity to which it gave the impulse. But Strauss failed to comprehend his own significance. After having in his first book rejected and refuted an excessive irrational *super*-humanism, in his last book he exhibits himself as a fanatical devotee of a no less irrational and materialistic *sub*-humanism. And upon this new idol he lavished a faith which was, to say the very least, no less blind and illogical than the orthodox faith which he previously so fiercely assailed. His course was but of a piece with the general tendency of unbelief. And it is now quite clear that we are having to do with a popery of atheism and materialism which is not a whit less fanatical and intolerant toward dissenters than the old popery of the Seven Hills. In fact, the spirit of the two poperies is, step for step, the very same; the same lofty arrogance, and the same depreciation and contempt of those products of the highest thinking of the race—metaphysics and philosophy. The chief weapon of both is precisely the same—*dogmatic assertion*. But we have to express over Dr. Froschammer the same regrets which he expresses over Strauss. After he has broken away from the fables of Rome, and rejected the intolerance of papal-minded Protestants, why was it necessary for him to doubt the miracles of the New Testament, and to question the generic difference between Christianity and the other historical religions of the race? Still the personal Creator of the universe in whom he believes, and the essential Christian theism which he defends, are infinitely above the vague Christianity that is preached from the skeptical pulpits of some so-called Churches of Christ. But the chief significance of Dr. Froschammer is as an iconoclast. As a popular exposer of the dangerousness of the priestly spirit he is without many equals.

Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht. Von Fr. Nippold. Heidelberg: Bassermann.

In this account of the Old Catholic Church of Utrecht Professor Nippold has done a favor to all friends of the Döllinger protest against the Vatican Council, as well as to all who lay much emphasis upon a contactually-created succession of holy orders. The existence of this regularly-descended branch of the Roman Church was an exceedingly opportune thing for the Döllinger party. But

for this opportunity of obtaining "regular" bishops the movement would long since have collapsed and vanished. Professor Nippold, though as skeptical as even a Methodist about the value of regular orders, shows here the several steps in the indisputable regularity of descent of the episcopal office which came from Utrecht to the first bishop of the Old Catholics of Germany. He also gives a good summary of the whole literature of the subject.

The Church of Utrecht dates from the early Dark Ages. In the time of Charles V. it was raised to an archbishopric, as a counterpoise to the inroads of the Reformation. A regular series of archbishops now follows, in full communion with Rome, down to the year 1689, when Peter Codde is elected to the office, and is consecrated by the archbishop of Malines and Brussels. The Church of Utrecht now fell into ill odor at Rome because of its opposition to the laxness of the Jesuits and its favoring of the austere purity of the Jansenists. In 1694 Archbishop Codde was formally accused at Rome of Jansenism; but a committee of cardinals, the president of which became afterward Pope Clement XI., entirely acquitted him. But the suspicion of heresy grew from year to year. He was mercilessly assailed in anonymous Jesuit tracts. He appealed to Rome for a fair investigation of the charges, but in vain. He then sent a written defense of himself to the pope. With what result? On Sept. 25, 1699, his deposition is resolved upon in the greatest secrecy; and on the same day the Propaganda invite him to come to Rome to attend a great festival! He was deposed. Upon his return he persisted in his condemned religious convictions, but desisted from exercising his office. He died in 1710 under the ban of the Church, and was by the Jesuits denied churchly burial. The clergy of Utrecht protested against his deposition. More than one hundred and forty refused passive acquiescence with the tyranny of Rome. But they were without a bishop. How did they get one? In 1719 Varlet, a French prelate, titular bishop of Babylon, passes through Holland. In 1724 he yields to the prayers of the clergy, and in due papal form, assisted by two regular priests, ordains Cornelius Steenoven to the office of archbishop of Utrecht. The pope at once excommunicated him. Steenoven died at the end of a few months. Again Varlet was called on, and Barchman was made archbishop. Barchman died in 1733. Again the Church of Utrecht was without a bishop. But Varlet was still alive. He lived to make two more archbishops—Van der Croon, in 1733, and Meindaerts, in 1736. Each new archbishop announced in turn to the pope his

election and consecration, and was regularly answered by excommunication. In 1742 Bishop Varlet died. To guard against the interruption of the episcopal succession, De Bock was now made bishop *of* Haarlem. In 1758 a third bishop was consecrated for Deventer. Archbishop Meindaerts was succeeded by Nieuwenhuysen in 1768, and the latter by Van Rhyn in 1797. Van Rhyn was mysteriously visited by a Jesuit in 1808, and shortly after died of poison! Napoleon Bonaparte thereupon forbade a new consecration. Two years later the bishop of Haarlem died. Only the aged bishop of Deventer was now left. How easily, also, he might drop off. In fact he actually did fall into the water, and narrowly escaped drowning. On the fall of Napoleon, in 1814, the aged bishop was permitted to remedy the danger. He consecrated Van Os as archbishop of Utrecht. In 1819 John Bon was set apart to the vacant bishopric of Haarlem. Once again, in 1825, the succession seemed to be in danger—John Bon being the sole living bishop. At once he proceeded to consecrate Van Bet, bishop of Deventer, and Van Santen, archbishop of Utrecht. Bishop Bon was succeeded by Van Buul in 1843. Bishop Bet gave place to Heykamp in 1854. Archbishop Van Santen was succeeded by Henry Loos in 1858. In 1865 Van Buul was succeeded by De Jong.

In 1873, when the congress of Old Catholics met at Cologne, only the archbishop, Loos, and the bishop, Heykamp, were living, and the very day of the election of Bishop Reinkens (June 4) the archbishop died. So that again it was only by the single bishop, Heykamp, that episcopal orders were conveyed from the old feeble Church of Holland to the now aggressive Church of the Old Catholics of Germany and Switzerland. Thus the revivers of a contactual apostolic succession see here abundant pretext for recognizing a very special divine providence in the saving of this line of true bishops through so many dangers. At any rate, it came in very good play, and answered its end just as well as if it had in fact been saved through those one hundred and seventy-four years by special miracle.

Mr. Nippold's book is almost tragic in its depiction of the heroic courage of the little Church of Utrecht in holding up its head in the face of such a long series of papal anathemas.

Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage. Von C. E. BAUMSTARK. Frankfurt: Heyder & Zimmer.

An apology for Christianity based on anthropology. Its argument is: Show how fully humanity needs just such a religion as Christianity proves to be, and you establish a strong presumption that it is *the* absolutely true religion. Mr. Baumstark's work is as yet incomplete. In the first volume he treats of man in three respects—as a spiritual, an individual, and a religious being; and, then, gives a critical survey of all the extra-Christian religions. In the first two hundred and twenty-five pages he carries on, incidentally, a very brisk polemic with the chiefs of contemporary unbelief in its Protean forms. His chapter on conscience is an able discussion. He defines conscience as the subjective knowledge of a higher law as organically impressed upon our spiritual nature, a law whose content is the norm of our moral life. It is through conscience alone that an objective law is imposed upon our other powers. Conscience is a positive legislator; our other voluntary powers are normally subordinate to it; hence the conscience is specific in nature and supreme in authority.

Pamphlets.

Ninth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo., pp. 48. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern.

We hear it said by our democratic brethren that "President Hayes has appropriated (stolen, we believe, is their polite term) the democratic policy." We rejoice to hear it; for then, however much they may depreciate Mr. Hayes, they must approve the "policy." If they honestly love the "policy," they must love to see it carried out; and so there is ground for so much gratification. On the other side, also, there is a ground for gratification which our democratic friend omits to mention. President Hayes, before adopting the democratic policy, exacted of the democrats that *they should first adopt the republican policy!* And they did it. The republican policy is the enfranchisement, the education, and the secured rights before the law of all citizens, white or black. And that policy has been conceded in the strongest terms by Governor Drew, of Florida, by the Legislature of Louisiana, and by Governor Hampton, of South Carolina, all in their character of representative men. In the hands of the President, therefore,

the two policies are one, the republican policy underlying the democratic. We are aware that the extremes of both parties are vexed because this unique conciliation is effected; but even a Bourbon cannot long hold mad just *because* there is nothing to be mad at.

The above-named frank avowals by southern governors and statesmen in favor of Negro education is of the most cheering character; especially cheering when we remember that it is little more than a decade since Negro education was in the South a penal offense. In these avowals we would cherish full confidence, and honor the men who utter them. They should be sustained and cheered by all the support of Northern approbation.

That ancient and able political paper, the "Richmond Enquirer," not long since said truly, that for the removal of the national troops the South had not "to thank the grace of Hayes." The President truly inherited that policy from Grant, and was obligated to it by the position of both the Senate and House. But the "Enquirer" sadly forgets whose "grace" it should thank for said removal. It was the "grace" of the four northern States who in the late presidential election voted with the South. It would be well for the "Enquirer" and his co-thinkers to beware how, in the rampancy of sure future triumph, they forfeit that "grace." Let them beware of three things. The first is the attempt to force a "solid South," with a palpable aim at sectional supremacy; the second is the attempt to empty the national treasury into the pockets of the South, in the form of compensation for war losses and slave emancipation; the third is the continuance of violence, either in the form of Negro massacres, or proscription of northern men. The Constitution affords no means of restoring the interference of soldiery; but the northern ballot-box remains. And so long as political murders systematically continue under legal impunity, the vote of the North will send back a response.

We cherish the hope, however, that the relations of the two races in the South are slowly assuming the best practicable shape. The able correspondent of the "New York Tribune" thus reports from Georgia:—

> The blacks have all sorts of rights except the right to mass their votes and control an election. That they never will enjoy again, and it is as fortunate for them as for the whites that such is the case. The result of white supremacy in the State and local governments is the growth of good feeling between the races. The whites vote to tax themselves to sustain free schools for the blacks, while, under the rule of the Negroes and the carpet-baggers, they considered such taxation oppressive. At that time a black military company was looked upon with hatred and dread. Now there are six colored companies in Savannah alone, and when

the governor comes here to review the militia, they parade in line with the white troops. Only two of these companies are authorised by the militia law and have officers commissioned by the governor; the others are in a sense illegal, but nobody objects to them. Indeed, the city is rather proud of its sable soldiery. Contrast this state of feeling with that which prevailed in South Carolina before the change of administration there. The parade of a colored militia company brought on the terrible Hamburgh massacre. The South Carolina whites were furious at the sight of a black man in uniform with a musket on his shoulder. In 1871, when the Ku-Klux terrorized the up-country districts in that State, Negroes were murdered for no other crime than belonging to militia companies. Then an armed Negro had a most offensive political signification—he was upholding an odious, oppressive, and corrupt form of government. The same phenomena in Georgia creates no excitement whatever, nor will it henceforth in South Carolina. The whites here look upon a black volunteer company as good-naturedly as upon a picnic excursion party.

The complacency for the colored military implies that the whites intend that in any future sectional war (which we hope will never occur) the blacks shall be upon their side. And thus military drill implies conciliation, education, suffrage, every thing but political supremacy. And that we deem the best attainable arrrangement; for no sensible man believes that a people so unqualified should *rule* a superior race by sheer force of numbers.

This new order of things will, we trust, facilitate the mission in which Dr. Rust has so long and so faithfully labored of southern colored schools. His enterprise will be relieved of the political aspect which it has worn to jealous southern eyes. Our northern politicians have lent these schools neither aid nor counsel. Our leading republican papers manifest a remarkable ignorance in regard to their existence. Let the Negro question pass out of politics, and a large share of the southern jealousy on the subject, we hope, will disappear. For nine years our truly benevolent Freedmen's Aid Society has labored to furnish a competent education to the Southern Negroes. It has raised thirteen colleges and high schools. The purpose is to raise, educationally, teachers and preachers for five millions of colored people, and to elevate the character of the colored women of the South. In this good work we trust the time is at hand when southern Christians will have so far recovered from the impoverishment of the war as to furnish their hearty co-operation.

Miscellaneous.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Acts of the Apostles. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German by Rev. PATON J. GLOAG, D.D. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 316. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877.

Of Meyer and the high value of his commentaries we have amply spoken. The translation will be a great accession to English Exegetics, and we rejoice that it is in progress.

The Expositor, May, 1877. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. (London.)—1. The Biblical Conception of Prayer. 2. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ. 3. The Gospel in the Epistles. 4. Rabbinic Exegesis. 5. The Christ of the Resurrection. 6. A Chapter of Gospel History.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Third Series. 16mo., pp. 400. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

The Christian Way; Whither it Leads and How to go On. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN, author of "Being a Christian," etc. 16mo., pp. 142. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Epochs of Ancient History. The Roman Triumvirates. By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. With a Map. 16mo., pp. 248. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Half-Hour Studies of Life. By EDWIN A. JOHNSON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 343. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

Servants of Christ. By the author of "A Basket of Barley Loaves." 24mo., pp. 180. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A Wreath of Indian Stories. By A. L. O. E., Honorary Missionary at Amritsar. 24mo., pp. 313. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Hours with Men and Books. By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 374. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1877.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. The Struggle Against Absolute Monarchy, 1603–1688. By BERTHA MERITON CORDERY. With Three Maps. 32mo., pp. 142.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Tales from Shakspeare. Comedies. By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. 32mo., pp. 279.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Tales from Shakspeare. Tragedies. By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. 32mo., pp. 208.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. University Life; or, Ancient Athens. By W. W. CAPES, M.A., Reader in Ancient History in Oxford University. 32mo., pp. 171.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. The Tudors and the Reformation, 1485–1603. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A. With three Maps. 32mo., pp. 148.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. England a Continental Power from the Conquest to Magna Charta, 1066–1216. By LOUISE CREIGHTON. With a Map. 32mo., pp. 116.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. The Life, Times, and Character of Oliver Cromwell. By the Rt. Hon. E. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, M.P. 32mo., pp. 108.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. Rise of the People and Growth of Parliament, 1215–1485. By JAMES ROWLEY, M.A. 32mo., pp. 173.

A Text-Book of Harmony. For the Use of Schools and Students. By CHARLES EDWARD HORSLEY. 16mo., pp. 89. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Chedayne of Kotono. A Story of the Early Days of the Republic. By AUSBURN TOWNER. 16mo., pp. 606. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Heredity, Responsibility in Parentage. By Rev. S. H. PLATT, A.M. 16mo., pp. 14. New York: S. R. Wells & Co. 1877.

The Cooking Manual of Practical Directions for Economical Every-Day Cooking. By JULIET CARSON, Superintendent of the New York Cooking School. 24mo., pp. 144.

A Hero in the Battle of Life, and other Brief Memorials. By the author of "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars," etc. 24mo., pp. 168. New York.

Nora's Love Test. A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY. 8vo., pp. 156. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Juliet's Guardian. A Novel. By Mrs. H. LOVETT CAMERON. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 130. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Mar's White Witch. A Novel. By G. DOUGLAS. 8vo., pp. 169. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

A Woman Hater. A Novel. By CHARLES READE. 8vo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE ATONEMENT, IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE MORAL UNIVERSE. 581
J. H. DAWSON, Esq., Norfolk, Va.

THE WORDS ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH IN GENESIS..... 610
Rev. WILLIAM AIKMAN, D.D., Aurora, N. Y.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTES OF INDIA..... 626
Prof. G. THEOR. DIPPOLD, Boston University.

THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD: ITS ORIGIN..... 644
Rev. W. B. SLAUGHTER, D.D., Lincoln, Nebraska.

THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE..... 667
Prof. HEMENWAY, North-western University, Evanston, Ill.

SCHOEBERLEIN ON THE RESURRECTION BODY..... 679
Prof. LACROIX, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 708

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 729

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 732

QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 734

Raymond's Systematic Theology, 734; Hurst's Our Theological Century, 741; Thomas's Origin and Destiny of Man, 743; Porter's Helps to Official Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 745; The Symbolic Parables of the Church, the World, and the Antichrist, 746; Cunningham's Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas, 746; Meyer's Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Epistles to the Corinthians, 747; Munger's Chronology of Bible History and How to Remember It, 747; Winchell's Reconciliation of Science and Religion, 748; Formal Fraternity, 751; Green's Life and Papers of A. L. P. Green, D.D., 754; Zimmern's Benrath's Bernardino Ochino, of Siena, 757; Hoffman's Camp, Court, and Siege, 760; The National Repository, 760; Hirsche's Thomæ Kempensis de Imitatione Christi, 761; Schwalb's Das Buchlein von der Nachfolze Christi, 762; Bertrand's Essai sur L'Intemperance, 762; Naville's La Loi du Dimanche, 763; Fox's Student's Commonplace Book, 763; Miscellaneous, 764.

Methodist Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1877.

Art. I.—THE ATONEMENT,

IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE MORAL UNIVERSE.

The Atonement is the central transaction of eternity.

The Infinite Mind, let us suppose, is primarily engaged with the problem of CREATION; not the creation of mere matter, nor yet of irresponsible being—that involved no difficulty—but of moral, spiritual, accountable beings, capable of knowing, loving, and enjoying himself. The Creator would not dwell alone. Infinite Love would bestow being and happiness. God could fill space with matter wrought into all forms of beauty, or combine with matter countless myriads of the lower orders of life, destitute of reason and moral perception. But what delight could he take in such creatures? They could not know or love him; he could not have fellowship or communion with them. He would have beings made like unto himself in spirit, in essence, in moral qualities, with understanding, affections, will; beings to whom he could make himself known, and who, as he revealed himself in the attributes of the divine and loving All-Father, could apprehend, love, and adore him, and thus find the happiness he designed them to enjoy.

But this happiness of the creature would depend upon continued harmony with God's nature and will. Further, this harmony would depend upon the free choice of the creature, otherwise it would be worthless. Constraint would destroy.

Services rendered to *us*, in order to be valued, must be freely given. Can we for a moment suppose that God would not spurn any other than a perfectly free and willing service? To be thus it must be the choice of a free, a positively free, agent. Now, the very essence of freedom is the power of choice, the power to accept or reject, to choose a thing, or its opposite.

But God knew that this essential freedom of choice involved the risk of apostasy; knew that possibility of defection was indissolubly joined with moral freedom. He has so constituted us, mentally, that the opposite of this statement is, to us, a contradiction. Here, then, is the supreme difficulty of the whole problem of the intellectual and moral creation. So far as we can see, the question was reduced to this: either creation, with possible sin and consequent suffering, or *non-creation.*

God knew that some would exercise the power of choice to *choose evil;* knew this when and before he breathed spiritual and moral life into the first rational, responsible being. In his infinite wisdom and infinite love, and in the face of the known fact that some would sin and suffer, he determined to create. But all whom he created he made morally pure, and freely bestowed upon them all needful power; made them abundantly "sufficient to stand, though free to fall." We say that God *knew* that sin would enter his dominion and mar his work. May we not, also, assert that, foreseeing the evil, he provided for its correction; provided for it and settled all things according to the counsels of his will, before a single spark of intelligent life flashed into being; that, before the eldest-born of "the morning stars and the sons of God" awoke to conscious blessedness, the All good and All wise God had seen the end from the beginning, and, looking upon his work as already finished, "saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good?"

Let us, with profound reverence, for we are treading on holy ground, inquire what he saw; or, rather, let us, from the standpoint we have chosen and with the light we have, look down the vista of the eternity to come, and note what we shall see. Withdrawing our eyes from the magnificence and beauty of the material universe, we fix them upon the universe of created spirit, and scan the processes and the products of the moral

government of God. In the beginning there arise, rank upon rank, ten thousand times ten thousand pure spiritual beings, radiant with the beauty of God, glowing with the holy fervor of love and worship, endowed with powers of perception and comprehension, of wisdom and knowledge, capable of eternal expansion, and stamped with the seal of immortality. We behold these beings assigned to their respective spheres and charged with their several responsibilities; placed under law and required to measure up to its perfect standard; placed, as Adam was, and as we are, *on probation.* We look, and as cycle upon cycle of the eternal ages multiplies, we find them joyfully and perfectly fulfilling all duty through the allotted period of their probation, and as they accomplish that period and approve themselves worthy of reward, we find them entering into that unchangeable state of holiness and happiness which is to be the portion of all who fulfill its conditions.

Will it not be admitted just here that, reasoning from analogy, *all* the subjects of God's moral government must needs stand the test of probation ere they are crowned with final reward? I cannot conceive that the Just and Holy One will use partiality in this respect. Man, we know, is put to the test under the covenant of grace. Why should the angels be relieved from an equal trial by the covenant of works? Could God make one order of beings and seal them at once forever holy and happy, beyond the moral possibility of defection, while he subjected another, having equal claims, as his creatures, to such a state of trial as involved the possibility of failure and final ruin? "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

We continue to observe the progress of creation and the developments of the divine government. As the centuries of eternity pass we come to the period when that portion of the celestial hosts known to us as Satan and his fellow-spirits, the now fallen angels, enter upon the stage of being. Wonderfully endowed and clothed with glory and majesty, this Prince of Powers was assigned a province worthy of his capacities. He ruled with regal dignity myriads of lesser spirits, who, through his extended domain, rendered to him that deference and obedience which befitted the high honor conferred upon him by his Lord and theirs. Invested with this illustrious viceroyalty

he, doubtless, for a season maintained his fealty to his Sovereign, and administered, with all fidelity and acceptableness, the government committed to his charge, conscious of his own personal responsibility as a servant of the Most High.

Surely we may imagine that Satan* was in possession of all that he should desire to satisfy his highest aspirations for honor and blessedness. All the powers of his being were harmoniously employed in work which at once expanded those powers and filled them with the purest delight. His fellow-subjects gladly obeyed his behests and delighted to do him honor. He lived in the full sunlight of the approving smile of his Maker. He rejoiced in conscious purity and integrity, and in the assurance that when his present mission was accomplished he would be exalted to a still higher state, and, sealed forever holy and happy, would spend that "forever" in the ever-increasing enjoyment of all the perfection of being and blessedness that the Infinite One could bestow. But the time came when he began to entertain thoughts of evil, ideas, suggestions, which had from the beginning crossed the field of his mind. They had hovered about his pathway, but hitherto his clear intellect and untainted spirit had comprehended their character and absolutely repelled their influence. Though conscious of their presence, he was equally conscious of utter abhorrence of them. He knew more clearly than we can know the difference between the intellectual perception of the suggestion of evil and the willing entertainment of that suggestion. The line of demarcation between solicitation and consent, between temptation and sin, was distinctly drawn, sharply defined. While *within* that line, he knew that he was perfectly safe; overstepping it, he knew, involved rebellion against the Holy One, and possible danger and loss to himself. What that danger and loss might be he was uncertain. He had never made the trial. He had never known or heard of any who had. In the history of the universe there was no instance of rebellion, and no illustration of the consequences that would follow it. Should he make the attempt he must dare the unknown. He knew good, but not evil.

* We know no better title by which to designate him. Satan means *adversary*, and has, doubtless, been applied to him only since his fall. What name he bore previous to that event has not been revealed.

The high mission and mighty prerogatives with which, I think, Scripture authorizes us to believe Satan was clothed, suggested a higher exaltation and a wider reach of empire. Possession of power, exercise of dominion, the right to command and be obeyed, is, perhaps, the most fascinating of all the gifts that can be intrusted to an intelligent being. The thought that his mighty power could be increased, that, with the means at his command, he could multiply his dominions, and that, with still increasing resources, he might at length rule as an independent sovereign and release himself from even the homage due to Deity, presented itself as a glittering prize. Indulging in these imaginings impaired his spiritual vision, and the perception of his inherent impotence was, for the time, obscured.

Some may ask, How could such rebellious thoughts be entertained by a being in heaven? I beg you to remember that, according to our theory, Satan never was in heaven, that is, the heaven of *final reward.* Many suppose that Satan was a resident of that holy place before he fell. I think, however, that we are more indebted to Milton than to the Bible for that impression. True, it is written, "There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon . . . and his angels;" and that their place was found no more in heaven. But I believe it is conceded that this, like many other passages in the Apocalypse, is highly figurative. That it cannot mean the heaven of God's peculiar residence is evident, for no evil can enter there, and war is an evil. It must, then, refer to exalted positions in governments, to the princes and potentates of earth, or to the mighty powers of the air, who, lifted high above the masses, reigned and ruled in imitation of the heavenly powers.

If Satan and his compeers fell from that complete and final state of reward to which the hopes of righteous men look with such joyful satisfaction, under the assurance that they will never fall, would not that fact suggest painful doubts as to its eternal stability? But to my mind the positive promise of the Lord Jesus that his servants shall be made pillars in the temple to "go no more out," that the righteous shall inherit "life eternal," is conclusive and satisfying. And, in addition to these promises, we may present two philosophical reasons

against any suggestions of change. First, having stood a full and sufficient test successfully, and entered into reward, every thing that has affinity for evil being separated from their moral nature, the principle of holy obedience is constantly confirmed; and, second, they are always in the fully manifested presence of God, and filled with that divine light which admits no doubt or obscurity as to moral relations and obligations. I hold that Satan had not arrived at this state; that he had not lived out his probation. He was possessed of a nature which *might* coalesce with evil; else the very name of trial, or probation, is an absurdity. Again, he was not surrounded and permeated with that light which emanates from the open face of the present seen and felt Godhead. Assigned to a distant sphere, with all needful knowledge and pure principles, he and his fellows were, we may well suppose, left, as the human race is, to act on their own responsibility without the overpowering display of the presence of the Judge Eternal. Such a display is, we presume, unknown in any world, or among any order of beings, while probation lasts. Thus circumstanced, then, without necessity, without compulsion, in the full and perfect possession of all the attributes of a mighty intellect that could comprehend and decide his relations, his duty, and his interest, with a moral nature created pure and spotless, with a will abundantly capable of repelling the wrong and determining for the right, this prince among princes, moved by pride and the lust of power, SINNED AND FELL.

At this point we may pause a moment to consider that dark problem which has so perplexed the moral world—the origin of evil. The subject is often alluded to as dark, mysterious, unfathomable; some bold blasphemers charging that, as God is the author of all things, he must be the author of sin; others, who fear and love God, shuddering at the fearful wickedness of such a thought, yet tremblingly confessing that they cannot cope with it; and others still, unable to reconcile it with their views of justice and beneficence, making it an excuse for rejecting the whole scheme of salvation. It seems to me, in my simplicity, that there is no *authorship* about it. No one created sin. No one brought sin, as sin, into being. Sin is not a substance, a thing, to be made or begotten. It is not an attribute, or power, or faculty. It is not a constituent

element of either matter or mind. It is not an entity in any sense of the word. Like righteousness, or purity, it is simply an act, a state, or condition. An apostle defines sin to be "the transgression of the law." What law? I answer—the primal law which was before all created existence—the will of God! Moral evil, or sin, began to be *possible* the first hour that a free accountable being began to exist. It began to *be* when the first accountable being departed from God's law, by ceasing to obey, or beginning to disobey. Such a thing might have taken place immediately after the creation of the first moral agent, or at any moment from that time until Satan fell. Had it never occurred until this time, it might take place now, or hereafter. But let us return to our stand-point and watch the developments of this wonderful drama.

Rebellion has lifted its head; the overt act has been committed; SIN has appeared. We are justified in the supposition that vast numbers of the angelic hosts had been enticed from their loyalty to heaven's King, and had united with their chief in the bold conspiracy to throw off the yoke of the Most High. Through all the gradations of power and position among those who had owned him as their viceregal lord, Satan had persuaded multitudes to enter into his traitorous league. And now we may imagine that, swifter than the electric spark, the astounding intelligence had spread to the very confines of the universe, and horror and dismay thrilled the ranks of the still loyal sons of God: horror at the accursed crime, and dismay at the thought of the possible consequences to themselves. But suspense was soon ended. Quick as thought there appeared in the fathomless depths beneath them a new department of the material universe. Wide, and deep, and dark, and fiery, rolled the burning billows of an ocean of divine wrath, and, while they looked, the rebellious hosts with their seditious leader, crushed by unseen but irresistible power, fell in headlong ruin down, down through the immeasurable abyss, until their glory and their beauty were quenched in the seething waves of the hell of eternal fire.

And now the pause that followed reminds one of the apocalyptic phrase, "There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." The sudden outburst of the revolt, and the equally sudden and condign retribution visited upon its partic-

ipants by the awful display of omnipotent wrath, until then unknown, had palsied the tongue and stilled the heart of even the consciously pure and faithful. But soon the smile of loving approval which beamed from the face of the King eternal upon his loyal subjects dispelled the shadow from every brow, and the calm of assured peace and holy joy again pervaded the purified atmosphere. Sadness at the loss and ruin of their late companions, perhaps, modulated for a season the tone of exultant joy that had always marked their experience, but the conviction of the justice of the punishment, and the absolute necessity of maintaining inviolate the divine government, soon restored their wonted bliss. But the amazing development of evil in the creature had given occasion for the revelation of a new phase of the divine character—that of *wrath*—wrath against sin, visiting swift and fearful retribution. Never before had aught but goodness and love marked the administration of God, nor any thing contrary to love, joy, and assurance, their own blessed experience. Now, however, deep, solemn thoughts of law and penalty, as applicable to themselves, and of the possible re-enactment of the terrible drama in the future, inspired a measure of awe never before felt. What was to be done! A shadow had crossed the wide domain of being and left its trace upon every spirit. How was that trace to be obliterated, and the possibility of its recurrence forever banished? We watch, now, with intense interest the development of the plan of infinite wisdom and goodness. We intimated in the beginning that all things pertaining to the completed and perfected moral government of God, all those events which were to result in the final establishment of the reign of peace, righteousness, and security, had been considered and provided for ere the first accountable being was created. The period had now arrived when the grand climax was to be reached, the climax that involved the revelation of attributes of the Deity hitherto unknown, unthought of, and the display of the richest beneficence that could be bestowed upon finite beings. Up to this time infinite power, wisdom, holiness, goodness, and truth had excited the wonder, love, and adoration of the angelic hosts, and the recent manifestation of unmitigated justice had produced profoundest awe. The great want of universal being seemed now to be some revelation of God that would set at rest

forever all questioning as to the future stability of blessedness, and guarantee that evil should be so restrained as to relieve from all apprehension of its continued spread.

It may be questioned whether there is such a thing as absolute freedom from liability to defection in the case of any being but God himself. Freedom of will seems to our mind essential and inherent in the very nature of an intelligent moral being. We cannot conceive how it can ever become possible that such a being should be, by nature, or *per se*, incapable of sinning. In finite beings freedom to do right involves freedom to do wrong always and every-where. But is there not such a thing as a *moral impossibility* which will, in effect and forever, preclude the danger of falling away. We admit moral impossibility even in this life. One illustration will suffice. Look at that young Christian mother, of pure moral character and refined sensibilities, bending with passionate tenderness over her first-born, and say if it be not morally impossible that she should, in the full possession of her mental faculties, take a razor, and, carefully testing the keenness of its edge, deliberately lift her darling from its cradle, lay it on her lap, cut its throat, and cast it from her, as an abhorred thing! Yet we know she has the physical power, and might do it *if she would*. Thus a natural possibility and a moral impossibility may, without contradiction, be affirmed of the volitions and actions of the same being.

If this be so; if, in particular relations, or in the case of life-long practice of goodness and virtue, man may become so confirmed in the principles of truth and justice that we scout the very thought of deliberate iniquity, how much more may we conclude that the pure spirits who shall have, through a sufficient probation, maintained their integrity and entered upon their reward in the very presence of God, with all about them and all within them mightily tending to strengthen all goodness, shall be, though not naturally, nor absolutely, yet in fact and in effect, incapable of transgression? But to render this stability yet more stable, the great scheme of the Atonement was about to be brought into requisition, the secret counsels of past eternity were to be disclosed.

See, Earth, fair and beautiful, takes its place among the heavenly bodies. Arranged and adorned differently from all the rest,

because designed for the home of a new order of beings, it excited the wonder and admiration of the celestial hosts. "The morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy," as this "thing of beauty" broke upon their vision. Insignificant in size compared with many of the vast orbs that traversed space, it was large enough for the working out of the plan proposed. The race that was to inhabit it was to be brought into being, not all at once, but by successive generations, which should come and go, like the waves of the sea, so that its inhabitants could be indefinitely multiplied. As the arena of the amphitheater afforded sufficient space for the sanguinary struggles witnessed by tens of thousands, so our small planet was large enough for an arena on which the Son of God might meet and conquer Satan and sin, death and hell, and, amid the halleluias of the thronging myriads of heaven, bear off the glorious prize of the world redeemed, the divine law honored, and his Father glorified. Moreover, Earth was large enough; that is, it was enough of God's fair creation to be subjected to the curse which sin would bring upon it.

But what was this new order of beings which was to be introduced? Inspiration informs us of the creation of only two classes of intellectual beings—angelic and human. None but the angelic had, thus far, appeared upon the theater of life. They were spiritual beings, and created, so far as we know, each in his own separate individuality and completeness of mental and moral powers. Man, the new being, was to be twofold in his nature, spirit, and matter—a rational soul and a material body united. He was to be introduced into life, not by separate and direct creation in each case, but by procreation, by successive descent from parent to child. Through this new branch of the great family of God, created for the purpose, was to be developed the grand design of binding, ultimately, all unfallen beings forever to loyalty, to happiness, and to God. In connection with it was to be enacted the amazing drama of the death of the Son of God; that death which should secure life eternal, beyond the peradventure of defection, to those who should stand the test of probation.

Some such manifestation of God was needed as should go beyond the mere production of awe and fear at the thought of sin. It was needful that the creatures of God should feel

through all their being, not only that sin would insure their ruin; not only that it was hateful to God, but that God's hatred of sin sprang from the infinite depth of his love for them. Infinite Love would show his offspring that he could not be Infinite Love and permit sin in them. He would so manifest himself that they should be fully convinced that not mere justice, not arbitrary power alone, not any vengeful feeling, called forth his wrath and punishment upon the guilty, but that the purest, deepest, tenderest concern for them necessitated the infliction of the penalty due to transgression. To accomplish this the great Atonement by Christ was to be made; and in order to effect this mighty work a new race was to be created, that, uniting his Son with it, God might thereby manifest his great love. The provision was made by the creation of mankind. Thus MAN WAS MADE FOR THE ATONEMENT, as well as, according to received belief, the Atonement was made for man. We are persuaded that the two were indissolubly connected in the counsels of God ere any created being existed. The Atonement was an essential feature of the divine economy as a whole; and, so far as we can discern, the creation of the Adamic race was necessary to the development of that feature. One would not have been without the other.

This great transaction was to affect the destiny of angels as well as of men. Not in the same way, it is true, not to redeem and restore the fallen, but to secure the unfallen in holiness and happiness. It may be asked, Why not assume the nature of angels, and recover those of them who had sinned? We cannot answer this question. We know that it is written, "He took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham." We know not that there was any reason connected with the nature of angels why the Lord Jesus Christ should not assume that nature; but we can suppose that the circumstances attaching to the defection of those spiritual beings were such as to make it unsuitable, inconsistent with the principles of just government, for him to undertake their redemption. The high turpitude of their crime, their bold, deliberate choice of rebellion in the very noon-tide flood of moral and spiritual light, left them without excuse or palliation of their offense. Each had, while in full maturity of intellect and clear knowledge of duty, chosen for himself the

path of evil, and realized, in and for himself, the penalty due. But that those who had held to their allegiance might be sealed forever, that the myriad myriads who, in the oncoming ages, should be created in purity, might be kept pure; that the ninety and nine of the innumerable millions of both men and angels who, in the future, should people the universe, might not fall into sin and suffering, a new ordering of the divine government, with a new class of subjects, became necessary.

And God said, "Let us make *man* in our image, after our likeness." What these expressions signify in relation to man, which differentiated him from the angels, we know not. As we have no history of the creation of angels, so we have few particular passages which throw any light upon their peculiar relations to their Maker. We know that they were made pure, spiritual intelligences, capable of knowing, loving, and serving God. Yet in the absence of information at this point as to angels, and in the presence of the express statement in regard to man, we think it not irrational to suppose that the terms "in our image," "after our likeness," were intended to convey the idea that God imparted some features of his moral character to Adam which he did not confer upon angels. Several passages of Holy Writ represent the Supreme Being as possessing feelings and sentiments which we know to be inherent in ourselves, as anger and pity, hatred and love, sorrow and joy. These terms may be, probably are, used only in accommodation to our circumstances and limited comprehension; but the expressions are there, and, taken in connection with the quotation from Genesis i, seem to justify the inference that Adam was made more like his Creator than were the angels.

If the words we have quoted were publicly announced, and our supposition of their import be just, we may imagine the eagerness of the heavenly orders to behold what kind of being would come forth from the creating hand. Many ten thousands of them doubtless gathered at the scene and awaited with deepest interest the moment that should introduce a new member into the great family. As, in company with them, we gaze with fixed attention, suddenly we see, standing erect before us, a creature with a material, earthy body of surpassing beauty of form and majesty of mien, and instinct with animal, intellectual, and spiritual life. Waking to conscious

being, with a countenance radiant with the beams of the purity and love that dwell within, Adam stands forth the perfected expression of the thought of his Maker. His first feeling, perhaps, is one of profound surprise; his next that of adoring love toward Him who had thus suddenly called him into life and happiness. And as he poured forth these feelings in glad accents of praise and worship, well might the pure spirits that thronged around join him in this first employment of his powers; with him rendering unto their common Lord the glory, honor, and praise due unto his name. For a while this head and representative of a new race, in company with his lovely consort, trod the path of duty in the possession of all the elements of unalloyed blessedness, rejoicing in the smile of his Maker. But, alas! how soon is the exuberant joy of the angels checked. Satan, their former comrade, but now malignant foe, has found access to the newly made, and, by his subtle art, separated him from God, defiled his moral nature, and involved him in the same ruin with himself. Could angels weep we may well suppose that many a tear of sorrow and sadness welled up from their bosoms. Nor was their sorrow unmingled with awe and dread.

Intense interest and anxiety (we speak after the manner of men) as to the next scene in this wonderful panorama filled their minds. The celestial circles were occupied with deep thought and high converse as to the result of this new defection; how it would affect man and angel and demon; what process Infinite Wisdom would devise to counterwork Satan, punish his crime, and restrain his malignity; what new creative energy would be put forth to produce a being who should be proof against temptation. The thought of the *recovery* of a fallen spirit had never entered their minds. No evidence of a plan or purpose having such an end in view had hitherto been manifested. The dreadful conviction that Adam and Eve would be condemned to share the punishment of the rebellious hosts settled as a cloud upon their spirits. Fully approving their sentence, they yet could but mourn the loss of those who bade fair to replenish their decimated numbers and add to the bliss of celestial companionship.

But the universal Father had a far different purpose. The fall of Adam and the corruption of his race, seen and known beforehand, had been so provided for in the eternal counsels

that, in spite of the apparent contradiction, this very ruin should bring greater glory to God and richer stores of blessing to the universe. When, in pronouncing the curse upon the serpent, it was said of the seed of the woman "it shall bruise thy head," the mysterious sentence at once attracted the thought of the celestial orders. They saw with wonder that the human pair were not instantly overwhelmed by the divine justice, as had been the case with rebel angels. They began to comprehend that new principles, based upon new relations, were about to be introduced into the system of moral government.

We follow our federal head as he and his partner in sin go forth, in sorrow and suffering, from the delights of Eden, shut out from the tree of life lest they eat and live forever in their guilt. Soon we find that two sons are born unto them, inheriting their corrupt nature and involved in its condemnation. But the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world was vouchsafed to them, teaching them that their case was not hopeless. The elder disregarded that teaching, but the younger availed himself of its benefits. Giving full scope to the evil that was in him, Cain murdered his brother. Yet he lived on. The mark of the displeasure of his Maker was on him, but he was granted space for repentance. Abel had made use of the grace shadowed forth in the mysterious promise, and, by penitence, faith, and obedience, had secured the divine favor, been cleansed from guilt and prepared for the enjoyment of God and heaven. While the warm current of life flowed from his mortal body, his purified spirit entered into the possession of the reward of the righteous. What a thrill passed through the ranks of heaven as they beheld this first-fruit of saving grace received into the eternal mansions! How these sons of God gathered about the newly-arrived, and, with eager questionings, endeavored to learn from him something that would throw light upon the great problem which his appearance among them had started: how a being whose nature was morally corrupt could be purified from that corruption and made fit for heaven! They had witnessed many transformations of matter, many instances of mighty energy put forth in the material kingdom, but never yet the cleansing of a polluted spirit, the recovery of a fallen being. An entirely new thing had come to pass. A new being with

a new designation, was presented to their contemplation. Holy angels and fallen angels they were familiar with, but here was a *saint* evolved from a *sinner!* How he could be pardoned, how he could be renewed unto holiness, what had become of the stern justice of the Almighty, what new attribute of the Deity, what new phase of his moral government, had produced such a result? These were themes of wondering thought. And no marvel, for what greater miracle can there be in all the universe than the changing of a sinner into a saint! We know, through Revelation, that Abel was the first-fruit of the gospel scheme, of that attribute of *mercy* which until then had remained undiscovered in the Divine character, and which was never clearly made known until the fullness of time.

We pass to the next event that excited the curiosity of heaven. Centuries, as we count time, had passed, and many of the children of Adam had entered heaven, as Abel did, through the gate of death. But now one of the same race presents himself there under different circumstances. Enoch, who in spirit walked with God on earth, has come, in the body, to walk the streets of the heavenly city. He presented in himself a type and an earnest of the raised and glorified body of the future, and an example of a perfected humanity in the union of a spotless soul with an immortal body. Hitherto the human frame, the mortal part of man, had moldered to a loathsome dissolution under the decree, "dust to dust." But Enoch's presence shadowed forth the resurrection, and first revealed to angel minds the conception of the high honor that God designed to confer upon man's material part. Thus the complex nature and future destiny of the new race, their own relation to and connection with these things, and their bearing upon universal being, were subjects of continued interest.

We may presume that this interest on the part of his creatures was not displeasing to the Creator; for, as time rolled on, he gradually revealed to their apprehension, through the offering of slain beasts and through the language of prophecy, the grand idea of sacrifice for sin, of atonement for transgression by the death of another. As Abel and Noah, and Abraham and Job, laid their hands on the head of the victim with contrition of spirit, confession of sin, and faith in God, and then arose from their prostration with the light of peace and recon-

ciliation resting upon them, how often and how eagerly was the question asked, What meaneth this? When Abraham laid his son on the altar and virtually offered him up, though not in any sense as a sacrifice for sin, did not some dim idea of the great sacrifice, of which Isaac was so conspicuous a type, enter the minds of the heavenly hosts? Following Abraham, prophet and seer succeeded each other, adding ray to ray, like as, one after another, the stars come out on a clear night, until the celestial hemisphere is studded with the shining gems. Conspicuous among these Isaiah shone with uncommon luster. His clear and pointed predictions as to the circumstances connected with the person and life of the Messiah, and as to the nature of his kingdom, have caused him to be ranked next to the evangelists. What a bold announcement is that in the ninth chapter: "Unto us a *child is born*, unto us a *son is given:* and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace!" I doubt not that his fifty-third chapter was the subject of deep thought among the angels of God. What questionings passed among them as to the man of sorrows, wounded and bruised, oppressed and afflicted, who should be brought as a lamb to the slaughter; whose soul should be made an offering for sin; and yet who, justifying many by bearing their iniquities, should ultimately see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied! With what interest did they regard the little village of Bethlehem after Micah's proclamation, that from thence should come forth He that was to be ruler in Israel; "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." How eagerly they ran through all the previous prophecies and computed the times and the seasons, when the last of the prophets announced the near approach of some mighty event! "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple." But four hundred years of looking and longing had yet to pass before the fullness of time came.

At length there went forth the commission of Gabriel to the Virgin. The Son of God was born of a woman; the Word was made flesh to dwell among us. Heaven stood bewildered at the thought of Deity incarnate, and hell quaked with fearful forebodings as to this new development of the plans of the

Almighty. For we may not suppose that the infernal powers had been for all these ages other than deeply interested spectators of the events passing upon this earth, the central stage of the theater of the moral government of the universe. Now was opened to angelic vision the secret of Old Testament type and promise and prophecy. The Infinite One clothes himself with humanity; "the mighty God, the everlasting Father," appears among men as the "Child born," the "Son given," in the Infant of Bethlehem; and the plains of Judea echo the exultant gratulation, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy," answered by the triumphal chorus, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men!"

Jesus, the Saviour from sin, the Restorer of the fallen, the Redeemer of the lost, begins that life of toil and self-denial, the sorrows and sufferings of which shall culminate at Gethsemane and Calvary. Human and angelic intellects are alike impotent before the attempt to comprehend such condescension, such humiliation. The thought never entered the mind of an archangel, eldest of the sons of heaven, that the Creator could stoop to fellowship even such as he; but to pass by him and all the lessening ranks of holy beings, and unite himself with man, that the Word should become flesh and dwell with the depraved race of Adam, exceeded all limit of thought. Could envy enter heaven it had filled all hearts that such inconceivable honor should be denied them and conferred upon sinful man. But heaven knew not envy. And now, for three and thirty years, the eye, the thought of every pure spirit turned earthward. As when, of a clear night, we lift our eyes and take in the circle of the starry heavens, they seem an innumerable host looking toward our planet as to a center; as the countless bodies that sweep through space are held by centripetal power to the mighty world that constitutes the center and metropolis of the universe, so from every point of the celestial sphere did these holy beings bend an untiring gaze upon the Son of God clothed in flesh. As he trod the path from Bethlehem to Calvary, every step of that path, from the first efforts of the infant Jesus, as he clung to his mother's knee, to the hour when his feet marked their prints with blood as he toiled up the mount of crucifixion, was measured and meditated by angelic minds.

During all his life of privacy and obscurity they watched, and wondered, and waited, until, in his thirtieth year, his forerunner pointed him out, and the voice of the Father and the visible descent of the Holy Ghost proclaimed him on the banks of the Jordan the Son of God, the promised Messiah. When he went forth to publish his Gospel and establish his kingdom, to reveal clearly the great doctrines of salvation, to offer pardon and eternal life to all who would believe on him, they strained every power to comprehend his words and fathom his purposes. As he taught in the city, in the wilderness, by the seashore; as he fed the hungry multitudes, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, gave health to the diseased, sight to the blind, and life to the dead, men, whom he came to save, rejected and persecuted him. One here, and another there, received him in his true character. Some marveled whether he were Elias, or one of the old prophets, or John the Baptist risen from the dead; some mocked; some blasphemously accused him of collusion with Satan; but the angels knew their Lord, and reverently adored him.

It may be asked why it was necessary that the Deity should partake of humanity, should submit to such humiliation; why God could not make known by direct, divine energy, or by the ministry of angels, his pity for fallen man, and his benign purpose to save all who would return and submit themselves to him? We suggest that the nature of the case and of the work to be done absolutely required such condescension, such a union of the divine with the human nature. Man was to be taught God's designs in his behalf, instructed as to the plan of restoring grace, persuaded, convinced beyond reasonable doubt of the sympathy and love of his Maker, and of his willingness and readiness to pardon and save. Without this conviction the guilty, perverse, unbelieving soul of man would reject all proffers of reconciliation; and his pride on the one hand, and despair on the other, would impel him still onward in a course of rebellion and ruin. It was, therefore, necessary that the Word become flesh and dwell among us, partake of our nature, enter, as a man, into our thoughts and feelings, our joys and sorrows, our hopes and fears. If man is to be reached and saved he must have, not a high-priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of his infirmities, but, one

who was in all points tempted like himself. Any other mode of communication with our race, it seems to us, must have failed of its purpose. How could we possibly exercise love and filial trust, how surrender ourselves and our interests, without hesitation or reserve, to a Being so infinitely removed from us in character and station as the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity? Neither could we be brought into harmony with our Maker through the interposition of angels. Of a different nature and order, we should ever feel that they could not possibly enter into sympathy with us. None but a being felt to be in full fellowship with our humanity could find access to our hearts, and none but a being known at the same time to be able to save to the uttermost could command our trust. Such a Being is our Lord Jesus Christ.

We cannot, perhaps, better set forth our view of the necessity for this union with human nature, on the part of the Redeemer, than by an illustration. Most of us are familiar with the insects called ants. Some species of them live together in vast numbers, forming communities which seem to be governed by chiefs, or kings, in accordance with regular laws. Suppose some kind-hearted philosopher, in his researches, should find a colony of these insects which, instead of presenting the usual evidences of order, harmony, and peace in their social relations, were manifestly in a state of anarchy and suffering. He forms the purpose to remove, if possible, the evils that afflict them. His first effort would be to open communication with them. Suppose he succeeds in this, and offers his counsel and assistance. What would they reply? "It is useless! You are a *man*, we are *ants*. You know not the feelings and wants of ant nature. We have nothing in common. We could not understand or sympathize with each other!" And they would be right. There could be no hope of good for them unless the philosopher should be able to make himself one of them, unite his nature with theirs, and become, in fact, a *man-ant*. Then his superior wisdom and power might be made available. Then they could comprehend his counsel, love his person, and trustingly follow the course he should prescribe to lead them out of their forlorn condition. But to return to our blessed Lord. We approach the culminating act. Steadily pursuing the path he had marked out for himself, that path the end of

which, ever present to his meek and suffering spirit, presented in full view the garden and the cross, he paused, and, as though realizing in all its length and breadth the supreme importance of the closing scenes of the terrible drama, he exclaimed, "Father, the hour is come!"

We confess ourselves both incompetent and indisposed to attempt to portray the scenes and circumstances attending the final conflict and the perfect victory of the Redeemer of men over the malice and rage of his foes. We will not dwell upon the mental anguish in the garden, that forced from his body the bloody sweat and from his lips the cry of distress, "If it be possible let this cup pass from me;" upon his submitting to be arrested as a felon, the ignominy of the mock trial, the buffeting, the scourging, the mortal agony and desertion on the cross, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension from Olivet. Let us rather, in the privacy of the closet, and in the secret chambers of the soul, meditate upon these things; and, as our hearts melt under a deep sense of his sufferings for us, and expand with the apprehension of the mighty benefits he secured for us when he triumphed over Death, and ascended the mediatorial throne, break forth into the exultant song:—

"Yes, the Redeemer rose; The Saviour left the dead!
And o'er our hellish foes High raised his conqu'ring head.
In wild dismay, The guards around,
Fall to the ground And sink away.

"Ye mortals, catch the sound, Redeem'd by Him from hell:
And send the echo round The globe on which you dwell;
Transported cry, 'Jesus who bled,
Hath left the dead, No more to die!'

"All hail, triumphant Lord, Who sav'st us with thy blood!
Wide be thy Name adored, Thou rising, reigning God;
With thee we rise, With thee we reign,
And empires gain, Beyond the skies."

The mighty work is accomplished, the great transaction is done: for *man* the sin-offering made and accepted, for *unfallen spirits* the great conserving act completed.

It may be asked, Why so sure of this? How can the immolation of *one* victim, the suffering and death of *one* being, be accounted as a full propitiation and satisfaction whereby and wherefor all the individuals of an innumerable race may be released from the penalty due to their transgressions? We

answer, That depends upon the dignity and glory of the One as contrasted with the vileness and worthlessness of the many. In this case the Lord of life and glory was, himself, the sacrifice. Between him and the best and most exalted of his creatures there can be no comparison, much less between him and the depraved and guilty progeny of Adam. We can institute, we say, no comparison, but we may, by illustration, gain some faint view of the difference of worth in the two cases. We will again refer to the philosopher and the ants. Let us suppose that, in order to restore peace and prosperity to the colony mentioned, it should be necessary that the wise and benevolent man who sought their good should lay down his life. Contrast the character and capacities of the two. On the one hand we find an immortal being, of the highest physical organization, endowed with a rational mind and spiritual powers capable of indefinite expansion, and fitted for a career of wide-spread usefulness to immortal beings like himself: on the other hand, insignificant insects, alive for a few days with a little breath, and whose use, or purpose, even, in the economy of nature we can hardly discern. How many lives of such animated motes would equal in value the life of one such man It seems to me that if the whole earth were one vast plain, and that plain covered ten fathoms deep with such worthless creatures, the life of one wise and good man were, beyond comparison, worth more than the whole of them, multiplied ten thousand-fold. What, then, shall we say, or think, of Him who, in the language of one learned in divine things, is "the eternal, independent, and self-existent One—absolute in dominion, the most pure and spiritual of all essences, infinitely happy and eternally self-sufficient—illimitable in his immensity, inconceivable in his mode of existence, *indescribable* in his essence, and known only to himself."

"O thou Eternal One! whose presence bright
All space doth occupy, all motion guide:
Unchanged through Time's all-devastating flight:
Thou only God! there is no God beside!
Being above all beings! Mighty One!
Whom none can comprehend, and none explore;
Who fill'st existence with thyself alone;
Embracing all—supporting—ruling o'er!
Being whom we call God—and know no more!

In its sublime research, philosophy
May measure out the ocean deep—may count
The sands or the sun's rays; but God! for thee
There is no weight nor measure; none can mount
Up to thy mysteries; Reason's brightest spark,
Though kindled by thy light, in vain would try
To trace thy counsels, infinite and dark;
And thought is lost, ere thought can soar so high."

We stand abashed at the mere idea of comparison; we shrink from the bare use of the term. Reason would reject the thought that this Being should suffer and die for man. We receive it only on the authority of God himself, and with profoundest self-abasement we look up from sin and dust, and wonder and adore and *believe.*

Let us now turn our thoughts to the results of this great scheme of redemption. There are some, we suppose, who, looking only at the apparent fruits presented by the history of Christianity in the last two thousand years, would be ready to pronounce it a failure. Millions of our race have not yet even heard of Christ. Millions who have heard have failed to believe on him. Millions of those who have believed have given small evidence of his power to sanctify and save. Sin and corruption, like a mighty tide, still dash their waves against the barriers of salvation, and sometimes seem as if they would overwhelm the truth of God and all who cling to it. And yet we know that the grace which bringeth salvation has rescued from destruction a very large proportion of the posterity of Adam. The fact that all who die in infancy are saved secures at one stroke the salvation of more than half the race. I think we may safely assume that multitudes who knew not, in this life, that there was a Saviour, meet, on entering the eternal state, the joyful surprise of salvation wrought out for them by Him to whom it was promised that the heathen should be given to him for an inheritance. They who live and die without law shall be judged without law. Add to these all who, under both the old and the new dispensations, believed God's word and hoped in his mercy; all who, though faintly and feebly, trusted in Christ and discarded every other ground of deliverance; together with the millions who intelligently believed on the Son of God and heartily entered into his service, and we may presume that three fourths, or even a larger proportion, of

all the children of Adam are ultimately saved, and our gracious Creator's design has not been frustrated.

Again, in the dark as we are in reference to the duration of the present economy of Earth, and in view of the glorious things that are prophesied concerning the Church in the future, how do we know but that *ere long* the knowledge of God shall cover the earth; when all shall know him, from the least to the greatest; that this blessed state of prevalence and triumph for the cause of the Lord Jesus may continue for a hundred thousand years, and nineteen out of twenty of all of woman-born shall in the winding up be found gathered into the security and rest of heaven. There is a theory, widely received, that the world will continue, as a place of probation, only seven thousand years from the creation of Adam—the last thousand to be the millennium. But there is a significant fact which antagonizes this theory. That fact is that the Messiah, the Revealer of the way of salvation, did not make his appearance till the end of the fourth thousand. Why should four sevenths of the world's moral life be passed in preparation for the work of three sevenths? Is it usual to spend more time in preparation for, than in the prosecution of, a great work? The Creator's operations in the works of nature contradict such a conclusion. May we not rather suppose that if four thousand years were needed to prepare the world for the promulgation of the Gospel, many times four thousand will be required for the fulfillment of its great purposes? "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." God is not in haste, neither will he allow Satan to triumph in the end. Should such be the case, (and who can say that it may not, will not be,) what a different aspect it presents of the question which has disturbed so many minds as to the goodness of God in creating man. What arithmetic can compute the vastness of the numbers of the progeny of Adam during such a period? Thirteen hundred millions, it is believed, are now living. The mind breaks down in the effort to comprehend even this number. But suppose we make a slight calculation as to the multitudes that have already lived on the earth. If we take one half of the present number as the average for the whole time, and accept the usual computation of three generations to a century, we shall have in the six thousand years one hundred and eighty generations of six hun-

dred and fifty millions each, or the grand total of one hundred and seventeen thousand millions. This, be it remembered, brings us up to the present time only. What shall we say of the myriads of millions of the period we have suggested, should the earth's population increase in the future proportionably to the past.

Now if, in the final outcome of these developments of progressive creation and redemption, ninety-five per cent. shall come to the enjoyment of the eternal inheritance of purity and bliss, who will not rejoice, who will not magnify the grace and goodness of the great Creator? Who, I say, but those who by their own fault shall fail to be partakers of that grace and goodness! Why should ninety-five per cent. of multitudes which an archangel can scarcely number, of intelligences capable of God, be denied being and happiness because five per cent. shall *choose* to die! In other words, why shall *nineteen* be forbidden to enjoy life eternal because *one*, with equal chance to be saved, shall choose to be lost! Leaving the inconceivable numbers of redeemed beings of one order, let us send out thought to traverse the universe. If the number of the inhabitants of the vast domain of the Almighty shall exceed even the present number of the earth's population as far as the orbs which compose it exceed the earth in numbers and magnitude, the very art of calculation shall quail and perish at the contemplation of the task of computing them. What interest have *these* in the work of redemption? We have before plainly intimated that in the case of the good their permanence of bliss is inseparably connected with it. The Son of God, in his human nature, will ever be before their eyes the unceasing reminder of the work he did and the suffering he endured to uphold the majesty of law. God, in Christ, will have come out of the hidden depths of his hitherto invisible existence; from dwelling in the light which no man, nor angel, can approach unto, and will stand before them a revealed Deity, a seen, known, and felt bodily presence. The wounds in his hands and feet and side will bear eternal testimony to the fact of his humiliation, of his death on the cross. His very presence will be God's protest against sin, and the proof of his love for his creatures. That protest and proof will work in them such a sense of the evil of sin, such a dread and abhorrence of that which necessitated the

immolation of a Divine Victim, such a conviction of the absolute and unchangeable opposition of God to all moral evil, and at the same time such a persuasion of the tender pity, the self-sacrificing and all-embracing love of God, that their defection from righteousness shall be, as we have defined the phrase, a *moral impossibility.*

There will be also, in addition to the direct inducements to fidelity presented by their surroundings, a further argument, drawn from the condition of the wicked. The great prison-house of the universe, the hell in which shall be confined the justly damned, will always be before their eyes a living proof that *sin will be punished.* The history of Satan's rebellion and overthrow, of the fall of Adam, and the final ruin of those of his posterity who chose to live and die in sin, will be familiar to every mind; the seething flames of the bottomless pit, the moral pollution and unutterable woe of those who dwell therein, of whom it is said, "the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night,"—all these things will operate to deter from the slightest approach to that path, the entrance upon which would inevitably lead to so direful an end. Taking, then, into the scope of vision, not only the numbers of the race of Adam, when that race shall have accomplished its purpose, but also the continued multiplication of angelic beings, we may well suppose that the ultimate proportion of both those who shall be *delivered* and those who shall be *preserved* from the curse, shall be, not ninety-five, but ninety-nine, or even a greater per cent. of the whole number. For, eternity being unlimited, and the power of God to create also unlimited, the period may arrive when the proportion of those who shall suffer that curse will be almost infinitesimal. Given, a thousand immortal beings, nine hundred and ninety-nine will be saved, one will be lost—shall they be created? Who will answer, No? But let us not be misunderstood here. We fully accept our Lord's statement: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." We believe that it applies with terrible force to society in Christianized lands; for it seems to us that hardly one in ten or twenty of the multitudes around us who have the privileges of the Gospel offered to them accept and improve them. Failure to do this insures that those failing will be of

the lost, whether the proportion be great or small. Intelligent, deliberate rejection of Jesus Christ seals a man's fate.

Do not these views present an unanswerable argument for the *eternal* punishment of the wicked? Let these be released from the penalty due to their sin; let the unquenchable fire be put out, and the guilty, even after the lapse of unconnted ages, be either restored to bliss, or struck from being, and where would be the demonstration, the visible monument, of God's indignation against sin, of his unalterable purpose to visit it with condign punishment. Might it not be that, in the eternity beyond such release or annihilation, the impressions of the heinousness of sin would fade, and the very memory of its commission in the long past cease to be, or remain only in connection with the fact of recovery or extinction? In either case what certainty would there be, so far as we can judge, that the same terrible tragedy would not again be enacted, and sin once more make havoc among God's creatures. No, no! "These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life" *everlasting.* Rather will we believe that as the Son of God, in his glorified humanity, with his redeemed ones, shall be the eternal witnesses of the compassion and the love of God in the salvation of the righteous, so the wicked and their dark prison-house shall be the eternal monuments of God's hatred of sin and his unalterable purpose to maintain in all its purity and power that holy, and just, and good law, which is the foundation rock on which rest the peace and security of the universe that he has made. Fast bound in chains of darkness "the seal of *eternal disability* will be set upon wicked men and devils." No more shall they go forth to tempt and to destroy. All the activities of their perverted natures may be spent in inflicting torments on each other; but outside of that penitentiary evil shall no more be seen or felt. "God's great purpose to *eliminate evil* from every part of his dominions," save the precinct of hell, and to reserve that hell and its occupants as the standing proof of the curse and punishment of sin, will have been effected. The great consummation will have been reached, and thenceforth, in all the rest of the universe, loyalty and love, purity and peace, shall forever prevail. *The eternal punishment of the wicked is a proof of the goodness of God.*

We turn to a more pleasing theme. The great Day of Judgment is past. The redeemed have entered upon their inheritance. From the first human being that accepted salvation within sight of the garden of Eden to the last and youngest of mortal race whose feeble birth-cry was lost in the loud clangor of the archangel's trump, all, all the purified and saved have begun the life eternal. Begun! but what of continuance and development! Of the enjoyments and employments of heaven we have little specific statement in the Scriptures. Most of the descriptions therein are put in a negative form—"There shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." "There shall be no more curse... there shall be no night there." "And there shall in nowise enter into it any thing that defileth." With the exception of such intimations as these, and the positive assurance of unalloyed happiness, we can glean but little from the Bible on this subject. Why is this? Is it not because, in the first place, we are so familiar with sorrow and suffering here, and the sin which is the cause of them, that, feeling the curse, we can appreciate perfect exemption from it and all its effects; and because, secondly, our work, and bliss, and glory there, will so transcend all our present powers of comprehension that it would be useless to attempt to describe them in the language of earth? If the negative view we feel to be a mighty good, what shall the positive realization be when we enter into full possession. There are, however, expressions here and there, hints scattered through the word of God, which may stimulate thought and justify the grandest conceptions of the glory that shall be revealed. Fullness of joy and pleasures forevermore—shining as the brightness of the firmament—equal unto the angels, knowing as we are known, the crown of glory that fadeth not; a body fashioned like unto our Lord's glorious body—eternal weight of glory—being like the Lord and forever with him; and, incomprehensible dignity and glory, *to sit down with him in his throne!*

These are some of the out-flashings of the sacred word in reference to the future of the saints. But what these things mean who can tell? As flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so neither can we, while in the flesh, grasp the surpassing revelations. In the language of the prophet,

"Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God! beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him." In my own meditations on these things I have imagined heaven to be not a place of idleness, of mere passive enjoyment, but one of ceaseless activity. I know that there the weary shall *rest;* and it is natural that the toil-worn and burden-bearing of earth should regard cessation from labor as the main element in the blessedness of the better land. But, reasoning from analogy, remembering the unceasing energy of the Creator, the constant employment of the heavenly hosts that *do* his bidding, the universal life, motion, and progress of the lower orders, and of all matter, we can hardly suppose that glorified humanity will form an exception to the general law. Neither can I conceive that such a state of things would be desirable. A proper measure of activity is essential to the highest enjoyment and development of mind and body here, and it is presumable that stagnation would be as ruinous in heaven as we know it to be on earth.

In what way, then, shall we put forth our powers in heaven; in what channels and to what objects shall our energies be directed? We presume that our mental constitution will undergo no radical change by the transfer from our present state; that we shall be there, as here, endowed with understanding, affections, and will. All of these, at least, will have full scope in the life to come. Next to holiness, knowledge is the richest inheritance of an intellectual being. In heaven three things will conspire to our enjoying the most abundant fruits of that inheritance: our mental powers will be perfectly clear, the field of investigation will be inexhaustible, and the period for study will be of eternal duration. I have sometimes thought that the man who took special delight in any particular study will pursue that study with intense gratification. I doubt not that Newton rejoices with exceeding great joy in the ever-widening scope given to his expanding intellect in the study of the stars. The mathematician, the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, the student of nature in living organisms—all will find infinite store of material. The lover of history will have access to the annals of eternity; the lover of the beautiful will revel in delight among countless

works of infinite skill; the lover of music will have his soul thrilled with the melody arising from a universe attuned to perfect harmony. But mere happiness, the enjoyment of pleasure, how rich and pure soever it may be, is not the whole of heaven. Simply to receive, without the effort to diffuse, good, would leave upon our moral nature but an imperfect image of our glorious Creator. We should be unlike God in one most important particular, for he is the *giver* of good, ceaselessly pouring out life and blessing to the farthest verge of his universe. How shall we imitate him?

The song of the redeemed, as given by John, is, "unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us *kings* and *priests* unto God and his Father: to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever." What is implied in the expression "kings and priests?" Shall we be kings without kingdoms, priests without offerings? Rather does it not foreshadow the period when, after the scheme of redemption shall have been wrought out, and the era of eternal peace and loyalty to God shall have been inaugurated, the Supreme Lord shall bestow upon his saints the honor and majesty of governments and kingdoms, in the boundless extent of his own sovereign sway? Will he not send them forth as his representatives, clothed with the dignity and charged with the responsibility of viceroyalty over kingdoms and worlds perhaps yet uncreated? They shall govern in his name, and uphold his authority among the far-off dependencies of the Imperial realm. They shall be the depositaries and administrators of law, form their governments upon the model of the great central power, and minister in love to the highest good and most expansive development of the spiritual beings committed to their charge. Not only shall they, as kings, govern, but as priests they shall teach. Endowed with large store of wisdom, extensive knowledge of the divine character, and deep experience of the divine love, they shall delight in imparting that knowledge to their fellow-subjects. How glorious the work of instructing these in the knowledge of God's law and of God's love! What joy shall thrill their own hearts as they tell of the wondrous history of Man, of his ruin by the Fall, and of his redemption by the sacrifice of the Son of God! What warnings against sin, and incitements to holy obedience they can present

to the new probationers, the new candidates for the crowning seal of unchangeable holiness, to be set upon them when they, too, have successfully passed the test of fidelity! . These multitudes of taught and disciplined and perfected immortals shall be the acceptable "fruits" which these "priests" will be permitted to bring as their "offerings" to the foot of the throne. Kings and priests! Kings to govern for God—priests to bring unto God the finished work he committed to their hands.

We must pause. Imagination delights to make her excursions, and to look upon all these glorious prospects of the oncoming Eternity; but we must call her back, and bid her fold her wings and rest.

ART. II.—THE WORD ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH IN GENESIS.

THE unity and authenticity of the Book of Genesis seem not to have been called seriously in question by any one who held the Bible to be a divine revelation until a little more than a hundred years ago. The Jewish Church always looked upon it as an independent book, and held that it was written by Moses. Josephus does not even hint that any one among his people ever doubted either fact. Philo and the Talmuds, both in their times, take for granted, or assert the same. It is so down to the present day. This opinion was adopted by the Christian Church, and held, pretty much without question, till the middle of the last century.

Jean Astruc, an eminent French physician, introduced a new and different theory respecting the book. Astruc was the son of a Protestant minister who on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes became a Roman Catholic. He rose high in his profession, and was made professor of medicine in the college of France. He died in 1766. In 1753 Astruc published a duodecimo book at Brussels and Paris entitled "Conjectures on the Original Memoirs which, it appears, Moses used in Composing the Book of Genesis."

In this volume was started for the first time the theory, which has become so prevalent, that the Book of Genesis was compiled, in part, at least, from pre-existing documents, and that this is

shown by the use of the two words ELOHIM and JEHOVAH in different portions of the book. This publication introduced those questions of authenticity and unity suggested by supposed differences of style which have interested if not edified so many people.

Astruc's position was this: He assumed that there had "existed a number of isolated documents, some twelve in all, which had subsequently by the fault of transcribers been joined and strung together in the present form of Genesis."* Eichhorn pruned and adopted this theory, and his learning and genius procured it a favorable reception throughout the whole of Germany, and so helped to give it a currency which has reached to our day.

It is not, of course, right to judge of a theory simply from its proponents or advocates, but this one does not gain any additional weight from the fact that it originated with a physician of the Court of Louis XIV., and was brought into prominence by a rationalizing critic, of whom Herzog's Encyclopædia says: "His works are more remarkable for attractive fluency of style than for depth and research. Although exceedingly popular at the time, they possess little substantial value." An American authority (M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia) says of him: "The results of his criticism were that the Bible, *as we have it*, has only a moral and literary superiority over other books. The primeval history attributed to Moses was made up of ancient sagas, and gathered up, partly by Moses, into the Pentateuch. His system of interpretation multiplies paradoxes, and tends to uproot the Christian revelation, as such, entirely. His method of interpretation is fast passing into oblivion even in Germany."

To us the general system by which the book of Genesis is treated in this theory is simply a part of that destructive criticism which, if followed to its legitimate results, sweeps away the whole revelation of God in his word. It is precisely like that so-called science which is evermore taking guesses, surmises, and precipitate generalizations from half-made investigations and parading them before the world as solid facts. It has, however, of late been happily growing thin and weak, and is hastening toward its death.†

* M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, iii, 778.

† A young friend of ours relates an incident of his student life at Göttingen, which illustrates the probable origin of much of this critical work. He found an advanced

In this paper we shall not have occasion to use the words "Elohist" and "Jehovist." They have no meaning to us. They are an assumption of the thing in question, and are, to us, only the jargon of mistake, and not the true teaching of biblical lore. There is a trick of philosophical skepticism against which we need to be on our guard—the theorist invents a technical term having its meaning only in his theory, he uses it over and over till it becomes familiar to his readers, and they use it too; his opponents use it in combating his theories, till by and by the term becomes fixed, and the thing which it suggested becomes an entity in the minds of men, not by reason of proof, but by the legerdemain of repetition. So we have in science "Protoplasm" *et id omne genus.*

We do not propose to follow the *minutiæ* of the argument by which this theory is thought to be established. Many of them are fanciful and arbitrary, and almost all of them are assumptions so wholly gratuitous that ordinary reasoning cannot touch them. They can be met simply by a denial that their force is felt.

Those who hold Astruc's theory find in Genesis such differences in the use of the two words ELOHIM and JEHOVAH that

student with whom he boarded engaged on an elaborate essay, the object of which was to prove that Luke was not the author of the Gospel called by his name. The man was a splendid Greek scholar, an admirable linguist, and generally very able. The following conversation occurred between them:—

"Why," said the American student, "are you spending time and brain work on that topic?"

"Because," replied the German student, "it will be an elaborate essay on an entirely new theme."

"Do you expect to prove your point?"

"Certainly I do! I shall adduce such proofs, external and internal, that no man shall be able to set them aside."

"Well; what good will come of it, even if your arguments cannot be refuted?"

"I shall have accomplished a great end. I shall be recognized as a writer and a thinker."

"But suppose that nobody *believes* your theory after all. What then?"

"O, that does not matter. I do not believe it myself. But then, you see, I shall have made a work that shall give me rank among German thinkers."

It may be strongly suspected that more than this man have invented theories about the books of the Bible with similar motives behind them, theories which have been adopted in other times and in other lands by those who were more honest and less discerning than they. It would not be strange if the theory of the Book of Genesis, of which we speak, were among the number whose origin was such as this.

they are satisfied that from two to twelve documents, or writers, must have been used or concerned in the work. On the contrary, we propose to exhibit the opposite theory, and endeavor to show from the use of these two words that this book is a unity, composed by one writer of consummate ability and skill.

If this point is established we need give no attention to the proof of the position that Moses was the author. There is no necessity of supposing another, since he meets all the possible requirements of the case, and the consenting voice of antiquity assigns him the place. It can be only a mere biblical dilettanteism that would seek critically to remove him from it.

The fact that methods of writing existed for an unknown period before his time is assumed, and with entire truthfulness, by those who doubt his authorship of the Book of Genesis. Every discovery which modern investigation has been able to make only pushes the invention of letters farther and farther back into an unknown antiquity, antedating the time of Moses a thousand years. No improbability as to his authorship, therefore, can arise from that direction.

His personal ability to compose this book cannot for a moment be questioned. He who could write the laws which have lived and molded the jurisprudence of the civilized world and of all the centuries from that day to this, whose code has never been equaled in purity, justice, and benignity; he who could mold such a commonwealth, and throw his influence on four thousand years and over the earth, had mental force enough to compose this history, and to avail himself of all existing materials to make it complete.

He had literary culture of the highest order. With a mind of vast power, he had received the best training that the richest court of the most learned nation of the time could give. Skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, matured by the study and meditation of forty subsequent years, surely if any man of all the ages were able to write a book which should take its place and live forever in literature Moses was that man.

Laying aside the fact of his divine inspiration, and standing simply upon the ground of the broadest criticism, we are justified in saying that the man who could compose the Ninetieth Psalm—and we are among those who believe him to have been

its author—who could compose the matchlessly glorious poems of the thirty-second and thirty-third chapters of Deuteronomy —poems whose solemn roll and everlasting swell come to us over the void of forty centuries like nothing else in all literature, that a man of such literary taste could have made such slovenly work as these writers impute to him is impossible. If we should grant that he only made use of materials or documents that he found in existence, that he simply edited them, we may safely assert that it is not within the bounds of possibility that a man of such culture, with such opportunities, making a book which should be the sacred book of his people, and which he intended should last in all their history, should have contented himself with shuffling together a dozen or so of disjointed fragments, and with so little literary skill that students, after thousands of years, reading in his dead language, should be able to select the scraps, mark with accuracy the beginning and end of each, and tell what was his and what was another author's. That a man of profound culture and immeasurable leisure should have done a piece even of editing in a manner so disgraceful—*credat Judæus!* No, we may not say that, for no Jew ever believed it.

We may go farther, and, laying aside for the moment all questions of authorship as far as Moses is concerned, we are justified in asserting that it is an improbability great enough to be an absurdity that any man of any age, whether of Solomon's time or Ezra's time, who should have taken upon himself to write or edit this book, could have done it in so unworkmanlike manner as this theory demands. A literary hack employed in a modern publishing house would lose his place were he to do his work no better than these writers assure us the author of Genesis has done.

There is no necessity of refusing to believe that Moses, in writing this book, made use of older documents relating to the Creation and earlier history of the race. It is possible that he did, though it does not seem to us very probable. It is difficult to conjecture where these authentic documents were to be found, by whom made, or how they had been preserved among this nomadic people. Yet it is not impossible that such documents were in existence and at hand. They *may* have been handed down through Abraham and Isaac and Jacob from

Shem and Noah, if you please. They may have been taken as a part of his library into the ark by the second father of the race; they may have so passed into the hands of one of his children. The destructive critics believe a good many things, and believe them easily; and if any one feels like holding this no strong objection need be made.

That Moses availed himself of a primitive revelation is much more probable. The remains of such a revelation can be traced more or less distinctly among almost all nations. It was, probably, made to the progenitors of the race, and handed, by tradition, down through the ages. The inspired writer of this book may, at the command of God, have taken it, and, correcting the errors which time and tradition had connected with it, have put it in the form which it now wears as a part of this sacred narrative.

The words ELOHIM and JEHOVAH* have a closely defined and distinctive meaning as they are used in the Bible. ELOHIM is the generic name of God, God as the infinite Creator and Governor of the universe, holding the same relation to all creatures whatsoever. It is not necessary to endeavor to fix by etymology the meaning of the term. Such etymological endeavors are more or less unsatisfactory, and often illusive. The word is employed to designate the Supreme Being.

The word JEHOVAH comprehends this general idea, but has also a special and more limited signification—God brought into near and personal relations to men, and especially to his covenant people. While this distinction may not be always clearly defined, and while confessedly the one name is used interchangeably with the other, yet the difference between them is clearly evident in the Holy Scriptures. Elohim is God of the creation and of the human race; Jehovah is the same God as the God of his people, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

When Jonah was roused from his sleep he was bidden by the terrified sailors to call upon his God. They had called upon

*It will save trouble and the care of transferring in every case the Hebrew words, if we keep in mind the fact that, in our authorized version, the words EL, ELOAH, and ELOHIM, in their various inflections, are uniformly rendered GOD, while the word JEHOVAH is with the same uniformity rendered LORD, *e. g.*, Gen. iii, 1: 'Which Jehovah Elohim—The Lord God—had made."

theirs. "They cried every man unto his Elohim." They said to Jonah, "What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy Elohim, if so be that Elohim will think upon us, that we perish not." (Jonah i, 6.) Jonah himself when the fatal lot had fallen upon him replies to their questions, "I am a Hebrew; and I fear Jehovah, Elohim of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land." They would not have understood all that he meant had he not used the word Jehovah—Jehovah, the covenant God of the Hebrew, was his Elohim. This distinctive use of the two words is carefully kept up throughout the book. When they who are not God's covenant people are referred to, the word Elohim is employed; when Jonah speaks Jehovah is the word used, except in the last chapter, when the two are interchanged. "The people of Nineveh," it is said, "believed Elohim," and the king commanded the people to "cry mightily unto Elohim," "and Elohim repented of the evil." (iii, 5–10.)

This book, written some seven centuries after the Pentateuch, gives striking evidence not only of the distinction between the words, but the persistence with which it is maintained in the Bible.

A very remarkable instance of this distinctive use of the words is found in Jehovah's call to Cyrus in the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, perhaps a century later than the instance just referred to. Addressing the heathen king in prophecy, it is said, "And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, . . . that thou mayest know that I, Jehovah, which call thee by thy name, am the Elohim of Israel. . . . I am Jehovah, and there is none else, no Elohim beside me." Cyrus was to understand that Jehovah was God, and that there was no God but Jehovah, the God of the people whom he was to set free.

We can observe the same distinction kept up with a deeper spiritual meaning in the Psalms, whether the earlier or the later. It is often very touching and impressive. Take as an example the Nineteenth Psalm. When David speaks of the creation, the material universe, as illustrating and proclaiming the greatness and the goodness of God to the whole world, EL is the word used—"The heavens declare the glory of God." But when the Scripture revelation, God's distinguishing gift to his people, (Rom. iii, 2,) is brought into view, then the more

tender and personal word is used—"The law of JEHOVAH is perfect," (v. 7,) and so on to the end of the psalm, where he softly prays, "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O JEHOVAH, my strength and my Redeemer."

The distinction between the two words seems to take hold on the spiritual experience of the Psalmist. In psalms where God is regarded as withdrawn from the soul, and the believer looks toward him as from a distance, and cries after him as after an absent God, ELOHIM seems to be the natural word. It was less personal and less near; it was appropriate when God seemed far away.

Notice this in the Forty-second Psalm: "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O Elohim! My soul thirsteth for Elohim.... Why art thou cast down, O my soul?... hope thou in Elohim:... O my Elohim, my soul is cast down within me." For a moment the cloud uplifts itself, and then the word changes: "Yet JEHOVAH will command his loving-kindness in the day-time." But in a moment, as the darkness shuts him in again, he cries, "I will say unto Elohim my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?" and the word at the end is still the distant word—"Hope thou in Elohim."

So in the Fifty-first Psalm, under a bitter consciousness of his sin, David does not take the covenant name into his pleadings: "Have mercy upon me, O Elohim!"—and but once in the whole psalm does he venture to use the word Jehovah.

The One Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm, which relates wholly to God's revelation in the Scriptures, and is an extended expression of the believer's confidence and love and joy, as we should expect, with a single exception in verse 115, where the more general word is accompanied by the appropriating pronoun, "My God," uses the one word Jehovah throughout the whole of its one hundred and seventy-six verses.

Indeed, the use of these two words in the Psalms so accurately varies with the peculiar spiritual feeling to be conveyed, that, given the tone of the psalm, we can almost predict the word which shall be employed. It may not be always immediately apparent, but it is so prevalent that it seems to us unmistakable. Perhaps, were we able to enter into the exact spiritual state of

the writer's heart, we should be able in every case to perceive the accuracy of the choice of the term.*

The two words CHRIST and JESUS may illustrate what is meant here. They both refer to the same person, but the one has a wide Messianic sense, the other a more personal and individual sense. In different spiritual states each, perhaps, would be used in its place. In moments of personal communion the latter would be the natural utterance, while perhaps, when the great kingdom of God is spoken of, the other word would be employed. The instinct of the Christian heart might lead unconsciously to the choice. It has been said that Paul was especially fond of the name Jesus, and that John uses it more frequently than the other Evangelists. We confess that we do not recognize this fact, though the supposition may illustrate the point before us.

There is a fine case of the instinctive use of these two words in the account of the fight between David and Goliath, (1 Sam. xvii, 43–46.) "The Philistine cursed David by his Elohim." David said, "I come to thee in the name of Jehovah of hosts, the Elohim of the armies of Israel. . . . This day will Jehovah deliver thee into mine hand . . . that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel;" or, rather, as it is in the Hebrew, "that Elohim is in Israel." Here the marked distinction between the two words is most forcibly exhibited. ELOHIM had a general sense, and was one which both the Philistine and David could employ; but JEHOVAH was restricted, and pointed out the covenant God of Israel.

These instances of the use of these words, each conveying its peculiar impression and thought, might be multiplied indefinitely outside the Pentateuch, (see Ruth i, 15–17;) but we have presented illustrations enough to convey the meaning which we suppose to inhere in them. It would be rash to assert that the sharpness of the foregoing definition is everywhere and always maintained, yet the fact that it is not is no proof that the distinction does not exist. Much of the peculiar

* We are not sure but that Latimer had this distinction of terms, perhaps unconsciously, in his mind when he was giving an account of his examination before the bishops. "They," he says, (Froude's Hist. Eng., iii, p. 108,) "had appointed me there to write all mine answers: for they made sure work that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them: *God was my good Lord*, and gave me answer; I never else could have escaped it."

use of the words was, probably, instinctive, prompted by feeling rather than argument. If, as we have said in respect to the Psalms, we could get at the writer's exact mental state, we might detect the reason for his use of one or the other in every case. But more than this; we suppose that often, by a very clearly understood intention, the two words were used interchangeably for the very purpose of conveying, without any assertion, but all the more forcibly for that, the idea that Elohim and Jehovah were names of one and the same God.

If we are not mistaken, just here in these words may be indicated the solution of that problem which has been baffling the translators of the Bible in certain heathen lands. In China, ever since Protestant missionaries have attempted to render the words of the holy Scriptures into the language of that people, there has been a controversy about the proper word to be used for the name of God. To use the English term, or any modern European term, would not convey any meaning at all; while to use the vernacular word would be, at once, to attach a heathen sense to it. Now, suppose that translators should do just what we claim the sacred writers have done; suppose that they should take the word most common among the people for God and put it in the place and employ it as the word Elohim is employed, perpetually blending it and overshadowing it with the definite term which points out the Christian's God. Would not this do just what is done in the Bible—lift the more general term into a purer atmosphere, and soon give it its true and sacred sense? We are not familiar enough with the matter to say that this has not been attempted.

With this distinction in our minds between the words, let us examine this Book of Genesis.

The book opens with an account of the creation of the world, of the origin of all things from the hand of an infinite Creator. The history is general, and has no special relation to human redemption or to God's moral universe. In accordance with this broad and general conception, the broad and general term Elohim is employed through the whole of the first chapter, and to the third verse of the second chapter, where the first should properly have ended. No other term is used throughout, simply because no other term would have been appropriate.

The most generic word is used, because the thoughts were of the most extended and general character.

With the fourth verse of the second chapter an entirely new and advanced topic comes before us. It is not a physical universe that is here to be treated of, but a moral universe. Now all that is personal in the divine nature is brought into view. One that studies the passage closely with this idea before him, it would seem, can scarcely avoid being impressed with the insight and extreme skill with which this transition is made. It is just what a clear-headed—we say not divinely inspired—man would do. He is now about to connect this infinite One with *man* and that moral universe in which man lives. He, therefore, briefly recapitulates in a single sentence what was extendedly related in the former chapter, and immediately speaks of man's creation as a part of that great work which God, Elohim, had done. With the presence of this moral being, man, in the scene—this being who is to hold personal relations to the Creator of all—the new and personal word is introduced. Yet the former general word is not dropped. Had this been done the danger would have been that the reader would have supposed that a new and different God was referred to. To avoid this, the two words are associated and combined through the remainder of the chapter. The passage is remarkable, both for the evident purpose in view and as being the only instance in the Bible where the collocation of Jehovah Elohim is maintained through so extended a passage. One may easily wonder at the criticism which can not only fail to see the purpose of the writer, but also can find only slovenly inattention where there is evidence of highest skill, and can see the work of two or more minds where the compact work of one so clearly reveals itself. We will not stop to speak of how this blending of the two terms affects the argument of those who contend for a dozen, more or less, of documents and writers. Perhaps an "Elohist" and a "Jehovist" compromised on this passage!

As we advance to the third chapter the use of the two terms is clearly defined. In the opening statement of the writer the combined words Jehovah Elohim are used: "Now the serpent was more subtile than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." But as soon as the serpent speaks the personal term is dropped and the more general is used alone.

"Yea, hath Elohim said," and it is continued in his conversation with the woman. When the conversation with the serpent ends, the combined term is resumed, and continues, as we should expect it to do, to the close of the chapter. In this way the idea is emphatically and impressively conveyed that the infinite Creator, who made the physical universe, is also the moral Governor of the world of intelligent and responsible being. It is done more powerfully than mere assertion could have done it by this skillful combination of the names of God.

This connection having been thus established, and the narrative proceeding to relate the fall of man and so the history of Redemption, the single word Jehovah, God of the covenant of promise, is employed. It is continued to the end of the chapter, when the remark is made, "Then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah," meaning, as we suppose, "then began men to have clear ideas of this personal God, Jehovah."

The fifth chapter is, as its title declares, a genealogy. The universal history is, for the time, abandoned, and the narrative flows in a single channel toward a peculiar person, holding peculiar relations to God—Noah. Naturally (one can hardly see how he could have avoided it) the historian begins the genealogy with the first man, Adam, and as naturally uses the general word Elohim up to the point where Noah's name is mentioned, then the word Jehovah is used. In the remainder of the history the two words are used interchangeably without any special signification, unless it is to show how inseparably they are blended in the writer's mind.

The flood, of course, makes a new starting point of the race, and so of the history. But it is not now a history of a physical universe, but the history of the race of men, a history which is to culminate in its redemption by the Son of God. So, as the new chapter opens with the dispersion, Jehovah, not Elohim, is said to have come down upon the ungodly builders of Babel. Jehovah scatters them from thence upon the face of the earth. So, too, when the narrative, as in the case of Noah before the flood, now confines itself to a single channel and flows toward Abraham, the friend of God, Jehovah is still the word uniformly used.

This continues till in the thirteenth chapter the account of the attack of the kings upon the plain of Sodom is given. This

has been spoken of as undoubtedly a document introduced almost without connection into the history. Those who so consider it seem to overlook the design of its introdution. A great historical type, one of the most remarkable, if not absolutely the most remarkable personal type in the whole Bible, was to be placed in this historical picture which Moses was painting. The story of the battle of the kings is simply the necessary background to it.

In this episode the peculiar use of the two words is noticeable and instructive. Melchizedek, out of the line of God's chosen people, and in this sense not in covenant relation with him, is called "the priest of the most high God," and in speaking of himself uses these terms. Abraham, however, in his reply uses first the word Jehovah, and, to show that both he and Melchizedek had the same Being in mind, connects it with the terms which the king had just used: "I have lifted up my hand unto Jehovah, the most high God."

In the fifteenth chapter the covenant of Jehovah with Abraham is renewed, and the peculiar use of the two words can be seen. The narrative uses the word Jehovah, "Jehovah came unto Abram," (xv, 1;) but Abram, not yet called by his covenant name, and not yet, it may be, clearly seeing all that was in his call, couples the two words when he speaks. The narrative, however, uses the single word Jehovah.

In the sixteenth chapter, the history of Ishmael, a part of Abraham's history, the word Jehovah, naturally, is used throughout.

The seventeenth chapter makes a renewal of the divine covenant with Abraham. The infinite God is about to confirm and to establish, in a more significant way and by the sign of circumcision, his covenant. We should expect to find the account opening with the covenant word. So it does, and it is coupled with the general word, and both are made inexpressibly impressive by the additional word "Almighty"—"The Lord appeared to Abram and said unto him, I am the Almighty God." In the rest of the chapter, with an exquisite propriety, the word Elohim is used. This infinite God is making the covenant, and the same word is used throughout.

In the account given in the eighteenth chapter of that wonderful approach of Jehovah to Abraham when he permits him

to test the power of prayer and gives to all the ages the proof of God's willingness to be moved by it, we find the one word Jehovah used with unvarying uniformity. God was in exceedingly near and personal relations with man, and the personal word is used.

The nineteenth chapter, which is only a continuation of the account of the eighteenth, has the same uniform use of the word Jehovah, except in the single sentence where the fact of the success of Abraham's prayer is noted in the saving of Lot out of Sodom. Why it is used just there we do not see; we hardly think that an "Elohist" put it there, as he was revising a "Jehovist" manuscript.

In the twentieth chapter, which gives the narration of the intercourse between Abimelech and Abraham, where one in the covenant and one outside of it come together and converse with one another, the two words are used interchangeably.

The twenty-first chapter gives the birth of Isaac and a continuation of the history of Ishmael. When speaking of Ishmael the word Elohim is used. When in the same chapter the Philistine Abimelech speaks he uses naturally the word Elohim; while Abraham, setting up an altar and a grove, calls "on the name of Jehovah, the everlasting God," El Holam, advancing beyond the thought of the Philistine to that of his covenant God.

There is no mention of the divine name in the twenty-third chapter; but in the twenty-fourth, when Abraham would administer an oath of the utmost solemnity to his trusted servant he makes him swear by terms which should cover the whole conception of God, both general and personal. "I will make thee swear," he says, "by Jehovah, the Elohim of heaven and the Elohim of the earth;" while through the remainder of the incident of the espousal of Rebecca the two words are used sometimes in connection with each other, sometimes singly, but without, it would seem, any special intention except such as the natural avoidance of repetition might suggest.

As the history of Jacob is given in the following chapters there is nothing which claims special attention on the point which we are considering till we come to the occasion where he makes his selfish avowal: "If Elohim will be with me . . . so that I come to my father's house in peace; then shall Jeho-

vah be my Elohim." It would seem that the distinction between the two words could hardly be made more emphatic by actual use than in this sentence. He speaks of Jehovah as God in a nearer and more personal sense than that which lay in the word Elohim, and so the one was set over against the other in his vow.

In the remaining history of Jacob's sojourn in Mesopotamia and his exodus from it, it will be noticed that usually, perhaps invariably, when Laban speaks or is spoken of and the occasion demands the use of the divine name, Elohim is the word employed. Jacob himself not yet, it would seem, having come into a clear recognition of Jehovah's covenant does not use that name, but all through the story speaks of God as the "Elohim of my father, Elohim of Abraham." Indeed, it is very remarkable that in the narrative of Jacob's life up to the point where the story of Joseph is taken up, the name Jehovah is nowhere used except in a solitary instance, when in a moment of utter distress and extremity he cries out, "O Elohim of my father Abraham, and Elohim of my father Isaac, Jehovah which saidst unto me, Return unto thy country," etc. (xxxii, 9.)

Jacob himself, as we have seen, had a very clear conception of the distinction between the terms, and at crisis moments of his life used them with it in view. Why he should not have observed it generally is very suggestive. Was it because he never in his spiritual experiences came into that clear recognition of Jehovah's covenant which was given to Abraham? That he did not is very certain.

The history of Joseph opens with the continuous use of the word Jehovah—"Jehovah was with Joseph," "Jehovah was with him," "Jehovah blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake." And this is continued in the story of his prison life.

When he is brought before Pharoah, as we should expect, the covenant name is laid aside and Elohim is used, since the king of Egypt would not know the meaning of Jehovah. So, too, in the conversation of Joseph with his brethren he does not use the word Jehovah; it would have betrayed him when he wished to be disguised. They, too, employed the more general term, since he was to them, at the time, a heathen prince. So through all these interviews, when they are unknown to each

other the word Jehovah does not appear, and, for a very obvious reason, it was a term peculiar to their family.

Through the remainder of the book the word Jehovah occurs but once. The narrative follows the life of Jacob, and in it all, up to its close, the word Elohim is uniformly employed. Perhaps it was because Jacob himself, as indeed it appears to us, did not, till the last, ever reach clearly and fully the meaning of Jehovah's covenant relation to him. The style of his life, with its worldly policy, its trickery and dishonesty, is in striking contrast with the lofty purity and sublime faith of his father Abraham and Isaac. He was not a man of like faith with them.

As, however, his life comes to an end, and just before his departure from earth, some new visions of his covenant God were given him. Then a gleam of the light of faith seems to have been let down upon his soul, and he cried out, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah!" In darkness all along, he had not been accustomed to call God by that name. Now in this new revelation of faith, and as he drew near to the heavenly world, the covenant title breaks from his lips. And this is the period of all of Jacob's life that is selected in the eleventh of Hebrews as that which distinguished him as one of the men of faith; "By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph." Bethel and Peniel and all the rest are passed by, while the last act of his life is chosen in the New, as it is marked in the Old Testament by the all precious name Jehovah.

We have thus traced with some care the use of these two words in this book. In the review it does not seem to us a violent or unreasonable conclusion, that, so far from its being a proof of different or separate authorship, it is proof most emphatic and clear that this book was written by one man, whose spiritual insight—not to say the revelation of God—led him to employ with exceeding care each word in the especial place in which it stands.

We do not assert that we are able in every instance to explain each variation in the language, yet we may have a strong assurance that, had we the same insight, and could we feel the sublime forces which moved the writer, it would be all transparently clear.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to add a single thought at

the conclusion of this discussion. In the New Testament the name Jehovah is laid aside; yet not so much laid aside as submerged in the oceanlike name which He who came from God and knew what man needed gave us as the name by which God should be addressed—"Our Father who art in heaven." In this perpetual reaching forth toward God in the old covenant word Jehovah, is there not a reproof of that type of piety which, even now, shrinks so away from Him, and lives in bondage and at a distance? It may be a question whether multitudes of Christians, with the revelation of God's Son within them, (Gal. i, 16,) and with the covenant word Father on their lips, do not live farther away from God than they who in that olden time in their higher and better moments called upon Jehovah, their God and their fathers' God.

ART. III.—THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTES OF INDIA.

NOTHING has been more inseparably connected with the popular conceptions concerning Hindu institutions, nothing, indeed, has formed a more prominent and distinguishing feature of Indian civilization, than the system of castes, to whose tyrannical yoke the inhabitants of India have bowed for centuries. It is true, there has been more or less of the caste spirit in all countries, ancient and modern. Rome had its patricians and plebeians, the soil of Greece was often stained with the blood of its children when the aristocratic families fought with the partisans of democracy. Nor did Christianity succeed in eradicating a feeling so strongly opposed to the spirit of its Master. The chivalry of the Middle Ages, the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, the guilds of the burghers in the opulent cities, the deplorable condition of the peasants, who were little better than serfs before and after the Reformation—all bears witness to a widely spread caste spirit. Yet however exclusive and arbitrary these lines, drawn to separate the different grades of society, may appear to us, they dwindle down almost to absolute insignificance when compared with the castes of the brahmanical hierarchy.

Elsewhere plebeians may be admitted at times into the ranks of the hereditary nobility; the Roman priesthood takes its acolytes from all sections of the community; in most countries the distinction between the different classes of the people is chiefly based on social considerations without affecting their rights as equals before God and the law; while castes in the fully developed brahmanical sense are based on, and intimately connected with, the whole religious edifice of the Hindu empire, and thus are enforced not only by social customs, but also by public law.

More than three thousand years have passed since the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda fell from the lips of their inspired bards. Long before Nineveh was destroyed by Babylon, before Jerusalem had been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, before Rome was founded, and even before Troy had encountered the Grecian hosts at its gates, the forefathers of the Hindus had composed those songs and prayers by which they invoked their gods, and expressed their wonder and awe at the sight of the powers of nature. The Rig-Veda, the repository of these hymns, in the opinion of the Hindus the most sacred book of their sacred literature, was the work of many generations; the very earliest portions of it may be referred to about the fifteenth century before Christ, while the composition of some of the hymns showing traces of brahmanical influence must have belonged to a much later age. With the Rig-Veda, then, this remarkable document of a long by-gone time, begins the dawn, still dim, it is true, but yet breaking forth powerfully enough to dispel the darkness that enshrouds the beginning of Indo-European and of Hindu history. When we open its leaves the picture that is unrolled before our eyes represents to us the ancestors of the Hindus shortly after their departure from the common Aryan home just at the vestibule of the country they were afterward destined to make the seat of a notable civilization. We find them at that early era on the Seven Rivers, "sapta sindhavas," that is, the Indus, the Sarasvati, and the five rivers of the Punjab. What was then their social and religious condition? Was there any system of castes prevalent among them? Separated into many tribes and clans, they were engaged in combats with their own kindred, or in deadly warfare with the former inhabitants of the soil, whom they had driven

away from their homes, but who had not yet been completely subdued. Warlike, still uncorrupted by the luxury and licentiousness to which they fell victims in later years, not yet weakened by the enervating influences of the climate, fatal to all northern immigrants, they lived free and independent of each other, although recognizing a common bond of union such as will always connect a people of the same origin, the same language, and the same religion. Although they lead, generally speaking, a patriarchal life, partly of a pastoral, partly of an agricultural character, their state of society was not of a very primitive description. It may be rather designated as representing a transition period from the latter to a higher civilization. Their wealth consisted chiefly of herds and flocks, and they kept cows for the sake of their milk, butter, and curds; but mention is also made of villages (grâmâ) and strong fortified places (pur). The hymns of the Rig-Veda contain many references to kings, yet their authority seems to have been limited. Names also for the governor of a fortification (pûrpati) and for the ruler of a village or tribe (grâmanî) occur. During the very earliest epoch of Indian antiquity the father was king and priest within his own home. He prepared himself the sacrifice, invoked the gods for abundant rain, asked for their blessings of the harvest, prayed to them for long life, numerous offspring, and protection against his foes, all this in a simple and childlike faith, and with a strongly pronounced religious instinct.

Among the most famous names of the Vedic Olympus is especially prominent that of Varuna, (corresponding etymologically to *οὐρανός*.) Varuna is derived from the root *var*, to cover, to envelop, and denotes then primarily "coverer, enveloper," that is, the one who embraces the whole universe, upholds heaven and earth, sees and knows all things. To him the purest and noblest hymns are addressed, showing a high tone of true moral sentiment. In later times Varuna sank to the position of a mere god of the ocean, and thus his character became entirely changed. Next to Varuna we notice Indra, the god who smote the rain-cloud and brought down the waters from the sky. It is not surprising that in a country where long-lasting drought occasions the greatest calamities, a high place in the veneration of the people was occupied by a divinity

conceived as combating the malicious demons of the atmosphere, and forcing them to release the waters which they kept shut up in the clouds. Another of the celestials chiefly worshiped was Agni, (Lat., *Ignis*,) fire and god of fire, the heavenly messenger who invites the gods to the sacrifice. There are besides many other deities of a less prominent character. The general feature of the early Vedic religion is its simplicity; the elements are personified, eulogized, and magnified, and the hymns addressed to them express the wishes of the worshipers for long life, wealth, progeny, and triumph over their enemies. The primitive religion of the Hindus as portrayed in the Rig-Veda forms a striking contrast to the gross idolatry and senseless superstition of the succeeding ages.

As to the position of women and the state of morals at the primeval era of Hindu history, we can safely affirm that it compares most favorably with the later condition of society in India. Yet we must not imagine, as some too enthusiastic admirers of that country seem to suggest, an ideal state of perfection and of nothing but pure morality. It is true, the position of women when compared with that of the following centuries was, upon the whole, an honorable one. The marriage tie was generally held sacred; there was scarcely any polygamy; husband and wife approached the gods in common prayer, presenting their oblations together; we have even hymns, and some of them of the highest order, which are ascribed to the authorship of women—a fact which goes far in proving the high rank that at least some of them must have held at those times. It is certain that they were not yet condemned to that life of seclusion in which they have sighed for ages. That they were formerly permitted, at times at least, to choose their husband, is evident from the so-called Svayamvara, a festal entertainment given by the father of a marriageable young girl. Svayamvara means self-choice, and denoted the free selection of a husband by king's daughters—a custom whose origin undoubtedly belonged to the Vedic era. The most graphic description of a Svayamvara is given in the story of Nala and Damayantî in the Mahâbhârata. The royal maiden, although conscious of her right to choose a husband, displays throughout every mark of womanly modesty. The flocking of the rajahs to the Svayamvara, their eager desire to woo the fair Damayantî,

the free and restrained, though loyal, intercourse between the two sexes—a striking contrast to the later secluded life of women—all this betrays a spirit not unlike that of the chivalry during the Middle Ages. The Svayamvara often became the occasion for the young nobility to exhibit their valor and skill in arms before the eyes of the assembled multitude, and then at times the young princess was not entirely free to exercise the right of choice, but she was rather bestowed as a reward on that warrior who had distinguished himself most before the other knights. Such was the case at the Svayamvara of Draupadî, who became the prize of Arjuna. At a later period these feats of arms at the Svayamvara degenerated into deadly feuds between the jealous chieftains, like the tournaments in Europe, to which they bore a striking resemblance. Not unfrequently, also, their character was entirely altered. Instead of the nobles taking an active part in the chivalrous combats, professional prize-fighters and wrestlers were employed, who either fought with each other, or with wild beasts, such as tigers and bears. The scenes enacted then before the rajah and his court remind us of the spectacles of the gladiators at Rome and of the bull-fights of the matador in Spain. However, this depraved form of the Svayamvara, so unlike the primitive institution, belongs, as we have stated before, to a later age of Hindu history.

From the preceding sketch of life in India, as portrayed by the earlier portion of the Rig-Veda, it is evident that the system of castes could not have been introduced. It would have been wholly irreconcilable with a condition of things such as we have indicated above. Later ages have produced such striking changes in the world of ideas and institutions in India that we can hardly recognize the descendants of the ancient Hindus, in their new and strange garb, to be the kindred of the Vedic sages and rajahs.

In a period which must have been separated by many centuries from the earlier era of Indian civilization, the great body of the people were divided into four castes; that is, 1. Brahmans, or priests; 2. Kshatriyas, or warriors, sometimes also called Râjanyas, a military nobility; 3. Vaiçyas, or merchants and farmers, (the middle class, the mass of the people;) 4. Cûdras, or serfs.

Although, as has just been pointed out, no caste-system

could have existed during the early ages of Hindu history, nevertheless some traces may be detected which foreshadow a transition period from the free Vedic state to the strict and exclusive brahmanical hierarchy of later days. When the people began to leave their former seats in and near the Punjab and spread farther and farther over the rich and fertile country eastward and southward toward the Ganges and Jumnâ, the former more primitive condition of things was necessarily modified in many respects. During the Vedic age all had free access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice, but regular priests seem to have first been employed at national feasts and on other notable occasions. It is not surprising that among a people of a pre-eminently religious instinct they could soon gain some influence and authority. The most ancient name for a priest was "purohita," one put forward; namely, one who had distinguished himself by a special gift for arousing the devotion of the mass. The "purohita" became the family priest of the king, the latter's friend and adviser in peace and war. His influence may have been very great at times, according to circumstances, but he had no exclusive privilege for officiating as a priest. During and after the period of conquest in the eastern and southern regions of Hindustan the petty kings and chieftains struggled to regain their former independence, but it was in vain; power became concentrated in the hands of a few, the most distinguished rajahs, while the other chiefs sank to the condition of a military nobility. This change, however, did not take place without a great deal of bloodshed, and in the struggles for supremacy that ensued between the different rajahs many an opportunity was given to the priests to increase their influence. The ancient hymns, the free impulse of the heart, came to be considered as peculiarly holy, and their contents were transmitted with special care from generation to generation. Yet as time went on their meaning became less and less intelligible to the great mass of the people, and thus the authority of those who had preserved the traditions in their families and pretended to the right understanding of that sacred treasure increased slowly but constantly. There was yet no caste in the proper sense of the word, but the dignity of a priest began to become hereditary in certain families. The real or supposed authors of the hymns

were called "rishis," and their descendants, or the families of the latter, first transmitted the accounts of the origin of those hymns, and took charge of the preservation of their text, claiming, also, the correct interpretation of difficult and obscure passages therein. With the hymns was closely connected the observance of the sacrifices. The latter had been, like the rest of early Vedic religion, of a very simple character, but in course of time, with the rising power and ambition of the priests, and with the radical change of the whole system of worship, the sacrifices also became greatly altered in their nature, and were increased to an infinite number, observed with the most scrupulous care, and to the most trifling minutiæ. It is self-evident that after this artificial elaboration of the sacrifices not every householder could attend to them, and necessarily a certain class of persons had to make it their particular and exclusive care to represent the people at large at their religious exercises. Thus the priests became more and more separated from the rest of the community. Soon they came to be the only ones that were thoroughly familiar with the sacred literature. They began to form a powerful union as their mutual interests demanded it, and, thanks to their crafty and unscrupulous devices, they succeeded in the end in monopolizing the worship of the gods. It is natural for people of the same principles, the same calling, and especially the same interests, to unite in a fraternity to protect what they consider their rights, and it is equally according to human nature that under favorable circumstances they should try to encroach upon the rights of others, and claim privileges for themselves to which they are not entitled. Thus arose a division of the people into different classes among the ancient Egyptians, among the aborigines of Peru and Mexico, and even in Attica during the famous Cecropian era; but it will be difficult to meet any where else with so powerful an alliance as has been cemented by the brahmanical priesthood—even the caste of the disciples of Loyola cannot be compared with it. That the high position ultimately attained by the Brahmans was gained only gradually, can also be seen from the different significations of the term "Brahman." At first it seems to have had the sense of "seer, sage," and is sometimes applied to the authors of the hymns, although they were commonly called "rishis;" afterward it appear

that by "Brahman" an officiating priest was denoted, and lastly a "priest" by profession. It is only in works of a later age that "Brahman" designated the member of a caste, (the caste of the Brahmans.) In fact "Brahman" is derived from the neuter noun Bráhman, (accent on the first syllable,) which itself comes from a root, "barh," meaning originally "exerting one's self." The primitive signification of Bráhman was then "devotional exertion, worship," and thus that of its derivative "Bráhmán," worshiper, to which succeeded then the "meanings" given above.

While thus the members of the sacerdotal class were striving for the first rank in the Hindu community, most of the former petty kings and chieftains were gradually reduced, as we have seen, to the position of a mere military nobility, and came to form, with the great rajahs who had succeeded in establishing extensive empires, the caste of the Kshatriyas. The term "kshatriyas" denoted primarily "ruler;" it is an adjective derived from the noun "kshatra," meaning "rule, royal power." The Kshatriyas, however, did not submit so easily to the pretensions of the priestly order; on the contrary, many contests arose between the two rival classes when each of them strove to attain the supremacy over the other. Instances are found, indeed, where the haughty Kshatriyas are represented as looking down with scorn upon the priests, and there is no doubt that the latter were often treated with contempt by the mighty rajahs before the brahmanical hierarchy was fully established and secured; yet in the end the Brahmans left the field as acknowledged victors. The conflict between the two castes may in some respects be compared with the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Germany, and particularly in Italy during the Middle Ages. The Brahmans alone would never have been powerful nor warlike enough to crush the Kshatriyas by force of arms, any more than the pope and his priestly host could alone have resisted the armies of Barbarossa. Some princes took for the sake of their own aggrandizement, or, perhaps, sometimes from better motives, the part of the Brahmans against too powerful rajahs; but in the end the priests came out of the struggle triumphant, owing their success, as in other countries and at all times, chiefly to their mysterious influence over the masses of the people. It is certain that the plains of

the Ganges often witnessed scenes not very unlike in character those of Henry IV. before Gregory VII. at Canossa. At the same time the former hardy warriors had become more and more effeminate by the influence of the destructive climate, the increasing luxury and licentiousness, and at last most of them were mere priest-ridden kings and mercenary soldiers, easily checked by superstitious fear and overawed at the tyrannical policy of the Brahmans. The two great epic poems, the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana, contain many points of interest in regard to the relations between the Brahmans and their rivals; but, unfortunately, the value of these works for strict historical purposes is greatly diminished by the layers of supernatural matter and religious myths with which they are covered, and it is no easy task to discover the strata of truth which may underlie the fictitious portions of both epics. The framework of the Mahábhárata consists of little more than ballads, which were composed to glorify the warlike exploits of the ancient rajahs. Afterward they fell into the hands of brahmanical compilers, who by additions and interpolations so distorted and changed the primitive accounts that they can hardly be separated from the mass of later legendary tales, ridiculous myths, and brahmanical doctrines that have been grafted on them during the course of many centuries. There is little doubt that the Kshatriya bards exaggerated the deeds of their heroes perhaps more than the Troubadours and Minnesinger did in regard to their Christian champions; but there is absolute certainty that the Brahmans were not over-scrupulous in so transforming and shaping the original traditions as to make them wholly subservient to their own interests, and to the satisfaction of their boundless ambition. Besides, the heroes of the poem belong to one age, the final compilation of the work to another. The primitive accounts bear every mark of the early Vedic period; the later falsifying interpolations and changes took place while the Brahmans were striving for the sole supremacy, or had already arrived at the zenith of their power. While the Mahábhárata is really a cyclopædia of national legends, and its more than 200,000 verses are the product of several centuries, the Bámáyana, or at least the greater portion of it, is the work of one man. Like the Mahábhárata, it was molded into its present shape by brahmanical influence,

and it has an historical character only in so far as it bears witness to the diffusion of Hindu civilization toward the south of India, the so-called Deccan and Ceylon. The contest between the priests and their adversaries forms a dark, and, without doubt, also a blood-stained chapter in the history of India, although the accounts of the destruction that had been going on, as related by Hindu authors, are greatly exaggerated, and sometimes simply fabulous. It is said in the Vanaparvan (book iii) of the Mahâbhârata that Râma swept away all the Kshatriyas from the earth twenty-one times, and formed five lakes of blood.

One of the most famous incidents that is said to have attended the conflict between the military and priestly castes, is the enmity between the families of Vasishtha and Vievâmitra. The origin of the inextinguishable hatred between the two rivals dates from the Vedic age, and seems to have arisen from jealousy. It appears that both Vasishtha and Vievâmitra were, though at different periods, the purohitas of Rajah Sudas, one of those petty kings that reigned during the early era of Indian antiquity, and that at some time the one was supplanted by the other in that monarch's favor. There are few names so illustrious and well known throughout the whole period of the Vedic age, and even of later times, as those of Vasishtha and Vievâmitra. The latter is styled the author, or rishi, of the third book of the Rig-Veda, as, with few exceptions, all the hymns of that book were composed by himself or his descendants. For similar reasons the seventh book of the Rig-Veda is ascribed to the authorship of his rival. Vasishtha became, in later works, the very type of a true Brahman, and the most adulatory praises are lavished on him, not unfrequently at the expense of Vievâmitra. In reality, however, Vasishtha was nothing more than the domestic priest of a king, the purohita, and could not have represented the caste of the Brahmans, as during that early age there were, as we have seen, no castes in the proper sense of the word. Vievâmitra, on the other hand, was of Kshatriya origin, and as the fact of his officiating as a purohita, and of his being the rishi of an important part of the Rig-Veda, was in open contradiction to the later brahmanical doctrines, according to which only Brahmans could be priests, the latter, unable to explain away the facts entirely, repre-

sented him as having at last obtained Brahmanhood by the most rigid austerities. The legends in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana referring to the hostility between the two rivals vary in many respects, and almost all of them contain fabulous accounts, as, for instance, both Vasishtha and Vievâmitra are represented as having lived during many centuries and worked the most incredible miracles. In order to give an idea of the purely fictitious character of these tales, it will be sufficient to present a condensed statement from the Râmâyana:—

"After Vievâmitra had been practicing austerities for a thousand years, the gods conferred on him, as a reward, the rank of a rishi. Not content with this dignity, he entered upon a new career of penance, which, however, was interrupted by the charms of a nymph, with whom he lived for ten years, and thus forfeited the recompense for his austerities. He left the place of his disappointment and went to other regions, where he continued his asceticism for a thousand years, at the end of which period the gods allotted to him the title of 'Great Rishi,' (maharshi.) But he had not yet attained the goal of his ambition, and devoted himself to a new course of the most rigid austerities: as standing with his arms stretched out, feeding on air, exposed in summer to the heat of the sun overhead, and to four fires, one on each of four sides, while he remained unsheltered from the rain during the wet season. These practices of self-torture lasted for a thousand years. Finally the gods became greatly alarmed at the progress of his devotion and at the power he thereby attained. They tried a stratagem that had succeeded before, and sent a nymph to his hermitage; but this time he was not misled by female witchery. Suspecting the plan of the gods, he cursed the maiden—caused her to be turned into stone and to remain in that condition for a thousand years. Yet, although he had thus escaped the enticements of sensual love, he had fallen into another error, namely, that of yielding to anger. Thus he had to recommence the whole work again, and at last, after hundreds of years, which he passed in silence without even breathing, the title of 'Brahman Rishi' (brahmarshi) was conferred on him."

The object the Brahmans had in view in inventing these myths was no other than to show how difficult it would be for any one not of the priestly order to attain Brahmanhood, and

that Vievâmitra even obtained the coveted honor, not by any warlike exploits as proper to a Kshatriya, but by mere brahmanical practices.

There is little doubt that the kings and nobles often abused their power against the mass of the people, and at times it may have been for the welfare of the community at large when the heavy scepter of the rajahs had to bend before the mightier hand of the Brahmans. Yet, after the strife between the two higher classes was ended, priests and kings and nobles were united, as in Europe, to keep the remaining portion of the population in a decidedly subordinate position. We have seen that the third caste was called that of the Vaiçyas, a word derived from viç, "people," and originally applied to the whole Hindu community. Viçpati, or ruler of the people, was a common designation for a king, corresponding to Lithuanian wiêszpatis and old Persian viçpaiti. The use of viçvaiçyas as a proper name is analogous to that of Gothic "thiudisk," old high German "diutisk," from which Deutsch is derived. The Vaiçyas, then, after the introduction of the caste system, constituted the mass of the Aryan population, the people at large. Although greatly inferior to the Kshatriyas, and still more so to the Brahmans, they were far above the Cûdras, the fourth caste. The latter were the descendants of such of the native tribes who had possessed the soil of India before the coming of the Hindus, and had preferred to accept the lowest position in the community rather than retire before the conquerors into the mountains and forests, as some of their more independent and warlike countrymen had chosen to do. As disgraceful as the condition of the Cûdras was, and as inferior as their civilization proved to be to that of their masters, yet they would be admitted in some way as members of the Hindu community —in striking contrast to the fate of the North American Indians, whose condition presents, in other respects, some analogy to that of the aboriginal tribes of India. However marked the lines were that separated the three upper castes from each other, there was a much broader distinction between them and the Cûdras. Indeed, the fact of the former being the conquerors and the latter the conquered party, in connection with the difference of language, would have been quite sufficient to establish the first and most natural division into two distinct

branches. We have only to think of the position of the Celts in England after the Anglo-Saxons had become masters of the country, and of the relations that existed between these and the Norman conquerors even long after the battle of Hastings. In the case of the Hindus and the native tribes of India, there was, besides the relation of victor and vanquished, besides the difference of language, of social and religious customs, also another marked distinction, namely, that of valor. Although there are several terms for caste in Sanscrit, the real name is "varna," a word denoting, originally, "color;" and thus the separation of the fair-complexioned Hindus from the dark native races seems to have been based at first chiefly on the distinction of color. The term "varna" was then afterward employed in the larger sense of caste not only to mark the division between the aboriginal tribes and their masters, but also to denote the different classes within the narrow circle of the Hindu community proper. The latter were called the "twice-born," and wore the "sacred thread," the symbol that distinguished them from the Cûdras. The investiture with the thread signified the second birth, and was to take place in the eighth year of a Brahman, the eleventh year of a Kshatriya, and the twelfth year of a Vaiçya. It could on no account be deferred beyond the sixteenth, the twenty-second, and twenty-fourth year respectively, else the youth would become an outcast. The thread of the Brahman was made of cotton, and thrown over the head in three strings; that of the Kshatriya of hemp, or, in more ancient times, of a strip of antelope's skin; the thread of the Vaiçya was made of wool. Another marked distinction was laid down between the three upper castes and the Cûdras in regard to administering oaths: the Brahman swore by his veracity; the Kshatriya by his weapons, his elephant, or horse; the Vaiçya by his property, his gold, grain, or kine; while a Cûdra was obliged to invoke upon his own head the punishment for every possible crime if he should not speak the truth. It is scarcely necessary to add, that marriages between the different castes were discountenanced by the brahmanical lawgivers; yet they did take place nevertheless, and the code of Manu ascribes the great number of mixed castes to the marriages between the four original castes. The very lowest rank in the Hindu community was

held by the Chandâlas, the offspring of the union between a Cûdra and a Brahmani woman. "The Chandâlas," says Manu, x, 51–58, "must live without the town. Their only property must be dogs and asses; their garments must consist of the mantels of dead persons, their dishes must be broken pots, and their ornaments must consist of rusty iron. No one who regards his duties must hold any intercourse with them, and they must marry only among themselves. By day they can wander about for the purposes of work, and be distinguished by the badges of the rajah; and they must carry out the corpse of any one that dies without kindred. They must always be employed to slay such as are condemned by the law to be put to death, and they may take the garments of the slain, their beds and their ornaments."

It is remarkable that a woman was considered to degrade herself much more by a marriage below her station than a man by the union with a maiden of the lower caste. Sufficient evidence of this fact is found when we compare the preceding account of a Chandâla with the following passage from Manu, x, 64: "If the daughter of a Cûdra woman and a Brahman, by marrying a Brahman, gives birth to a daughter who will be likewise married to a Brahman, soon the low family will rise to the highest rank in the seventh generation."

A significant change had also taken place in the morals of the people. Polygamy was the exception in the earlier Vedic age. It had become more and more the rule in later times. In Manu, iii, 12, we read, "It is obligatory for the twice-born to take a wife of their caste for the first marriage; but when they have a desire to marry again, the woman must be chosen according to the natural order of the classes;" and in iii, 13, "A Cûdra ought to have for wife only a Cûdra woman; a Vaiçya can take a consort in the Cûdra caste and in his own; a Kshatriya in the two castes mentioned and in his own; a Brahman in these three castes and in that of the priests." With the luxury, licentiousness, and general demoralization of the Hindu people during the ages subsequent to the first era of Indian antiquity the position of women had necessarily undergone important changes, and the laws of Manu condemned them to a life of seclusion and servitude. Their condition became a most miserable one, and it is certain that a great deal of the deprav-

ity of manners and morals in India was and is caused by the low position to which women were sentenced by the merciless decrees of their sacerdotal lawgivers. While a bright and genial atmosphere pervaded the primeval era of Hindu history, the code of Manu breathes a gloomy and dismal air, saturated with the blasphemous pretensions of the Brahmans to divine honors. The Svayamvara was ignored in the law—the free and chivalrous spirit it supposed would have been irreconcilable with the strict ceremonial of later days. Women were generally then given away without any regard to their likes and dislikes, and became entirely subservient to the other sex. There is only one exception, the so-called Gandhawa marriage, where a maiden's personal freedom and her independence in the disposal of her affections is taken into account. Yet the Gandhawa marriage was regarded with no favorable eye by the law of Manu, and permitted only to Kshatriyas; it was an anomaly, or rather no marriage at all, but simply the union of a couple dictated by mutual inclination and concluded without any ceremony. The so-called Gandhawa marriages prevailed especially during the Vedic era, and without doubt often were the true expression of the idyllic loves of pastoral times. An example of a Gandhawa marriage is found in the tradition of Rajah Dushyanta and the beautiful Cakuntalâ, as related in the Mahâbhârata, and afterward dramatized by Kalidasa under the title of "Cakuntalâ, or the Lost Ring." The fact that the Gandhawa marriage, although by no means recommended in the code of Manu, yet came to be legalized, at least conditionally, would seem to indicate that at the time of the promulgation of the law the Kshatriyas still formed a body of warriors not to be despised, and to whom the Brahmans thought fit to make some concessions. At the same time the Gandhawa mode of marriage may have degenerated, and furnished many an opportunity for the nobles to indulge in lawless amours, an abuse which was sought to be hidden by the exceptional provisions of the law.

There is another instance where a maiden's right to assert her independence in regard to marriage was recognized by Manu, though it was a case that would occur but rarely, namely, only when the father neglected to provide himself a bridegroom for his daughter. We read in ix, 90, "A maiden should

wait three years after she is marriageable, but after this period she may choose a husband of equal caste as herself."

The following quotations from the code will be sufficient to throw light upon the position of women and the relations of the castes to each other. Manu, v, 147–149: "A maiden, a young woman, a matron, must do nothing according to her own pleasure, even in her own house. In childhood a maiden ought to depend on her father, in youth on her husband; her husband being dead, on her sons. If she have no sons, she must be dependent upon the kinsmen of her husband; if he left no kinsmen, on the kinsmen of her father; if she have no paternal kinsmen, on the rajah. A woman must never seek to be independent. She must never try to separate herself from her father, her husband, or her sons, for by such a separation she would expose both her father's family and her husband's family to contempt." Manu, v, 154: "Although the conduct of her husband be blamable, and he indulge in other loves and be devoid of good qualities, a virtuous woman ought to continually revere him as a god. A virtuous woman, who desires to obtain the same abode of happiness as her husband, ought never to do any thing that would displease him, either during his life or after his death. Let her weaken her body voluntarily by living on flowers, roots, and pure fruits; but after having lost her husband, she must not pronounce even the name of another man." Manu, i, 93: "By his origin, which he takes from the noblest member as he is the first-born, as he possesses the Veda, the Brahman is by right the lord of the whole creation." Manu, ix, 319: "Even when the Brahmans indulge in all kinds of base occupations, they must constantly be honored, for they have in them something pre-eminently divine." Manu, ix, 322: "The Kshatriyas cannot prosper without the Brahmans, the Brahmans cannot rise without the Kshatriyas; by co-operation with each other the priestly and military class rise in this world and in the other."

In addition to the passages just quoted many others might be given of a like tenor, all of them indicating that the brahmanical hierarchy, with its castes and their insurmountable barriers, was firmly established at the time of the promulgation of the law. Thus a narrow theocratic despotism had taken the place of the former free Vedic state; the opening scenes of the

latter passed, as we have seen, in the land of the seven rivers at a time when the Sarasvati still flowed into the Indus, long before the triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the doctrine of transmigration, and the system of castes, had been introduced. It was a time when the joyous Svayamvara flourished in its primitive character, and long before the horror of the burning of widows had come into existence, a practice unknown even in the code of Manu.

As the Brahmans appeal in all things to the Veda as the source of their doctrines and customs, they likewise assert that the system of castes is based on Vedic authority. Yet there is absolutely nothing in the earlier hymns of the Rig-Veda which would justify such an assumption, and, therefore, even the Brahmans must admit that the institution of castes can at least not be referred to the highest antiquity of India. Indeed, they might raise the objection that although the earlier portion of the Rig-Veda contains no allusions to castes, the latter may nevertheless have existed at that time; but then the *argumentum a silentio* seems to be fairly applied here, as the whole character of the Vedic age is irreconcilable with the institution of castes. On the other hand, it is true that references to the castes are found in the other portions of the sacred Hindu literature, especially in one of the later hymns of the Rig-Veda, as also in the Atharva-Veda and in the Brâhmanas, or the canonical expositions of the four Vedas, the Rig-Veda, Sáma-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, which all together are comprised under the collective term of "The Veda." Yet the more recent portion of the Rig-Veda and the three other Vedas, with the Brâhmanas, belong to an age subsequent to the first era of Indian antiquity, when either the caste system began to be introduced or was already fully established.

The earliest account of the origin of caste appears in the so-called Purusha Sûhta or the hymn to Purusha, (the supreme spirit,) the ninetieth of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, belonging to the later portion of that collection. It is related there that the Brahman was the mouth of the deity, the Râjanya (Kshatriya) was made his arms, the Vaiçya his thighs, and the Cûdra sprang from his feet. Apart from the Cûdras, who naturally stood from the beginning in a position inferior to that of the Aryan Hindus, the allegorical language of the hymn simply

refers to the mutual relations of the different classes toward each other; it seems to mark the transition period from the earlier institutions to the approaching introduction of the caste system, and it is certainly still very far from implying those doctrines and customs that have been deduced from it in later times. In the code of Manu the figurative meaning of the hymn is altogether distorted, and the Brahman is set up as the supreme lord of the whole creation. The accounts given by Hindu authors in regard to the origin of caste are, upon the whole, very unsatisfactory. They are mostly mythical and inconsistent with each other, especially in post-vedic works, as the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana, and the Purânas. Some accounts agree with that of the Purusha Sûkta, and are probably borrowed from it; among the rest we notice one passage from the Mahâbhârate as particularly remarkable. It affirms explicitly that there were originally no castes, and that the distinction between the different classes of the community has afterward arisen from differences of character and occupation.

It is not surprising that the change from the earlier Vedic institutions to the later brahmanical hierarchy was accompanied and partly caused by a corresponding transformation of the whole system of worship; in fact, the ancient Vedic gods had gradually lost their hold upon the people, and came to be subordinate to a new dynasty of deities. Thus, although the Brahmans continued to appeal to the Veda as the foundation of their religion, the practical worship of the Hindus had become foreign in character and tenor to that enjoined by Vedic authority. The triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva was entirely unknown during the Vedic age. Vishnu is the only one of these three great gods of the later era who was also worshiped in the Rig-Veda, yet the position he held there does not necessarily suggest any thing which would indicate the prominent place he was afterward to occupy. The peculiar trait of Vishnu in the Veda is found in his famous three strides, signifying the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun. It is true there are also hymns in which a higher character is ascribed to him, and from one passage (R. V., vii, 99, 2) we might infer that he was considered the chief of all the gods. Yet there are but few passages where Vishnu is exclusively and particularly wor-

shiped in comparison with the great number of hymns addressed to Indra and other gods, and which ascribe to them likewise the highest attributes. In fact, each individual god was in the imagination of the worshiper for the time being *the* god, the supreme ruler, before whom the other deities disappeared. The process by which Vishnu attained the prominent position he has held in the mind of the Hindus for centuries is not quite clear, while the history of Siva is still more obscure. The artificial link to connect Vishnu and Siva, and in some way to unite the adherents of both, is Brahma, the mere product of later metaphysical speculation.

It is hardly necessary to say that the system of castes became greatly disturbed by the convulsions that agitated the Indian State for centuries. At first it was the rising of Buddhism, the national revolution against brahmanical despotism; then, after the overthrow of the new religion, the revival of Brahmanism; and later, the Mohammedan invasions, which, in connection with the intermarriages between the different castes, greatly modified the ancient order. Thus the division of the people into four castes has long been only theoretical. With the exception of the Brahmans, most of the old pure castes have been extinct for a long time, and at present there are about as many castes as there are different trades and professions.

Art. IV.—THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD: ITS ORIGIN.*

The persistent efforts of the human mind to interpret the volume of nature is no more to be discouraged than the like persistent effort to discover the meaning of the volume of inspiration. Truths are precious, not because they were found in the one volume or the other, but because they are truths.

* *The System of the World.* Newton.——*The System of the World.* Laplace.——*The Nebular Hypothesis and Modern Genesis.* Rev. S. Parsons, in Methodist Quarterly Review.——*Outlines of Astronomy.* Sir John Herschel.——*Popular Astronomy.* F. Arago.——*Experimental and Theoretical Researches on the Figures of a Liquid Mass withdrawn from the Action of Gravity.* J. Plateau.——*Recent Researches on the Secular Variations of the Planetary Orbits.* John N. Stockwell, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.——*Sketches of Creation.* Alexander Winchell, LL.D.

If one truth is more precious than another it must be because of its relation to human conduct as affecting human welfare. Truths of nature and truths of revelation may be submitted alike to this criterion.

Does it matter whether we know that "In the beginning God created the world" or not? If this be a truth it is a fundamental truth. Accepted, it will inevitably give color to every department of human science, making all science theistic. Especially it suggests as a corollary that all things are related to each other according to the plan of the one intelligent Creator. Also, that all laws put upon matter, upon worlds, upon organisms, upon mind, upon intelligent moral agents, are laws having the seal of his *authority*. In the department of moral government it will also follow that law is something more than an established order of antecedence and sequence—something more than the relation of cause and effect; a prescription to be followed by the free volition of a responsible agent. If, on the other hand, it be truth that matter, motion, and force are the eternal trinity, this also is a fundamental truth, and it will give color to all science, making it materialistic and atheistic.

The theory of evolution is advocated with equal zeal by partisans of theistic and atheistic ideas. To the former the divine wisdom is magnified by the conception of evolution. To the latter the conception of evolution is consistent only with the postulate of eternal matter, motion, and force, and the presumption of a divine original is summarily disposed of as a superstition of very low pedigree. Hence, in modern atheistic essays and discourses there is much stress laid on the doctrine of evolution as fundamental truth. These opposite conceptions are well illustrated by the opposite conclusions of the two greatest mathematicians of their respective times. Newton viewed the mechanism of the world and exclaimed, "This most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being!" Laplace looked upon the same mechanism and declared, "I have no need of such an hypothesis."

The Nebular Hypothesis.—In the theory of evolution there is necessarily an hypothetical beginning; not, indeed, of matter or of force, but of the evolutionary processes. Matter is sup-

posed to exist in a diffused state throughout the space occupied by the solar system. Existing potentially, according to Mr. Tyndall, *was a single form of energy*, which we know as gravitation, which was "the original form of all the energy in the universe." This original, diffused condition of the matter of the solar system, is a universal assumption. In the first exhibition of it by Laplace it is represented as thus diffused "In consequence of excessive heat." But Helmholtz, desiring to account for the solar heat itself, imagines the matter originally diffused without heat. He then finds an explanation of the origin of heat in the contraction of the mass by gravitation. Herbert Spencer adopts the views of Helmholtz, and invents a reason for the original diffusion of matter in "atomic repulsion," the overcoming of which by gravitation produces heat. It may not be inadmissible to say that no physicist has been able to *diffuse* many kinds of matter without heat, and the atomic repulsion which can do it is unknown to science. But the evolutionists are agreed as to the first step in the process of evolution. It was *contraction* or *condensation*. The next step was rotation of the mass. Then came centrifugal force, the mass became spheroidal. Then a zone was abandoned, or a ring was "thrown off" or "left behind" or "detached." In some way the zone or ring became a planetary mass, etc., etc.

It is, perhaps, best at this point to let the reputed author of the "Nebular Hypothesis" speak for himself, not that his delineation of the hypothesis is more definite or more consistent than that of others, but that we may examine it and see how far it agrees with some representations of it recently made. The following is his language:—

> However arbitrary the system of the planets may be, there exists between them some very remarkable relations, which may throw light on their origin. Considering them with attention, we are astonished to see all the planets move round the sun from west to east, and nearly in the same plane; all the satellites moving round their respective planets in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane, with the planets. Lastly, the sun, the planets, and those satellites in which a motion of rotation has been observed, turn on their own axis, and nearly in the same plane, as their motion of projection. A phenomenon so extraordinary is not the effect of chance; *it indicates a universal cause which has determined all these motions.* . . .

Another phenomenon of the solar system equally remarkable is the small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets and their satellites, while those of comets are much extended. The orbits of the system offer no intermediate shades between a great and small eccentricity. We are here again compelled to acknowledge the effect of a regular cause: chance alone could not have given a form nearly circular to the orbits of all the planets. This cause, then, must also have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets, and what is very extraordinary, without having any influence on the direction of their motion; for, in observing the orbits of retrograde comets, as being inclined more than 100° to the ecliptic, we find that the mean inclination of the orbits of all the observed comets approaches near to 100°, which would be the case if the bodies had been projected at random. Thus, to investigate the cause of the *primitive motions* of the planets we have given the five following phenomena: First. The motions of planets in the same direction and nearly in the same plane. Second. The motions of their satellites in the same direction and nearly in the same plane with those of the planets. Third. The motion of rotation of these different bodies, and of the sun in the same direction, as their motion of projection, and in planes but little different. Fourth. The small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets and of their satellites. Fifth. The great eccentricity of the orbits of comets, although their inclinations may have been left to chance.

Buffon is the only one whom I have known who, since the discovery of the true system of the world, has endeavored to investigate the origin of the planets and of their satellites. He supposes that a comet, in falling from the sun, may have driven off a torrent of matter which united itself at a distance into various globes, greater or smaller, and more or less distant from the luminary. These globes are the planets and satellites which by their cooling are become opaque and solid. This hypothesis is far from accounting for the preceding phenomena. Let us see if it is possible to arrive at their true cause.

Whatever be its nature, since it has produced or directed the motion of the planets and their satellites, it must have embraced all these bodies; and considering the prodigious distance which separates them, they can only be a fluid of immense extent. To have given in the same direction a motion nearly circular round the sun, this fluid must have surrounded the luminary like an atmosphere. This view, therefore, of planetary motion leaves us to think that, in consequence of excessive heat, the atmosphere of the sun originally extended beyond the orbits of all the planets, and that it has gradually contracted itself to its present limits, which may have taken place from causes similar to those which caused the famous star that suddenly appeared in 1572, in the constellation Cassiopeia, to shine with the most brilliant splendor during many months.

The great eccentricity of the orbits of comets leads to the same

result. It evidently indicates the disappearance of a great number of orbits less eccentric, which indicates an atmosphere extending beyond the perihelion of observable comets, and which in destroying the motion of those which they have traversed in a duration of such extent have reunited themselves to the sun. Thus we see that there can at present only exist such comets as were beyond this limit at that period. And as we can observe only those which in their perihelion approach near the sun, their orbits must be very eccentric; but at the same time it is evident that their inclinations must present the same inequalities *as if the bodies had been sent off at random*, since the solar atmosphere has no influence over their motions. Thus the long period of the revolution of comets, the great eccentricity of their orbits, and the variety of their inclinations, are very naturally explained by this atmosphere.

But how has it determined the motions and revolutions of the planets? If these bodies had penetrated this fluid its resistance would have caused them to fall into the sun. We may then conjecture that they have been formed at the successive bounds of this atmosphere by the condensation of zones, which it must have abandoned in the plane of its equator, and, in becoming cold, have condensed themselves toward the surface of this luminary, as we have seen in the preceding book. One may likewise conjecture that the satellites have been formed in a similar way by the atmosphere of the planets. The five phenomena, explained above, naturally result from this hypothesis, to which the rings of Saturn add an additional degree of probability.

The foregoing quotation contains the whole nebular hypothesis of Laplace. Although there is a degree of indefiniteness in some of his sentences, which leaves us in doubt as to his meaning, yet I think that my readers will agree with me that it contains the following propositions:—

1. The motions of the planetary system indicate "a universal cause."

2. Whatever this cause was, "it must have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets."

3. The substance of the planets and of the comets alike were originally a part of the solar atmosphere.

4. The comets were projected at random, which was very extraordinary; while the planets were "formed at the successive bounds of this atmosphere by the condensation of zones."

5. Some comets have probably been reunited to the sun.

The theoretical followers of Laplace have presented the hypothesis with clearer definition than the great master himself, and of these I know of none who have excelled Professor

Winchell, author of "Sketches of Creation," "Geology of the Stars," and "Doctrine of Evolution."

In the discussion of the nebular hypothesis in the little volume entitled "The Modern Genesis," I have quoted largely from him, not because I regarded his positions more vulnerable than others, but because, on the whole, I thought he had given the most complete, and the most consistent as well as the most plausible exhibit of the hypothesis; and the confidence with which he announces it as an established doctrine of modern science is well calculated to challenge an opponent. Some strictures upon my treatment of this subject in the "Modern Genesis" have been published. Generally these strictures have borne marks of candor and fairness, which I take great pleasure in acknowledging. Some of them have shown a misapprehension of the meaning of certain of my utterances, for which I am ready to take blame to myself, for I hold that a writer should express his thought so clearly that no person of ordinary intelligence, having a previous knowledge of the general subject on which he writes, need misunderstand him. Not in the spirit of a partisan, but in the interest of truth, I wish to review the general subject, and, incidentally, to review my reviewers.

What is the Nebular Hypothesis?—I understand it be an attempt to account for the origin of the solar system. Not, indeed, an attempt to account for the origin of the material out of which the solar system is built up, but an attempt to explain how, out of an original nebular mass of great tenuity, a system of celestial bodies has been evolved, which system of bodies is known as the solar system.

It immediately becomes a legitimate question, What bodies belong to the solar system? To this question I venture to reply as follows: To the solar system belong the sun, the planets, their satellites, the asteroids, the comets, and the meteoric groups. I have made mention of all these bodies, except the meteoric groups, in the "Modern Genesis," as furnishing legitimate data by which to try the credibility of the nebular hypothesis. I now point to this system as embraced in the empire of the sun. It is a system. It is bound together by a single force. Every member of this system submits itself to the controlling influence of the central body. So far as we

know any thing of any of these bodies we know it as a member of the system, and not otherwise.

No one will, probably, make an issue with me on this subject, except it be in reference to the comets. I said in "Modern Genesis," "We shall hardly make a separate theory for these bodies." I am obliged, upon further reflection, to reaffirm this opinion. Moreover, I understand Laplace himself to affirm that the "universal cause" which accounts for the origin of planets must account for the origin of comets also. I understand him to teach, by implication, that the comets were originally a part of the solar mass, for he speaks of their being "projected at random," "sent off at random," and of some of them as having "reunited themselves to the sun." He refers to the comets to show that "his empire [the sun's] extends beyond the known limits of the planetary system. In his discussion of the invariable plane he remarks: "In this computation we have neglected the comets, which, nevertheless, ought to enter into the determination of the invariable plane, since they make part of the solar system." Again he asks: "In the meantime what are the principal forces which retain the planets, satellites, and comets in their respective orbits?" Again he says, quoting Clairault: "A body which passes into regions so remote, and which escapes our sight during such long intervals, may be subject to the action of forces entirely unknown, as the attraction of other comets, or even of some planet whose distance is too great to be ever visible to us;" but he does not intimate that he *believes* that they ever pass into regions outside the "empire of the sun." Sir Isaac Newton says of the comets, "I am out in my judgment if they are not a sort of planets, revolving in orbits returning into themselves with a perpetual motion." Again he says: "The motions of the comets are exceedingly regular, are governed by the same laws with the motions of the planets." And again: "This beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets, could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being." It is worthy of remark that the problem with which Newton concludes his "System of the World" relates to the motions of the comet.

Arago remarks that, "From the time of Tycho Brahé, to whom we owe this first discovery, it has been found that comets

revolve around the sun in obedience to regular laws; that they revolve like the planets, but that their orbits are very elongated ellipses. The sun occupies always one of the foci of the elliptic orbit of each comet." "We might be astonished," remarks Laplace, "that Kepler should not have applied the general laws of elliptic motion to comets. But, misled by an ardent imagination, he lost the clue of the analogy which should have conducted him to this great discovery. The comets, according to him, being only meteors engendered in ether, he neglected to study their motions, and thus stopped in the middle of the career which was open to him, abandoning to his successors a part of the glory which he might yet have acquired."

These quotations ought to suffice to show that the opinion that the comets belong to the solar system is no novelty; and I will add that the later discoveries do not indicate that they are not legitimate members of the "solar family." I do not ignore the fact that some astronomers, considering the vastness of some of the cometary orbits, have indulged the fancy that they must be foreign bodies, wandering in the outer spaces, and by chance coming within the influence of solar gravitation. But I have to say that such conceptions are not only not helpful to the progress of true science, but actually injurious to it, because they remand to the region of fancy phenomena which were already the subject of mathematical calculation. In our study of the comets we should not overlook the fact, that the portion of their orbits which can be observed is comparatively small, because of the nature of the cometary mass itself, and not because of its distance from the observer only. Arago remarks that "the comet of Halley, as well before as after each of its apparitions, remains five whole years within the ellipse which Saturn describes, without any trace of its being perceived during this long period."

But Mr. Parsons is surprised that I should treat the comets as members of the solar family. He thinks it "certainly remarkable that the author of the 'Modern Genesis' should use the following language: 'One other class of objects demands our attention. The comets revolve around the sun, and must be recognized as erratic members of the cosmical system; and our inquiry is incomplete if it do not ask, How did they orig-

inate? How were they cast off from the cosmical sphere?' To these questions the nebular hypothesis replies, 'The comets do not belong to the solar system, neither were they derived from it, but are foreigners wandering through space, from sun to sun, and occasionally becoming fellow-citizens with the solar family." In reply to this I beg to say I think the foregoing utterance something "remarkable." I can find no place where the "illustrious author of the nebular hypothesis" treats observed comets as "foreigners, wandering through space from sun to sun," but I can point to nearly thirty places where he treats of them as *parts of the solar system*. He expressly says: "It appears, therefore, that comets which have been considered as meteors for many years are of the same nature as planets; their motions and their returns are regulated by the same laws as planetary motions." The great eccentricity of cometary orbits is no reason for pronouncing as Mr. Parsons does, that comets "do not belong to the system, neither were they derived from it." Laplace himself declares that the same cause which "gave a form nearly circular to the orbits of all the planets," "must also have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets." Mr. Parsons has no right to impute to Laplace the proposition that the comets had "been projected at random from the spaces beyond." Laplace uses the words "projected at random," but not the words "from the spaces beyond." He also uses the words "sent off at random," and, we think, gives us a clue to his belief as to their origin, when he speaks of some as having "reunited themselves to the sun." It is evident that Laplace *did* regard the comets as having been derived from the solar substance, and did not think them meteors "projected from the spaces beyond." It was substantially this conception of their origin that he attributed to Kepler. But if Laplace did not regard comets as "foreigners," etc., do the nebular theorists generally so regard them? I do not understand them so. Professor Winchell speaks of "the filmy comet that sweeps with such indecent haste through the ranks of the dignified sisterhood of the planets," but he does not deny it a place in the family.

Mr. Herbert Spencer marches bravely up to the task of accounting for the origin of comets, assuming that "floculi" were left behind by the contracting nebula, and that when they got

ready they came dashing in toward the central body with conspicuous impetuosity. It is an aptitude of this author to fancy any behavior of matter to meet an exigency of a theory. He never seeks, however, to avoid the responsibility of meeting the exigency, and never betrays a suspicion that he has failed to meet it. It is true, he does not conceive that the origin of planets and comets can be referred to the operation of the same mechanical forces, nor does Laplace. But herein, it appears to me, both are inconsistent. The policy of ignoring the comets, or of denying them a legitimate membership in the solar family, is a confession of the inadequacy of the hypothesis to account for the origin of the solar system.

Origin of Rotary Motion.—Rotary motion being found every-where in the solar system, its origin is one of the facts to be accounted for by the nebular hypothesis, and the subject is treated in the "Modern Genesis." Mr. Parsons calls attention to an omission to notice the following language of Professor Winchell: "The attractive influences of Sirius, Capella, Vega, and all the other fixed stars, were felt. The cosmical vapor, which might otherwise have been perfectly spherical, became distorted in its form. The position of its center of gravity was changed." I am sure that this statement does by no means account for the origin of rotary motion. Suppose the center of gravity of the primitive solar nebula to be determined by the attractions of the fixed stars, then, unless it can be shown that those stars change their places, the center of gravity would remain fixed in position relatively to all parts of the nebula, and relatively to all the stars. The stars are so distributed that the attractions would be in nearly all directions, and the spherical form could not be much distorted thereby; and if distorted, it could not revolve so long as its distortions were permanent in direction, as they must be if produced by stationary bodies. The assumption that, the center of gravity being changed, the atoms of the mass would descend in lines directed to one side of it and not toward it, is very bald.

But this whole supposition of a change of the center of gravity, the distortion of the spherical form, and the consequent inauguration of rotary motion, appears to me as simply a huge fancy. The great distance of the nearest of the fixed stars precludes the supposition of any sensible effect of their attraction.

The power of the internal attractions to produce the spherical form—notwithstanding the presence of an immense external attraction — is illustrated by many objects around us. The molten lead, falling through the air, assumes the spherical form while it obeys the earth's attraction. The condensed vapor forms the spherical rain-drop, which sometimes congeals into hail. The dew-drop hangs from the tip of the leaf a little watery globe; yet the attracting earth is very near it. Look now at the hypothetical nebula, out of which the solar system is to be formed. Suppose it to extend to the distance of the planet Neptune with the center of the sun as its center. The nearest fixed star is about seven thousand times as far from the center of this nebula as its alleged boundary; and, as the attractions vary inversely as the squares of the distances, an atom at the surface of this sphere will be attracted by the mass of the sphere itself forty-nine million times as much as it will be attracted by an equal star-mass at the distance of the nearest fixed star, seven hundred and eighty-four million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Sirius, and nineteen billion six hundred million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Capella. Sir Isaac Newton says, "The fixed stars, being such vast distances from each other, can neither attract each other sensibly nor be attracted by the sun;" and I am sure that no one can maintain, and I doubt that any one will soberly allege as a fact, that the stellar attractions account for a single observable phenomenon of the solar system.

Direction of Planetary Motion.—As the motions of the celestial bodies suggested to Laplace the hypothesis of the mechanical evolution of the solar system, so, also, these motions furnish us the means of testing the hypothesis. If there were no laws of motion the suggestion would not have been made, and the test would be impossible. But motion is the one thing in nature which, more than any thing else, illustrates the dominion of law. The direction of motions in the solar system is a legitimate test of the nebular hypothesis, because the hypothesis informs us what must have been the original direction of the motion of every planetary mass, derived mechanically from a revolving parent mass, and the laws of motion require that the planetary masses be now moving in that direction. I have

laid down as a law of centrifugal projection that "the projectile always moves in a direction at right angles with the axis of rotation," and from this law I have inferred that the planes of all the planetary orbits and the plane of the sun's equator must be exactly coincident. Upon this Mr. Parsons remarks, "Neither nature nor the nebular theorists have seen fit to comply with this arbitrary demand." I regret that Mr. Parsons did not show that here is an arbitrary demand. In what respect is the demand arbitrary? Does Mr. Parsons question the law which is cited? I suppose nothing to be better settled in mechanics than this law of centrifugal projection. I suppose Laplace to have this law in his mind when he speaks of a zone being "abandoned in the plane of the equator." Nay, I suppose this law to be recognized by *all* who have advocated the nebular hypothesis, for all represent the rings as being formed at the equator of the rotating body. Why in the plane of the equator? Why not somewhere else? The law is universally recognized. This, then, is no arbitrary demand. It is no demand at all. It is simply a fact. But the law being omitted, is the corollary of it, that if bodies have been projected by this force at any time in the past, they were projected in the plane of the equator, and must still be in it unless moved out of it by adequate force; is this an arbitrary demand? I beg to remind my reviewer that the nebular theorists themselves allow that the original direction of planetary motion was in the plane of the equator, and they indulge in conjectures respecting the causes by which the direction may have been changed.

When Laplace says that "We may suppose that the innumerable varieties which must necessarily exist in the temperatures and density of different parts of these great masses ought to produce the eccentricities of their orbits and the deviations of their motions from the plane of this equator" he recognizes the fact that "the eccentricities of orbits" and "the deviation from the plane of this equator" are facts in the existing solar system to be accounted for. Had he considered certain principles elsewhere set forth by himself he would not have offered this supposition. But he was by no means satisfied that it really accounted for "the deviation from the plane of this equator," for he presented another supposition. "If any

comets have fallen on the planets, their fall has caused the planes of the orbits and of the equators to deviate from the plane of the solar equator." Thus he indicates that these planes—that is, the orbital and equatorial—of *all* the planets must have been originally coincident with the plane of the solar equator. Now, they deviate. What has caused the deviation? In the true temper of a theorist, forgetful of his mathematical powers, he says, "If any comets have fallen on the planets," etc. It was the mathematician and observer in his sober mood who had previously said, "The action of comets upon the solar system has been hitherto insensible, which seems to indicate that their masses are inconsiderable." In the light of later observations it is scarcely too much to say that a comet *might* strike a planet and produce no sensible deviation from its plane. We know that the comet of 1770 was twice within the system of Jupiter's satellites without producing the slightest perceptible effect upon their movements. The insufficiency of these suppositions to account for the inclinations of orbital planes must be apparent, and I now call attention to the stellar attractions.

Mr. Parson says, "In answer to Mr. Slaughter's question, 'Will any one aver as a fact that stellar attraction affects the motions of a planet so as to change the plane of its orbit?' Mr. Winchell would reply by pointing to Sirius, Capella, and Vega, 'hanging on the verge of the firmament, exerting their attractive influences on the solar system in its earliest infancy.'" In reply to this I may express my regret that Mr. Parsons did not see fit to commit himself instead of Winchell to the assertion of actual, effective stellar attractions. I do not think that Mr. Winchell would seriously maintain that stellar attractions account for the change which, according to the nebular hypothesis, has taken place in the planes of the orbits of all the planets.

There remain to be considered the *planetary* attractions. I am indebted to Mr. Parsons for the correction of an error in my statement of the *amount* of inclination of planetary orbits, which occurred exactly as he conjectured, by neglecting a simple rule. I thank him for the correction. I am surprised, however, to find in his review the following language: "The author of the 'Modern Genesis,' in dealing with the subject of

'direction of planetary motions,' has entirely ignored the very important bearing of 'planetary perturbations' on this question." Can it be possible that Mr. Parsons overlooked the following language which was used by "the author of 'the Modern Genesis'": "*All planetary perturbations*, then, must arise from *planetary attractions*. But if the nebular theory be true, there can never arise such a collocation of the planetary masses as would give rise to orbital inclinations." "If the nebular theory be dismissed, and we conceive of a planetary system in which, from the first, there is axial motion in different planes, and orbital motion in different planes, then we can see how there may arise changes of motion," etc.

Planetary perturbations are not ignored. They are carefully considered, and the conclusion is that they do not account for the change of orbits from the invariable, *original* plane of their motion. As the solar system *is*, there are periodic and secular variations, which have their limitations, so that the stability of the system is assured; but I am obliged, after further reflection, to reaffirm the opinion that the nebular hypothesis being granted, we can conceive of no collocation of the planetary masses which could give rise to orbital inclinations. Let us imagine a system in the process of formation under our observation. The first ring is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." We see it broken up and assembled into a planetary mass, and it is moving in the original plane. Now we have one planet—only one—and it is subject to the attraction of the parent body. The direction of this attraction is that of a line drawn from the center of the parent body to the center of the planetary body, and that line is in the equatorial plane. There are no outside attractions to move it out of this plane. There are no planetary perturbations. But the process goes on, and by and by another planetary mass is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." Now there are two planetary bodies, and planetary perturbations will arise, but these perturbations will all be in this same plane. But the process goes on, and a third planetary mass is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." Now the perturbations may become more complicated, but still, *all* these bodies being in one plane, the perturbations are in one plane. *And so must it continue to be to the end.* The assumed conditions of the case—conditions assumed by the nebu-

lar hypothesis—necessitate the conclusion that the planetary perturbations known to exist in the solar system could never arise, and the fact that they have arisen is a demonstration of the falsity of the hypothesis. To refer to perturbations which are caused by the attractions of planetary bodies *outside* of this plane, as an explanation of the inclination of planetary orbits, is like reasoning in a circle. The perturbations arise out of the inclinations, and the inclinations are accounted for by the perturbations.

Mr. Parsons points to the satellites of Jupiter and says, "The uniformities of the ideal Jovian system, less subject to perturbing influences, in which the orbital planes of the satellites coincide with that of Jupiter's equator, should have admonished Mr. Slaughter of the weakness of his position." I answer, Not so. The Jovian system is the nearest image of the hypothetical solar system known in nature. Like that hypothetical system, it is far removed from attracting bodies. All the attracting bodies belonging to the system itself are in nearly the same plane, and all the perturbations arising out of their mutual attractions are in that plane, and will continue to be. Isolate the Jovian system in space and tell me, What can take the satellites out of that plane? But, according to the nebular hypothesis, the entire solar system has been at some time moving in one plane; and, according to observation, it is now out of it. The uniformities of the Jovian system ought to admonish the nebular hypothetists that any planetary system once started with orbits in one plane, and so isolated that stellar attraction could not move it out of that plane, must move on forever in that plane, unless external force shall turn it aside. Mr. Stockwell's investigations have no bearing whatever on this question of the *original change of the planetary orbits* from the plane in which, according to hypothesis, the planetary masses were successively abandoned. The fact that these *variations* occur in periods—no matter how long—has an important bearing on this discussion. It proves that the *variations* are not the result of accident. Astronomers, seeking their cause, do not find it necessary to imagine differences of density and temperature, or the falling of an occasional comet on a planet; but they find the cause readily in the planetary attractions, which they are able to subject to mathematical

analysis, and thus point out what they have been in the past, and what they will be in the future. Thus the variations themselves aid in determining the invariable plane. But they do not point to the *original departure* from the plane of the sun's equator. That is an assumption which they do not confirm.

Let us now sum up the argument based on orbital inclinations. According to the nebular hypothesis, all planetary motion *began* in one plane—the plane of the equator of the cosmical sphere. This plane is supposed to be identical with that of the sun's equator, because the sun is the residuum of the original mass, and we can imagine no change in the direction of its motion. In the present motions of the bodies which constitute the solar system there are motions in planes inclined to that equatorial plane. This fact stands against the hypothesis unless it can be *shown* that these motions could be changed so as to take those bodies out of this plane. This has not been shown. The effort to eliminate the comets from the solar system, so as to avoid the responsibility of accounting for their origin, is a confession of the weakness of the hypothesis. The meteoric groups and the satellites of the outmost planets are conspicuous examples of retrograde motion, with which the hypothesis cannot be made to agree.

Actual Velocities.—"In discussing the subject of actual velocities Mr. Slaughter makes two assumptions, neither of which is accepted by the advocates of the nebular hypothesis." So writes my reviewer. The two assumptions attributed to Mr. Slaughter are, that "the periodic times may be said to be the same from age to age," and that "we are justified in the declaration that the present orbital period of each planet must indicate what the axial period of the cosmical mass was at the time the planetary mass was detached." The reader will perceive that the second proposition is the corollary of the first. Is either proposition an assumption of Mr. Slaughter? The phrase "from age to age" is expressive not of definite periods, but of indefinite periods of vast duration. Within these periods it is known that there are secular inequalities which have been made the subject of calculation. But the stability of the solar system is supposed to have been demonstrated by mathematical analysis. Laplace remarks as follows: "The theory of the secular and periodic inequalities of

the motions of the planets, *founded on the law of universal* gravitation, has given to our astronomical tables a precision which proves the correctness and utility of this theory. By its means the solar tables, which before deviated two minutes from the observations, have acquired the same precision as the observations themselves." "After having *established the invariability* of the *mean motions* of the planets, I suspected that the alterations in the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn proceeded from the action of comets." "But on mature reflection, the order of the variations observed in the mean motions of these planets appeared to me to agree so well with the theory of their mutual attraction that I did not hesitate to reject the hypothesis of a foreign cause." "The *permanency* of the *mean motion* of the planets and of the greater axes of their orbits is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the system of the world."

Sir John F. W. Herschell puts the case as follows: "We are, therefore, conducted to this most remarkable and important conclusion, namely, that the major axes of the planetary (and lunar) orbits, and, consequently, also their *mean motions* and *periodic times*, are subject to *none but periodic changes;* that the length of the year, for example, in the lapse of infinite ages, has no preponderating tendency either to increase or diminution." "This theorem, (the *magna charta* of our system,) the discovery of which is due to Lagrange, is justly regarded as the most important, as a single result, of any which have hitherto rewarded the researches of mathematicians in this application of their science."

Arago says: "Euler, although more advanced than Newton in a knowledge of the planetary perturbations, also refused to admit that the solar system is constituted so as to endure forever. At no previous epoch did a physical question of such importance offer itself to the curiosity of mankind. Laplace assailed it with boldness, perseverance, and success. He derived from his masterly analysis this truth, which guarantees the stability of the solar system: the major axis of each orbit, and, consequently, in virtue of the third law of Kepler, *the time of revolution of each planet, is a constant quantity*, or, at any rate, is subject merely to small periodic changes. This important result of analysis, which implies, as a necessary consequence, the *invariability of the mean motions of the planets*,

arises from the circumstance that the eccentricities of the planetary orbits are small, and that their planes are inclined to each other at only inconsiderable angles."

Mr. Stockwell, in his more recent researches, confirms the statements of preceding astronomers on this subject, and says that "the elements of orbits will perpetually oscillate about their mean values." He shows that the tropical year may vary to the extent of 108.40 seconds of time. It "may be shorter than at present by 59.13 seconds, and longer than at present by 49.27 seconds." Thus oscillating about the mean values, "the periodic times may be said to be the same from age to age." Mr. Parsons has done me an unmerited honor in crediting me with this proposition, as if it were something novel, even though branded as an assumption. I did not assume it. I learned it as one of the established truths of astronomical science. Laplace did not assume it. He demonstrated it. Herschel announces it not as an assumption, but as the grandest achievement of mathematical analysis, and calls it the "*magna charta*" of the system. Arago says that Laplace derived this truth from his "masterly analysis," and Stockwell calls it a "magnificent generalization." But Mr. Parsons says it is an assumption, and the advocates of the nebular hypothesis will not accept it, albeit Laplace, who demonstrated it, was the author of the nebular hypothesis. I am provoked, in the best of humor, to retort on my reviewer by a quotation from himself: "There is not wanting evidence" that Mr. Parsons "not only failed to grasp some of the most important principles of natural philosophy lying at the foundation of this subject, but that he neglected to study" the subject of the *permanency of the mean motions of the planets*, "as sketched by the master hand" of the author of the nebular hypothesis. But my reviewer crowns his effort on this subject by declaring that this established truth, this *magna charta* of the system, "is invalidated by the hypothesis of a resisting medium." Henceforth I conclude that demonstration is nothing. Hypothesis is supreme. Surely it is time to make confession. If this is one of "the fundamental principles of natural philosophy lying at the foundation of this subject" I have failed to grasp it, and I suspect that even now it is above my reach. An established truth invalidated by an hypothesis! Nay, I think I shall ad-

here to the theorem, until it is demonstrated that the resisting medium is a fact. If such medium exist, the numerous bodies moving in it will probably exhibit some positive indications of the resistance, which will be in definite ratios with the *volumes*, *masses*, and *velocities* of the bodies. Calculations based on a sufficient number of careful observations of different bodies will conduct us to some definite conclusion. Until then the resisting medium ought not to figure largely in science. In Laplace's time the subject was discussed. Light itself was then supposed to be a fluid, through which the heavenly bodies moved. Laplace supposed it to be subject to gravitation, and, applying his analysis to it, he concluded that a sun might be so massive that its attraction would limit the progress of light within a certain radius. But Laplace rejected the supposition that any other force than gravitation operates to modify the motions of the planets. He asks, "Do any other forces act on the heavenly bodies besides their mutual attractions?" And he answers, "We are unacquainted with any, and we may affirm that their effect is totally insensible. We may be likewise equally certain that these bodies experience no sensible resistance from the fluids through which they pass, as light, the tails of comets, or the zodiacal light."

In the "Modern Genesis" reference is made to this hypothetical resisting medium in another connection. The claim that by it the planetary orbits are diminished and the orbital velocity gradually increased is exhibited. Why, then, it may be asked, was not account taken of this resisting medium in the discussion of the subject of actual velocities? For two reasons. First, because its existence is merely hypothetical, and, in my judgment, is not worthy to be set against the doctrine of the stability of the solar system, which stands on mathematical demonstration. Secondly, because, if the resisting medium be a fact, and its effect be to increase the velocities of the planets, as Professor Thomson, whom I quoted, holds, the fact could not invalidate my argument based on actual velocities. If actual velocities could not detach a peripheral ring less velocities could not do it.

But until it can be shown that *any conceivable* velocity could detach a ring from a rotating *fluid spheroid*, it is scarcely worth while to extend these remarks on actual velocities. I

recall attention to the statement made in the "Modern Genesis," namely: "We can conceive of a rotation which would throw *all* the matter out from the center so that the sphere would become a ring." Since making this statement my attention has been called to Plateau's experiment, (which I had represented from memory,) as illustrating this conception. In this experiment, described by Plateau himself, "The liquid sphere first takes rapidly its maximum of flattening, then becomes hollow above and below around the axis of rotation, stretching out continually in an horizontal direction, and, finally abandoning the disc, is *transformed into a perfectly regular ring.*" Now this is not a "peripheral ring," but a ring made up of the mass of the rotating substance.

Touching a peripheral ring, I said in the "Modern Genesis": "How the ring was changed into a planetary mass the advocates of the theory do not try to show." "On the contrary," says Mr. Parsons, "Laplace gives the entire *modus operandi* of this change," and he quotes Laplace as follows: "Almost always each ring of vapor ought to be divided into several masses—Saturn's rings being an exception. If one of them was sufficiently powerful to unite successively, by its attractions, all the others about its center, the ring of vapors would be changed into one sole spheroidal mass." This *modus operandi* consists of "almost always," "ought," and "if." Is it not strange that the rings of vapor *ought* to do *any thing*—"*almost always?*" Why not always? They *ought* to do it or they ought not; and if they ought, then it is wondrous strange that the *only* instance in which astronomers have supposed that there are rings is mentioned as an *exception.* It is clear that to sustain the nebular hypothesis rings *ought* to have been formed, and *ought* to have been divided, and some parts *ought* to have been large enough to attract other parts to themselves, and *ought* to have done it. But how all this *could* happen doth not yet appear.

The Relation of Orbital and Rotary Motion.—Mr. Parsons says that "The conclusion resting on the fact that there is no ratio between the two planetary motions depends on the assumption of the invariability of rotary motion. Our remarks on 'Kirkwood's Analogy' will apply to this branch of the subject. Mr. Slaughter has not seen fit to call the attention of his read-

ers to the bearing of this analogy on the subject. There are two causes affecting the length of the day of all the planets possessing free particles. Condensation accelerates rotary motion; tidal friction retards it. The latter cause is most effectual in checking the motions of the planets nearest the sun, and least effectual on the motions of massive planets."

There may be peril in dissent when the subject-matter is a scientific one, and when he who dissents is not a professional scientist. But one must accept the inevitable. I beg to say to my reviewer that "the conclusion resting on the fact that there is no ratio between the two planetary motions" does not necessarily depend on "the invariability of rotary motion." Let it be admitted that the contracting spheroid does experience an acceleration of its rotary motion. Let it also be admitted that a resisting medium does constantly press every planet toward the central body around which it revolves, so that its orbital motion is accelerated. Let it also be admitted that tidal friction retards the axial rotation which contraction accelerates; let all be admitted, and still there must be an ascertainable ratio between the axial and orbital motions of a planet. That the problem would be complicated is true, but I am sure that it is not beyond the reach of analysis.

In the solar system a sufficient number of facts are already known to furnish elements for the calculation. The theory of tidal friction, however, I regard as demonstrably an error. It would be too much to ask that space be allowed here for the demonstration, but I hope at a future time to offer it to the public. It is a sufficient answer to Mr. Parsons at present to say that the tidal brake is only an hypothetical one, and therefore its application to small bodies near the sun and large bodies remote from the sun is the application of a mere fancy, which a careful comparison of the planets with direct reference to this hypothesis would dissipate. The omission to call attention to Kirkwood's Analogy, and show "its bearings on this subject," will probably be regarded as an innocent omission, since Mr. Parsons himself recognizes Kirkwood's Analogy as a failure.

Acceleration of Rotary Motion.—The inevitability of the acceleration of the rotation of a contracting globe is so important a postulate in the nebular hypothesis that I wish to give

it further consideration. Professor Winchell says: "A rotation once inaugurated in a shrinking globe of matter, it is *demonstrable* that it would continue to be accelerated as long as the mass should continue to contract. In the present case the mass assumed the form of a greatly flattened spheroid, and the velocity of the peripheral portions became so great as to overcome the power of gravity. As a consequence the peripheral portion became detached in the form of a ring—as water is thrown from a rapidly revolving grindstone."—*Sketches of Creation.*

Entertaining profound respect for the writer of the foregoing statement, I must make an issue with him on the proposition that the contraction of a rotating spheroid could accelerate the actual velocity of the peripheral portions of it. The contraction of such a rotating spheroid would accelerate the angular velocity of the rotation. But is there any important difference between the two propositions? There is a very great difference, and—in reference to the nebular hypothesis—a vital difference. The angular velocity of a rotation may be increased without increasing the quantity of motion, that is, the momentum of the body; but the actual velocity cannot be increased without increasing the momentum. If we conceive of all the particles of a rotating body drawn proportionately toward the axis of rotation, we conceive of them as moving in diminishing circles. Moving through equal spaces in equal times, they will describe the lesser circles in less time than the larger circles. Therefore with uniform actual velocity they will exhibit accelerated angular velocity. And this is precisely what must happen when the contraction is proportionate throughout the whole mass, and no external force is applied either to accelerate or retard the motion.

But suppose the contraction to be proportionately greater at the periphery than within the mass, what must follow? Then the outer particles only falling toward the axis of rotation, a portion of their momentum must be expended on the mass, and thus the actual velocity of these particles will be retarded. In this case, also, the acceleration of the angular velocity of the whole spheroid must be less than in the former case. In either case the sum of the actual motions of all the particles of the mass (omitting the motion of contraction) is a constant

quantity, and I submit the following proposition, begging the advocates of the nebular hypothesis to show that it is an error, if it be one: In a contracting, rotating spheroid, actuated by no external force, there can be no acceleration of the actual velocity of the peripheral portions, and there can be no increase of the centrifugal force. This proposition, if true, is fatal to the nebular theory. I think the proposition demonstrable.

It may be thought that the increase of actual velocities found successively in the planets as we pass from Neptune toward the sun illustrates a fact in the contraction of the solar nebula quite the opposite of my proposition. For it is true that each successive planet moves through space with a higher velocity than its immediate predecessor. Neptune has an actual velocity of about 12,500 miles an hour; Uranus, 15,000; Saturn, 21,000; Jupiter, 28,700; Mars, 53,000; Earth, 65,000; Venus, 77,000; Mercury, 105,000. Does not this show that the parent spheroid had given to the peripheral portions increasing actual velocity? My reply is, Go on. Examine the present actual velocity of the peripheral portions of the parent spheroid, the sun. Hypothetically it has continued to shrink until now. Mr. Winchell says it is demonstrable that so long as it continues to shrink the velocity of its peripheral portions will continue to be accelerated. It has contracted about 34,000,000 miles of its radius. It must have reached a very high velocity, for it has contracted into a very small volume, and the tidal friction caused by the smaller planets nearest to it cannot greatly hinder its rotation. Behold! The peripheral portions of this body are moving at the rate of about ten thousand miles an hour. From one hundred and five thousand to ten thousand is not a very rapid acceleration. And the same thing is found in the Saturnian and Jovian systems. The satellites of Saturn exhibit, successively, a higher velocity, ranging from 8,000 an hour in the most distant to 33,000 miles an hour in the nearest, but Saturn itself has an equatorial velocity of only 21,000. The satellites of Jupiter exhibit velocities ranging from 19,000 miles an hour to 40,000, but the peripheral portions of Jupiter have a velocity of only 28,000.

What is the explanation of these facts in the system of the world? Based on the postulates of the nebular hypothesis I know of none. Reflecting that these orbital velocities are ex-

actly what are required to maintain these bodies in their respective orbits and produce the stability of the system; reflecting that the eccentricities and the inclination of the orbits all have some relation to the same end; we may conclude that this system of the world must be the production of a being whose wisdom and power are illustrated in its constitution. Thus to us "the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork." Devotion may be kindled by the contemplation of his works, and we may rest in the assurance that He who, moment by moment, directs the movements of mighty globes, does not forget the meanest of his creatures. While we employ no theological argument against the nebular hypothesis, we are conducted by the consideration of scientific data alone to a theological conclusion which is full of comfort.

ART. V.—THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE.

SYLLABUS.

Preliminary

1. Things assumed—
   (1.) The genuineness of the sacred books.
   (2.) The authenticity of the sacred books.
2. Elements which must be eliminated—
   (1.) All additions to the *text*, such as the Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew, (sixth to tenth centuries,) Greek breathings and accents (seventh and eighth centuries,) Greek punctuation, (complete in the ninth century,) etc.
   (2.) All additions to the *subject-matter*, such as the titles of books, (those of the Pentateuch are later than 285 B. C., those of the Gospels and Epistles took their present form probably in the second century A. D., while of the others the date is more uncertain,) the subscriptions to the Pauline Epistles, (fifth century,) and the titles of the Psalms. (Possibly some of these are original; certainly they are older than the Septuagint, 285 B. C.)

(3.) All modifications by way of *division* and *arrangement.* Among these are the Parshioth of the Pentateuch, (greater, earlier than the second century, lesser, fourth century;) the Haphtaroth of the prophets, (of uncertain date;) the Ammonean sections of the Gospels, substantially preserved in our modern paragraphs, (third century;) the chapter-division (1248 A. D.;) and the verse-division, (New Testament, 1551 A. D.—Old Testament, made by the Masoretic punctuation mentioned above.) The most important issue involved in *arrangement* is in the position assigned to the book of Hebrews, which in the catalogues of the Eastern Church follows Thessalonians, but in those of the Western Church comes after Philemon. This difference of arrangement is an evident indication of difference of view as to its Pauline authorship.

A. *The Fact.*

1. General course of proof.

(1.) Christ is divine. This is shown—

a. By his relation to Old Testament prophecy.

b. By his strange and unique career.

c. By the unaccountable originality of his sayings.

d. By the absolute perfection of his character.

e. By his miracles.

f. By his unmistakable assumption of divine prerogatives.

(2.) Hence Christianity is divine, for it is simply an expansion of Christ's life.

a. Christianity developed, which is the New Testament religion—

(*a.*) In its principles.

(*b.*) In its organs, which are eminently the sacred books and the sacred offices.

(*c.*) In its work.

b. Christianity germinant — The Old Testament religion—

(*a.*) In its origin.

(*b.*) In its manifestations.

(*c.*) In its end or outcome—The incarnation of Christ.

2. Particular proofs of the divinity of the Scriptures.
   (1.) The writers of Scripture were inspired. These were—
      a. Prophets. From these we have the Old Testament, which is, as a whole, essentially prophetic, and, in considerable part, formally so.
         (*a.*) The inspiration of these men is everywhere claimed in the Old Testament. Isa. i, 1, 2; Ezek. i, 3; Hos. i, 1, etc.
         (*b.*) And is borne witness to in the New Testament. 2 Peter i, 21; Acts i, 16; 1 Peter i, 10–12; Acts xxviii, 25, etc.
      b. Apostles. From these we have the New Testament, which is essentially apostolic in its function — a body of apostolic testimony and teaching.
         (*a.*) To them inspiration was promised. Matt. x, 19, 20; John xiv, 26, etc.
         (*b.*) By them claimed or assumed. 1 Cor. ii, 13; xiv, 37; 1 Thess. ii, 13, etc.
   (2.) The phenomena of Scripture prove its inspiration. Among these phenomena are its predictions of future and contingent events, its supernatural revelations, and its wondrous power of searching the heart.
   (3.) Our Lord and his apostles recognize the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures. Matt. xxii, 43; Mark xii, 36; Acts xxviii, 25; John xii, 41; Heb. ix, 8, etc.
   (4.) Scripture makes this direct claim for itself—
      a. By the terms employed, such as "*the* Scripture." Matt. xxii, 29; Mark xiv, 49; Rom. iv, 3, etc. "*Holy* Scriptures." Rom. i, 2; 2 Tim. iii, 15, etc.
      b. By the term Scripture used as synonymous with its divine Author. Gal. iii, 8; Gen. xii, 1–3; Romans ix, 17; Exod. ix, 16; Heb. iii, 7; Psa. xcv, 7.
      c. By direct assertion. 2 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Peter i, 21; iii, 16.

(5.) This was the uniform faith of the early Church. See Lee on "Inspiration," Appendix G.; or Westcott's "Introduction to the Gospels," Appendix B.

3. Objections.

(1.) Inspiration is not necessary to account for much of the Bible. Take, for instance, the historical books. Their human authors were competent to write them without supernatural aid; indeed, we are accustomed to rest the claims of the Bible to authenticity on this very assumption. If, then, they belong to the domain of man, why ascribe them to God?

a. But who is competent to say that inspiration was unnecessary here? May it not be that to write the histories of the Bible, *with their proper adjustments*, required divine aid as much as to write prophecy itself?

b. The histories of the Bible are fundamental. Every thing rests upon them, or is an outgrowth from them. To leave out inspiration here and bring it in in prophecy or psalm, is to place the greater below the less. The grandest phenomenon in all literature is these same historical books, especially the gospels.

c. This view is opposed to the explicit statement of Scripture concerning itself. The external testimony to the inspiration of these books is as perfect as to that of any portion of Scripture.

(2.) Many things in the Bible are too trivial to comport with the dignity of inspiration. For example, Paul's mention of his cloak and parchments, his advice to Timothy about drinking wine, his personal salutations, etc.

a. But things are trivial or important often, not because of what they are in themselves, but because of their relations.

b. If any human trait or feature is in place in the Bible, why not these? The summit of the loftiest mountain is no nearer the overarching firmament than the common level of the world.

c. Such matters as these are but the fine lines of the perfect picture. As it is important to see how Christianity does not efface or destroy the nobler and more commanding traits of humanity, so it is important to see that it destroys nothing.

(3.) In some cases inspiration is expressly disclaimed. See 1 Cor. vii, 10, 12, 25. So far from this being true, the reverse is plainly implied. The chapter clearly reveals to us the consciousness of Paul as one in whom inspiration, and so authority, resided. Three cases are stated:—

a. That in verse 10, which, he says, "the Lord"—the Lord Jesus, as in Matt. xix, 5—had decided, namely, that those who are married should not forsake one another. This, the old religion and the authority of the master alike had settled.

b. That in verse 12—the case of the parties being unlike in their religion—a case in which the old religion allowed separation. Ezra x, 3. Paul reverses this and forbids it.

c. That in verse 25, in which Paul says religion has no command to give. It is in the present state of things inexpedient to contract marriage. Hence he gives advice, but not command.

(4.) Some books mentioned in the Bible are lost, and so we have no assurance of a complete revelation. See Num. xxi, 14; 2 Sam. i, 18; 2 Chron. ix, 29; xxxv, 25; 1 Kings xi, 41; 2 Kings xxiv, 5; Luke i, 1; Col. iv, 16. But—

a. There is reason to think that the "Epistle from Laodicea," mentioned in Col. iv, 16, may be that commonly known as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

b. Even if we could know—as we do not—that some of these "lost books" were inspired, it would not follow that our present canon is mutilated or imperfect. For many prophets had a mission to their own age alone; others, as Jonah

and Jeremiah, partially so. Even the words and acts of the divine Christ were most of them confined to his own age, and are to us practically lost. Hence the fact alleged, even if true, is not out of harmony with God's method of procedure in other and more important regards.

(5.) But the Scriptures contain mistakes and errors. There are *contradictions;* for instance, as to the time of the crucifixion—Mark xv, 25; John xix, 14–18; as to the time of the Israelite bondage—Gen. xv, 13; Exod. xii, 40; Gal. iii, 17; as to the manner of Judas's death—Matt. xxvii, 5; Acts i, 18, etc. There are *errors in the historical statements* of Scripture; for instance, in John iv, 5, in the name of the place where Jacob's well was; in Luke ii, 1, as to the taxing of Cyrenius; and in Acts xiii, 7, in the mention of Sergius Paulus as proconsul and not *proprætor.* As examples of *errors of citation*, take Matt. ii, 22; xxvii, 9; Mark i, 2; 1 Cor. ii, 9; Heb. ii, 7. *Errors of opinion* are reflected in the sacred volume as to the time of the second advent—1 Thess. iv, 15, etc.; as to demoniacal possessions, as to the influence of angels—John v, 4, etc.

This is not the place to enter upon a minute examination of these difficulties one by one. They are here set down as among the strongest and most important of the specifications under this general head. Several of them have been completely removed by fuller investigation; in other instances the difficulty admits of probable solution, and in no instance is there demonstrable contradiction of error. It may be confidently affirmed that the whole tendency of scholarly research and progress has been to clear up or modify these difficulties, and not to increase and intensify them. That a book so complicated in its structure, and exhibiting such variety in authorship, style, subject-matter, time and place, and which has been for so many centuries in the very focus of scholarly criticism, should maintain such a profound and pervading unity, is of itself a God-announcing miracle.

B. *The Mode.*

1. Inspiration defined.

That extraordinary divine influence under which the books of Scripture were originated.

a. It differs from all forms of merely human inspiration. The mere pouring forth the resources of one's own nature, under whatever conditions, is not inspiration at all. To apply the term to the excitement of the orator, or the elevation of the poet, is to use it figuratively and not literally.

b. From that common influence of the Spirit which is vouchsafed to all good men. This influence is always in the direction of *normal* humanity. It proposes to bring back humanity to the normal standard; it never looks to transcending it. Hence, the more richly this influence is enjoyed the more purely and exactly human the subject of it will be.

c. From that special influence of the Spirit which is given to sacred offices and sacred exercises. Such, for instance, as is implied in the ordination services of nearly all Christian denominations, and, among Methodists and Episcopalians, is assumed and invoked in the *Veni, Creator Spiritus.* This, again, looks only to restoring to humanity its lost perfection, not to enlarging the original idea of humanity. The influence of the Spirit on the minister looks to precisely the same end as the influence of the Spirit on the private Christian—the salvation of individual man and of humanity.

d. It is best illustrated by the inspiration which resided in prophets and apostles; indeed, in a very important sense, it is identical with it. The Scriptures are the permanent product of prophetical and apostolical inspiration. Looking at this subject, then, in the light of these illustrations of it, we see, 1. That inspiration did not extinguish human traits; 2. Nor arrest or suspend human agency; but, 3. It made results possible that could come only from God.

2. Theories of inspiration.

(1.) As to extent.

a. The theory of partial inspiration. According to this only certain portions of the Bible rise into the realm of inspiration, while the great body of it is simply human, and is in nothing distinguished from the ordinary productions of men. But—

(*a.*) This theory assumes an unwarrantable and unreal distinction in Scripture. It destroys a unity which is attested by every proof that bears upon the subject.

(*b.*) It conflicts with the very definite testimony of Scripture respecting itself: "All Scripture," etc.

(*c.*) It does not truthfully reflect the consciousness of the Church, especially the early Church, on this subject.

(*d.*) This theory is damaging to the Bible as a rule of faith—a standard of appeal. If this be true, the ultimate standard is not in the divine word at all, but in the human reason. It is one type, and, indeed, a very common type, of rationalism.

b. The theory of degrees of inspiration; as, for instance, revelation, superintendence, approval. Some things in the Bible could be known only as revealed, and, hence, must have come directly from God. This is the highest degree of inspiration. Other things were fully within the knowledge of men; all they needed was divine superintendence in selecting, arranging, and recording. This is the second degree. Still other material may have previously existed in a written form, perhaps prepared originally for merely secular uses, and has been incorporated into the sacred record by men under the divine guidance, and thus stamped with the divine approval. This is a third and the lowest degree of inspiration. Upon this theory we remark:—

(*a.*) This may be accepted as a probable statement of the manner in which the books of Scripture were originated.

(*b.*) This theory assumes unwarrantably that there *can* be degrees of inspiration. God's authority is absolute. It does not admit of degrees. Every thing upon which God places his seal is of perfect authority by whatever method produced.

(*c.*) This view has no support whatever from the evidence upon which we depend to establish the fact of inspiration. On the contrary, it is quite irreconcilable with it.

c. The theory of plenary inspiration. This involves two particulars: 1. That the *whole* Bible is inspired; and, 2. That it is *equally* inspired. It is also implied that there is inspiration in the language as well as the subject-matter, for we are considering not a system of truth merely, but a book in which that truth has come out into expression. Language is as essential a part of a book as thought.

The first of the above propositions—that the *whole* Bible is inspired—is supported by all considerations, such as those mentioned above which bear against partial inspiration; the second—that it is *equally* inspired—is supported by every objection to the theory of degrees of inspiration.

(2.) As to mode.

a. The rationalistic theory. This is, that inspiration comes from within—that it is simply human nature coming up to its divinest height. Humanity is an ascending scale from the animal to the angel. As a man rises above the ine of average level—as the spiritual in him predominates over the animal—he becomes inspired.

(*a.*) This is not inspiration in any legitimate sense. Hence it stands opposed by all proofs

that indicate divinity, and so authority, in the Scriptures.

(*b.*) Such a Bible would not meet our want as a book of religion, for religion proposes nothing less than a *rebinding* of the soul to God. It seeks to establish again relations that have been sundered by sin. Now, in order to this, there must be a laying hold of both God and man. And nothing can be a book of religion which is not divine as well as human. To be a conduit of the divine life into humanity it must be joined to God as well as man.

(*c.*) Such a book would be out of harmony with the system of religion which it purports to reveal. Christ is divine; religion is divine. To this a merely human book would not be an adequate witness.

b. The mechanical theory. This is the theory of verbal dictation. The sacred writers were pens moved by the divine Spirit, and so held to the writing a merely instrumental relation. They are in no sense authors — sources from which these writings proceeded — but merely amanuenses.

(*a.*) This theory leaves the human phenomena of the Bible entirely unaccounted for. The Bible is the most intensely and broadly human of any book ever written. It contains every legitimate evidence of human authorship, and this fact is one of the chief elements of its value. Because we see reflected in this mirror not only the perfect image of God—his infallible wisdom, his irresistible will, and his unchanging love—but also the mind and the heart, the trials and the triumphs, of individual men, the Bible comes home to us not merely as an influence from without, but as a power that intrenches itself in our very nature.

"But," it is asked, "is any thing too hard for God? Could *he* not produce these human phenomena, as they are called? Could not the Holy Spirit write in the style of Isaiah, or David, or John, or Paul?" We answer, There is no physical if there be no *moral* obstacle. God has the *power* to make me believe that I come into warm and inspiring contact with the individuality of Paul, and that I read his own voluntary giving out of his experience even when this is not at all the case, if he be not *morally incapable* of such a proceeding. So men once asked, "Could not God have made the rocks with all their stratifications and petrifications? Why bring in second causes and indefinite time into your infidel cosmogony when God could have produced the whole in one moment by the word of his mouth?" Who does not see that these two questions are similar, and that either one of them strikes at the very foundations of faith?

(*b.*) This theory takes from the Bible one main element of its value. Much of the zest with which I read it depends upon my sense of personal contact with its human authors; hence if this is a delusion, I have a sense not only of disappointment but of injury. I flee from this splendid temple, with its awful deity and consuming fire, because I find here no officiating priest of like passions with myself.

(*c.*) This theory gives us a Bible unsuited to human want. In this respect it is like the theory already considered, though at the opposite extreme. The former rears a ladder from the earth, but its top does not reach the heavens; this lets down a ladder from the skies, but its foot does not rest

upon the earth. In neither case is there a communication established between earth and heaven.

(*d.*) And, finally, it may be helpful to note that this theory is in its nature *Calvinistic.* It is an application of the Augustinian theory of religion to the matter of the Bible.

c. The Dynamic theory. According to this, the writer is dealt with not as a *forceless instrument*, but as a *living agent;* not as a *thing*, but as a *man.* He is not stripped of his essential prerogatives and reduced to the lowest level of being, but continues in the full exercise of his human faculties; while God so joins himself to him, so pervades him with his Spirit, that the writing is of human and divine origin.

(*a.*) This theory is in harmony with the facts. One class of these facts are human phenomena, another class are divine phenomena. As, therefore, there are both humanity and divinity in the product, there must be both in the producer.

(*b.*) It is in harmony with the great truths of religion—a divine-human Christ, and a personal experience in which the divine life and the human blend in sweet and blessed unity.

(*c.*) This fits the Bible to be a book of *religion.* It is related to man, and also to God.

(*d.*) But it is in its nature a mystery. And so is Christ, so is religion, so are all divine-human phenomena.

ART. VI.—SCHOEBERLEIN ON THE RESURRECTION BODY.*

THE Church dare not ignore the momentous questions which are being raised by modern materialism. She must seriously prepare to meet them frankly and squarely in the face, for they involve the very foundations of faith and of morals. Of course, the Church has nothing to do with mere empirical physics; but it is her very imperative duty to watch over the ontological inferences which are offered as resulting therefrom, and to test these inferences by the central principles that underlie the whole Word of God. The errors of materialism cannot be refuted by a bald, one-sided Christian spiritualism, with its unconciliated antitheses between God and creation, spirit and nature. We can rise to clearness of vision only by admitting the *modicum* of truth that is contained in materialism, and by therewith supplementing the deficiencies of our traditional spiritualism. That is, we must come to the standpoint of an *ideal realism*, which holds the middle path between a materialistic deification of nature, on the one hand, and a spiritualistic contempt of it, on the other; and which finds in a higher sphere the real unity-bond between God and the world, and between spirit and nature. Now, precisely this is the stand-point of the Holy Scriptures; and for the task of complementing our too bald spiritualism, the Scriptures afford abundant help. To this task we here humbly undertake to contribute our mite. We premise only that in every position we shall take, our conscious purpose will be, not to speculate without authority, but simply to educe into fuller expression that which appears to us as clearly involved in the Word of inspiration itself.

When God created the world he created it as heaven

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and earth; that is, as a higher and lower world, the latter developing its forces under the constant animating influence of the former. First, he created the general substance—*matter*. Matter is not a dead mass; it is a vital synthesis of forces. In it lies the germ, the potence, of all creatural objects and beings. Over the bosom of primitive matter hovered, as generating principle, the Spirit of God. By inbreathing into matter the creative ideas of God, the Spirit called forth all individual existences. And as divine love proceeded to fuller and deeper expression, in the same degree there arose creatures of higher and higher endowment. In the inorganic world we find matter and potency undistinguishable. Crystals, for example, are formed simply by the immediate action of the Spirit. It is only in the plant that force rises to some sort of individuality. Here there is a vital unity which attracts to itself homogeneous elements, and thus gives to itself an outer form. Such force is *life;* and such form, an *organism*. At the next higher stage force becomes animal life. Here the central life has sensation, and is able to bring its organism into different relations to the outer world. Such life, or force, we call *soul;* such a sensitive, movable, soul-subservient organism, is a *body*. Body and soul are for each other. The material organism would not become a body if the life in it did not become a soul; and, conversely, the life could not become a soul, except by the help of a homogeneous organism. But at this stage the soul is as yet bound up within the limits of the body; it is simply the unity of the body. Its activity is directed solely to the conservation of the animal; and all animal understanding and volition, so far as they exist, serve the same end. Whatever higher powers may seem to be called forth under human training are but simple reflexes of what does not belong to animal life *per se*.

The solidarity of body and soul is not to be taken as implying that the one is the product of the other. The body does not generate the soul, nor does the soul aggregate around itself the body. The body is formed, by the Spirit, of the primitive matter of creation. Souls are produced by the same Spirit by direct creation. But they are created only on the basis of the material element; hence they are not made and then put into matter, but they are called forth as a higher poten-

tiality of the primitive force of the universe by the action of the Spirit upon matter. And, conversely, matter would never become a body if the Spirit did not posit a soul in matter, which should appropriate from the outer world the materials suitable for its body. Thus the origination of the soul is essentially conditioned by the body, and that of the body by the soul. The formation of the body is not a result of mere chemical affinities between different elements of matter; but it is a vital process; it proceeds from the animate principle. The soul assumes to itself such elements as adequately express objectively its life and its wants. It itself, and not chemical affinities, is the organizing principle. The higher the form of the soul-life, the higher the materials on which it draws for the nutriment of its body. The power of forming to itself a body is an essential quality of the animal soul; when this power ceases the life of the soul is at once obstructed.

In the sphere of mere *nature* the animal life and soul are strictly conditioned by the material body. Here the spiritual and the bodily are unitary and inseparable. Here there is no plastic reaction of the soul upon the body; but the creative ideas of God are brought to direct realization in precise accordance with his intention. Here the dogmas of materialism are relatively correct. The animal soul is conditioned in its outgoings by the instincts of bodily preservation and development. How is it, now, in the sphere of *human* life? In the first place, we find here a similar solidarity of soul and body. Man did not become a living soul by a mere one-sided action of the Spirit, but by the Spirit as acting upon the basis of a corporeity, for which the world of nature furnished the needed materials. The soul formed the vital nucleus by which and from which the formation of the body is plastically conditioned. The human soul is so in need of a body, that in default of a body it would lack an element essential to its well-being; and it would constantly feel an impulse to form for itself an outer material image of its inner essence, an organ for its life. And, conversely, the body is rooted with all the fibers of its being in the soul. Nay, the soul, on its nature-side, bears already within itself the essence, the potentiality, of a body; and it needs only to draw to itself the proper elements from the outer world in order that the germinally extant inner body

actually posit itself as a crude outer body, even as the virtually extant tree, in the ungerminated seed, needs only to unfold its potency in order to become a real tree. Thus the soul of man is essentially a *nature-soul.*

This is further evidenced by our feelings and our experience. If body and soul were not so intimately related, how could we account for that love of the soul to its body which is so universal? And how explain, also, that love to nature in general, which is so characteristic of even the noblest souls! Our souls, in fact, bear the life of nature within them; nay, it is in the soul of man that the life of nature comes to its true culmination. The strength of the inner bond between soul and body is further manifest in certain abnormal phenomena; for the lusts of the flesh, and similar sins, would not be so deeply rooted in us if the body and nature affected the soul only externally. It is really because the lust is seated in the soul itself that the heart and will of the personality find it so difficult to resist the influence of the flesh. But as the soul of man is deeply drawn to nature, so is nature strongly attracted to the soul of man. Man is not a foreign power placed above nature, but he is an essential part of nature's life. All three of the kingdoms of nature are harmoniously blended in his body, and in this body the general matter of nature has attained to its noblest development. Man is properly the very heart of nature, to which all her life-streams flow, and by the pulsations of which she is affected to her outermost periphery. Man is in this essential manner a veritable *microcosm*, a world-image, the synthesis and highest fruitage of the world of nature. It is in the recognition of this, not merely ideal, but real connection of man with nature, that consists the power which materialism exerts sometimes over the noblest of men. And this power cannot be broken by simply denying such connection. It can be broken only by recognizing its truth, and by, also, at the same time, showing the elements in which man transcends nature, by the ignoring of which modern materialism has sunk to the standpoint of an antichristian paganism.

Man is body and soul, nature and life; but he is, also, more; he is body, soul, and spirit. God breathed into man's animate nature the divine Spirit. Thus man stands midway between nature and God. His soul is partaker, on the one hand, of the

realm of nature; on the other, of the Spirit of God. Through him pulsate both the life of nature and the life of God. Being participant of the Spirit of God, he is able to comprehend himself in the sense that God comprehends him, and freely to govern his course in harmony with the divine idea. Man is thus not merely a nature-soul; he is also a spirit-soul. Hence the deep gravitation of the human soul toward the spirit-world, the world of ideas, which is, in fact, essentially inherent in him. Hence the deep tendency of man toward communion with God —with God, whose thoughts he can think, and whose will he should, and can, will. Man is accordingly a *microtheos*, a divine image, on earth—not in an abstract, but in a very concrete manner, seeing that the divine Spirit is substantially implanted in his soul. The soul of man, as participant of the Spirit, becomes a being of a higher kind than nature. As master of itself, it is, also, master of its body, and able to subordinate it to higher ends, to the realization of divine purposes. As master over its body, it is, in a certain degree, independent of the fate of the body. Though the outer materials of the body may perish, the soul perishes not. Being participant of the Spirit, it shares the Spirit's immortality. And does not this lead to a further consequence? As master over the body, will not the soul communicate its own participation in eternal life to its body? And man sustains a like relation to the realm of external nature. Planted in the bosom of nature, man is called, by his mastery over it, to impress his moral ideas upon it, and to subordinate it as an obedient instrument to the fulfillment of his divine calling. As a spirit, man is lord over nature; nay, as the image of God, he is its mediator and priest, to whom it longingly looks for its ultimate transfiguration and deliverance from the bondage of corruption.

Thus we have traced the antithesis in natural things to its highest stage. Appearing in the inorganic realm as force and matter, in the vegetable as life and organism, in the animal as soul and body, it, lastly, appears as spirit and nature. And while, in the lower stages, the unity binding together the antithesis was only ideal, that is, in God; here, in the highest stage, the unity is real, namely, in the soul of man, which is at once both a nature-soul and a spirit-soul. *The soul of man is, thus, the focal point of the world.* In it is reflected and

rooted the collective realms of nature and spirit, inasmuch as it has the capacity both of embracing the world of spirit, and of drawing to itself the quintessence of nature, in the form of a body. In it, as a nature-soul, the kingdom of nature comes to its climax; in it, as a spirit-soul, the kingdom of ideas which God has embodied in nature attains to consciousness. But the soul becomes a true unification of the two realms, nature and spirit, only by the fact that they not merely co-exist in it, but also interpenetrate each other. The body and nature are raised into the sphere of spirit in the fact that the functions of thought and volition are mediated by bodily organs, and that the personality is not only seated in the body, but needs, for fulfillment of its destination, the help of the whole realm of nature. On the other hand, the spirit is so deeply involved in the essence of the body and of nature, that when man develops his spirit he, at the same time, imprints the spirit's seal upon both nature and body. Man's disposition and character are plainly expressed in his body; and the history of art is but a record of how man stamps his thoughts on the face of nature. But this is possible only in that the soul is participant both of spirit and of nature. Man materializes his position as microtheos (image of God) in the same degree that he makes good his position as microcosm (image of the world;) and conversely, he is able to fulfill his task as microcosm only in the degree that he fulfills his mission as microtheos. While a narrow idealistic spiritualism conceives man only as a spirit-soul, with the position of a microtheos, and while an equally narrow realistic materialism conceives him only as a nature-soul, with the position of a microcosm, the ideal-realism of the Scriptures and of the Church does full justice to his common position of microcosm and microtheos, and thus comprehends his life mission in its complete truth.

From this appears at once the error of regarding the body as something evil, or as a penal prison. No; body and soul stand in holy marriage from the beginning. Both arose from the creative will of divine love—the soul in union *with* the body, the body *for* the soul. The soul has its home in the body; by the body the soul has existence and position in this visible world. The body is the casket, the robe, the tabernacle, of the soul. How it dwells in the body—whether at a single point,

and thence exerting its power mechanically—whether as pervading the whole body—whether more fully at the center and less fully toward the periphery—is immaterial. The essential point is that the body is the home of the soul. But it is also a means for commerce with the world, and thereby, also, a means for self-development to the soul. But is the significance of the body exhausted by calling it the *home* and *organ* of the soul? Is this even its primary significance? Spiritualism so imagines. It says: "The body is but a scaffolding, an instrument to the soul. In the next world it may receive another and better instrument, until finally it becomes so perfected as to need no body at all." This view has, among other objections, this, that it so directly conflicts with our natural consciousness. We intinctively bring our body into such close union with our *self* as almost actually to identify the two. And this points, in fact, in the direction of the real truth.

It is not, however, chiefly as an organ for commerce with the material world, but rather for communion of person with person, that the body has its chief significance. And in this moral communion the main element is not merely that we may impart to each other our outward goods, but also, and chiefly, our feelings and thoughts, our spiritual self. We need a body, therefore, as an *organ for personal communion.* And the body actually serves this end, in that it faithfully mirrors outwardly that which the spiritual man thinks, feels, and is, within. It is, in fact, absolutely adapted to this end. Countenance and form are true reflections of the spirit within; limbs and senses aptly express particular powers and functions; uprightness and speech mirror forth our right to dominate over nature, and our capacity for communion with divine reason. Moreover, the body, in its individual differences, gives accurate expression to our individual characteristics, and thereby enables each to impart to others all the delicate traits and treasures that are peculiar to himself. And this adaptation is so intimate and perfect that it cannot reasonably be accounted for on the supposition that the body is simply an external instrument temporarily associated with the soul. The mediation is too direct, too absolute and detailed, for this. Also the peculiar and direct beauty of the body conflicts with such an inference. This beauty is only to be explained on the hypoth-

esis that the body is, *per se*, a revealer, a mirror, of the ideal world within.

The body appears, therefore, not merely as a home and an organ, but also as a mirror, a symbol, an outer image of the soul; and this latter is its highest significance, seeing that it is the means of the highest activity in the kingdom of God, to wit: the communion of personality with personality. And this highest office of the body is simply essentially supplemented by the lower ones, so that we obtain its full significance only when we hold fast in unity to all three of its offices—as home of the soul, as organ of the soul, and as image of the soul. Thus we see the *great worth* of the body for the spiritual life of man. And though we do not deny that there may be some degree of intercourse between souls without the mediation of a body, yet this intercourse must be essentially defective so long as the inner life is not mirrored forth in an outward form. How, in fact, could be possible in this visible world that form of freedom which consists in accepting or rejecting particular objects? Evidently only with the help of a body. But the body is essential to the development of the rational personality itself, for it is only through the body that incipient self-consciousness is enabled to distinguish itself from other objects. It is, in fact, simply by the soul's having in its own body an objectification of itself that it is so easy for it to make its own self an object of study and development. And as the immanence of the divine idea in the soul forms the *ideal* condition of the soul's self-development, so the immanence of the soul in nature, in the body, forms the *realistic* condition. Nor is it merely for the incipiency of self-development that the body is essential; it is essential, also, for its progress, seeing that it is only by the mediation of the body that the soul is kept in the requisite communion with the multitudinousness of the ever-changing relations of the material and spiritual worlds.

But may it not be that this significance of the body holds good only for this life, and that when the soul has risen to full self-development its body will be superfluous? We concede that it will not have precisely the same needs of a body then as now. The soul, having once attained to self-consciousness, will never lose it, even when disembodied. For the soul possesses individuality, not simply because the body gave

bounds to it, and, as it were, prevented it from evaporating into the general substance of the universe; but, on the contrary, it is simply because God posited the soul as personal and individual, that this inner individuality manifests itself under the limitations of a finite body. Hence, also, the supposed bodilessness of a soul in the next life would not essentially affect its personality. Nor will the body be needed in the future state as a means of the soul's moral development; for the soul will already have definitively confirmed itself in its moral destination. But though this element in the body's significancy may be merely transitory, and though a certain form of communion between souls may continue even though the body were destroyed, yet the essence of the body and its great significance remain entirely unaffected; for God has, in fact, destined soul and body to exist in eternal unity with each other. Hence it is that we find Revelation associating the future beatification of man with his soul's union with the resurrection body. Indeed, the very nature of personality calls for this; for in order to the full enjoyment of selfhood, which distinguishes man above other creatures, it is requisite that man be able to bring the ideal fullness of his mind and heart to clear outer expression, which can take place only through a body and through matter. Bodilessness, in fact, implies, *per se*, a hinderance in free self-revelation. The highest perfection, therefore, of the future, no less than of the present life, calls for a corporeity of the soul.

This, of course, presupposes the eternal continuance of external nature. Nature is, indeed, also, not a mere transitory platform for moral development, but it is the normal field for the domination and operation of intelligence. In this world the self-development of man goes hand-in-hand with his plastic shaping of nature; and if at the close of his probation he is withdrawn from his body and from external nature, this can only be regarded as a temporary condition; for when the soul has reached its perfection in God, it will need at once to enter upon a course of untrammeled holy activity, even as God, whose image it is, himself eternally "works;" and to this creatural need of a field for work, the world of nature offers the requisite scope. Thus the perfection of the spiritual activity and bliss of humanity unconditionally presupposes the perpetuity of an external nature-world. And this eternal relation

of the soul to an outer world of nature implies the eternal continuance of the body, inasmuch as it is only through a body that the soul's operation upon nature, and its plastic, idealizing, transforming power over it, is possible. The body appears, therefore, as an integral element of human nature, both in this state of probation and in the future state of eternal perfection.

When God, by his word, called the world of nature into being, and placed man in the midst of the same, he did not create them both in the condition of immediate definitive perfection. He simply posited in individual creatures his creative thoughts as realities. Into these realities he then lodged severally his spiritual conception of each, so that while each creature should *be* the realization of a divine thought, it would also bear in itself this thought as a vital life-power. But this realization of the creature is not its perfection. All creatures are, indeed, by nature an expression of their indwelling idea, and are guided by the same; and, in so far, there is in them no contrariety between idea and reality. But in the very notion of a creature there lies the element of *development.* For herein lies the depth of God's creative love—that while his creative thoughts are directly lodged in his creatures, yet they are to *become* what he intended them to *be*, by the mediation of their own free development. The harmony in which they by nature stand with their own ideal, reaches its goal only in a *higher* harmony which they are to effect by their own pure life; and all the capacities of the creature are simply so many means of reaching this perfection. Thus the primitive harmony of idea and reality, which is at first only a potentiality, is to be exalted into a virtualized actuality.

Now, as the primary harmony of the real with the ideal in created objects springs from the creative Spirit, so this higher harmony, also, can be effected only through the power of the Spirit. And it is only the highest class of creatures—moral creatures—that can accomplish this task by free choice; for it is only in these that the Spirit finds a responsive receptivity for its ideal revelations. Only the spirit-soul, not the nature-soul, can do this, for only the spirit-soul is participant of *the* Spirit. As such it can recognize the divine idea and follow *its* dictation. And, first of all, it is the soul itself that is thus brought into harmony with the Spirit, to wit, by the fact

that in the exercise of freedom it virtualizes its spiritual personality. But as the spirit-soul is at the same time a nature-soul, hence its moral self-determination reacts also upon its nature-phase, and thereby affects the entire body. Thus every feature and power of the body is brought into subservience to the Spirit.

Nor is this reactive influence confined to the body, but it passes over to the whole mass of external nature. Thus the spirit of humanity treats and influences the realm of nature as its own remoter corporeity, shaping it, transforming it, cultivating it, ruling over it.

This influence, which the human spirit exerts upon its own body and upon nature, may be called *spiritualization*. In it man virtualizes one phase of his God-likeness. But there is another and higher phase. Mere self-determination is not an end, but only a means. God gave man self-determining power in order that thereby he might become a means in the realization of the kingdom of God. The divine end is, therefore, reached only by man's subordinating his *formal* God-likeness to this higher end, that is, only by his raising this formal into a vital and actual God-likeness. If he decline to do this, then the spiritualization of his body and of nature is but formal and unreal, for it takes its inspiration not from the ideal world, but from the natural; not from God, but from its merely natural, psychic phase. It is, in fact, not a mere spiritual influence that ennobles and idealizes the body and nature, but, on the contrary, a spiritual influence that is inspired by the divine ideal.

Spiritualization simply is, therefore, not the end of man and nature, but *ideal* spiritualization. Man fulfills his task not merely by virtualizing his free personality, and stamping its traits upon his body and upon nature, but by virtualizing his ideal personality, and thus imprinting upon his body and upon nature the stamp of his own actual God-likeness. Thus he raises himself and nature from a "natural" to a "spiritual," from a psychic to a pneumatic state.

Let us examine more closely the process of this ideal spiritualization. It is effected, as above stated, by man's following, not the will and instinct of his nature-soul, but the divine ideal, the law of the spirit. What, now, are this instinct and

this law? The Spirit is the source of man's life; the soul is the life itself. The soul is the subjective principle in man. It is true, the spirit is that which enables the soul to rise to personality; but the seat of the ego, the personality itself, is the soul. It is in being a soul that man has *selfhood*, that is, the capacity of being conscious of his individuality and of his ability to self-exertion and to self-preservation. But in his spirit, that is, in the immanency of the divine Spirit in him, we meet with a higher element of his nature. It is by the spirit that the idea of his nature and of his destination comes to his personal consciousness. The divine spirit, as innate in man, that is, man's spirit, is the objective principle in human nature. In it man has the ideal for his reality and the source of his true life. By it he becomes conscious that his selfhood is not given to him for mere isolated enjoyment, but that he may, also, subordinate it as a member in the circle of being into which God created him. From this objective factor in man there springs now another, which may be called that of *communion*; that is, the innate tendency of man to live in and with another or others—primarily with the divine source of his being, and through this with the whole realm of creation. For through the indwelling spirit man stands in *natural* union with God, and by the personal appropriation of this union he rises to *moral* communion. This sense of the term "spirit" is very common in Scripture, and especially is the antithesis between the flesh or unideal life of man and his spiritual or ideal life thereby emphasized.

The antithesis of selfhood and communion pervades, also, the whole realm of nature, from the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies among the heavenly orbs to the self-productive and generative instincts of the animal world. But in the impersonal sphere the antithesis comes to unity only in the divine Spirit, as dynamically ruling over nature; whereas in man, the unity is effected personally and freely. In him the sentiment of love to God and to his neighbor is just as deeply rooted as that of selfhood. And in the absolute harmony of the two he finds his true ideal life. Both are good and necessary for the kingdom of God. Neither can exist without the other. The communion can be vital only on the basis of a vigorous selfhood; and the selfhood can be self-harmonious only by com-

munion with God and with the world. But the communion is logically the higher. Selfhood is the *basis* of the personal life, while communion is its *goal.*

It is by man's free choice between these two life-factors that he effects the spiritualization of his body and of nature. If he makes selfhood uppermost, he becomes simply psychic; for selfhood resides in the soul, (*psyche.*) But if he brings his selfhood into vital harmony with its idea, in communion with God and with God's kingdom, he becomes pneumatic, that is, ideally spiritual; and thereby, also, his body and nature are ideally affected. And in this communion he goes through the two stages of esteem and love, the esteem being the basis of the love, and the love the perfection of the esteem. A life of true love to God, based upon holy reverence, and blossoming into pure love to man and devotion to the extension of the kingdom of God—such is the path upon which man attains to the ideal spiritualization not only of his personality, but particularly of his body and of external nature.

This ideal spiritualization of man, however, in no way supersedes or does away with the psychic life of the personality, but rather the contrary. It is he that "seeks" his soul, he that makes his psychic life uppermost, who really "loses" it; while he who "loses" it, he who subordinates it to the Spirit, really confirms and strengthens it. For it is, in fact, by the sway of the Spirit in the soul that the soul's deepest and highest needs are satisfied, and that it itself attains to the full ideal of its being. Indeed, it is only by the mediation of the soul that the process of true spiritualization can take place at all. The life of holy communion with God and man has, in fact, its very hearth-stone in the innermost center of the soul itself, to wit, in the *heart.* And it is from this center that the holy life sheds forth its influence upon the whole personality. And it is because the soul is the central unit in man, and equally participant in nature and in the divine Spirit, that all idealization of the soul reacts, also, at once transformingly upon the body and upon nature.

But we have not yet exhausted the factors which contribute to the true spiritualization of man's body and of nature; for the postulate of true communion with God, whereby this spiritualization takes place, rests itself upon a condition without

which it could not take place. This condition is the communion of God with man. To this we must now turn attention.

It is a general principle of the divine economy that innate potencies are called into activity only by homogeneous outward agencies. Thus the virtue of a grain is called forth by warmth and moisture; the child is induced to speak by being spoken to. So with the spirituality with which God has endowed us by nature. This divine word, as immanent within us, would remain dormant, were it not spoken to by the general creative Word as definitely manifest in the natural and personal world about us. The ideas of the true, good, right, and beautiful, as innate in us, would remain powerless were they not fructified by the objective revelation of truth, holiness, justice, and beauty, which breaks in upon them from nature and from history. And this objective revelation to our spirit is of very wide compass, coming not only from God and nature, but, also, from good and bad men, and even from demons. Thus man's capacities are not only awakened into life, but his freedom is called on to choose between good and evil.

But this is only the subjective phase of the matter. There is, also, an objective phase. God's design in manifesting himself to man is not simply to awaken man's powers into full play, but God wills to come himself into realistic union with humanity. Not merely will he speak to us by law, and symbol, and speech, but he will come into vital unity and identity with us; he will live our life, feel our sufferings, endure our shame. The Word wills to become flesh. The incarnation of God is not an act of love which was forced upon him as a mere means of overcoming our sin. It was a spontaneous act of his love, resolved upon before the foundation of the world. The intervention of sin only modified the mode of the incarnation; but the incarnation itself is based in the essential nature of humanity *per se*, as destined to personal communion with God. And whereas, normally, the incarnation would have been for us a realistic source of truth, holiness, and righteousness, it is now a redemption principle of illumination, righteousness, and life, a principle of *salvation*. This personal union of God with humanity in Christ, in view of leading man into vital communion with God, or of redeeming him out of sin, is God's fundamental, climacteric act in history, without which creation would have

been purposeless, and with which alone it reaches its ultimate goal. And all earlier partial revelations of God were but so many steps preparatory to this final and supreme one.

As the first creation took place by God's speaking forth his word into objectivity, so, also, with this second higher creation.

In the first case the word was but an outstreaming from God's immanent essential Word; but here his hypostatic personal Word came forth out of the divine trinitary immanence, and assumed reality in the earthly world.

As from the creative Word a natural spirit went into the world, so from the incarnated personal Word there went into humanity also a Spirit—the *Holy Spirit.* The former is impersonal, the latter is personal. The former is the basis; this is the completion. The former is preparatory; this is definitive. The former is life manifestive; the latter is life-giving. It is under the influence of this Holy Spirit that the new birth, the ideal spiritualization of man's spirit-soul, takes place. And as man is also a nature-soul, hence the same regenerative influence goes over clarifyingly upon his body, and thence upon external nature.

The ideal spiritualization of the human body and of nature arises and proceeds from Him who, by an act of supreme love, constituted himself the head of creation, the *Son of man*, Jesus Christ. As generated of human nature by the Spirit of God, the Son of man sustained to the Spirit primarily only a natural relation. This had, then, to rise into a free moral relation. Hence, after Jesus had ripened up into full personal communion with God, the Spirit was formally shed forth upon him in a public anointing. As true man, Jesus had naturally within him the general Spirit of God, even as all other men. This life of the Spirit in him could come to development only under the influence of the objective revelation of God in nature, in Scripture, and in special manifestation. The soul of Jesus, by yielding to the full scope of this guidance, and by persisting in the obedience of love even unto death, exalted his natural divine sonship into a personal and moral one, and thus fully realized the union of human nature with the divine. Thereby Jesus also spiritualized his inner man, his soul, in its unity of spirit and of nature. And thus, also, he laid the foundation for the transfiguration, the ideal spiritualization, of his

body, inasmuch as the essence of the visible body is grounded in the soul. This process was an inner hidden one. The outward condition of his body remained unchanged till the end of his life. The hidden reality shone forth only in occasional gleams—in those miracles of mastery over his body and over nature with which the Gospels abound. This reality was ready for *full* manifestation only after the test of obedience unto death. After this test, then, it was manifested. Whether the complete outer transformation of the flesh had already taken place at his resurrection, or whether it took place gradually during the period of forty days, we do not discuss. We emphasize simply the *identity* of the risen with the buried body. It is not another body that is given to Christ, but the same body in which he died is raised and given back to him, as the angel signified by pointing to the empty grave, and as the Lord himself both declared and showed. The essence of his body remained the same; simply the mode of its existence was changed. A fleshly body has become a spiritual body, in which not only the free harmony of the soul with the inborn spirit stamps its harmony on the outer features, but, also, in which the material elements themselves are thoroughly permeated and exalted by the spirituality of the person. Hereby Christ has become entirely *spirit;* not that he has ceased to be a soul and to have a body, but that his soul and body have ceased to have any selfhood apart from the Spirit, and that the psychic and fleshly in him have been exalted into the pneumatic. Nay, Christ is thus not only spirit by pre-eminence, but he is *the* Spirit; and, as head of humanity and Mediator of the kingdom of God, he is the source and principle of the spiritualization of soul and body, and of the whole realm of nature. For not only is it Christ who, on the basis of the exaltation of human nature in his person, sends the Holy Spirit into humanity; but, also, that which the Spirit brings and imparts is itself nothing other than Christ's own psychic, bodily, and spiritual life, which he, as the head, sends out into us, his members.

This higher supernatural power of Christ affects human nature in two ways, in the body as *miracle*, in the spirit as *inspiration;* and that, too, *immediately*. For the exalting influence is here not conditioned on a free appropriation of this influence on the part of man, and is accordingly not attended by a spiritualiza-

tion of the body. It is true, miracle-working power and inspiration presuppose a certain receptiveness on the part of the subject; but this has only the significance of a general homogeneous basis, so that the *quantum* of the power or of the inspiration stands in no exact proportion to the *quantum* of faith. In the miracle and in inspiration the subject is momentarily lifted into the supernatural sphere. Hence, these experiences have the significance of prophetic anticipations of what will belong to man normally in his state of perfection. These two forms of power did not cease at the epoch of the formal effusion of the Holy Ghost. But as they had existed previously to the coming of Christ, and as preparing the world for him, so they continued after his ascension, disseminating his benefits over humanity. But with a difference; for whereas before Christ, because of the absence of the full reality of the new birth, they necessarily bore a violent and sporadic character, so after Christ, because of the presence of the new birth, they assumed a form more allied to the normal operations of the human soul.

But these charismatic fruits of redemption are the less important ones. The more important are those general fruits which are conditioned upon a *free* appropriation of the grace of Christ. As this process is mediated by the soul itself, hence it is attended with an exalting power over the body and over nature. The path of spiritual freedom runs through the sphere of knowledge. This calls for an objective presentation of the objects of knowledge, that is, the embodying of the spiritual meaning in an outer physical form. As the awakening of the personality into clear self-consciousness is conditioned by the objective world, so whatever contributes to the edification of the same is likewise conditioned by some form of external presentation. Thus the truth of salvation, as offered by the Holy Ghost to the soul, is communicated by an *outer word*, and not merely by an inner one. As from the eternal Logos the creative Word went forth to create the outer world, so from the incarnate Logos the salvatory word, the Gospel, goes forth to renovate the inner moral world. By the preaching of this salvatory word under the attendance of the Spirit, the inborn God-likeness of man is awakened out of its slumber of dormancy or of sin, and thus a struggle of decision is brought

about in the personal life-center of man, the ultimate issue of which is a definitive appropriation of his God-likeness, or a definitive rejection of the same. In the former case, the issue is a life of *faith*. By the attitude of faith, the innate capacity of love to, and communion with, God rises to actuality and to predominancy in the heart. Thereby the soul has become *spiritual* in its innermost principle. As Christ is spirit in himself, so the believer becomes thus spirit through Christ. This sense of the term "spirit" is common in the Scriptures, where man is called spiritual not merely in reference to his essence, but also in reference to his sentiments, his acquired character.

Now, as this moral spiritualization of man begins in the unitary center of his being, in his soul, as being both natural and spiritual, hence the foundation is thus laid for the spiritualization, also, of his body. But as man's probationary life is still inwoven with this external, untransfigured earthly world, hence this spiritualization does not essentially affect his present crude outward body, but is as yet only of a germinal internal character, and inheres rather in his soul than in his actual earthly body. It is, in fact, not as yet a developed body at all, but only the vital germ, the real potentiality and image of the future resurrection-body; even as in the actual wheat-grain, and invisibly imbedded in its substance, the germ of foliage and fruit lies invisible and hidden, and cannot come into actuality until that substance shall have fallen away. The Scriptures embrace this process in both of its phases, by speaking of the clarification of both soul and body as taking place in the "*inner man.*"

But man's relation to the development of this inner self is not merely receptive, it is also active. When he has once received in himself the germs of his spiritualized nature, it is his part now to bring them into rounded development. And as, in the process of his natural development, he stamps upon his natural body the traits of his natural character, so in the process of his spiritual development he stamps upon his germinal spiritual body the traits of his spiritual character. Of such high significance is the maintaining of an unswerving holy life in imitation of Christ! Christ himself assumes thereby form in us; but in each member this likeness of Christ is reflected under individual variations, and the ger-

minal body accurately reflects these variations. And the peculiar traits of spiritual beauty which occasionally beam out from the persons of ripened believers are actual reflexes of the transfigured corporeity which lies potentially within them. The natural fleshly body is simply the receptacle, the womb, in which the new body is invisibly generated and qualified, up to the hour when, the crude flesh falling away, it shall pass into the heavenly state and spring forth into its full beauty and actuality.

At death the soul passes into the "yon-side" without an outer body. It is not, however, *utterly* without a body, but takes over with it, as inherent in its personality, its germinal future body. And as this germinal body has moral qualities, hence souls in the middle state will not be without moral communion with each other. Still, the communion will not be complete; and hence the soul will long to be "clothed upon" with its realized body.

As in Christ his personal perfection was the necessary condition of his resurrection, while yet the resurrection itself took place only through a special act of God, so the resurrection of the believer will take place not in immediate consequence of his life of faith, but only through the power of the returning Christ. As, at the close of the first advent of Christ, the Holy Ghost shed itself abroad into humanity, so at Christ's second and more glorious advent will the Spirit shed itself into the whole body of nature as a condition of the full realization of the kingdom of God. In this act of transfiguration nature and humanity will stand in as close solidarity as was the case at the fall of man and his consequent expulsion from Eden. As in individual man's life, the wrath of God because of sin works the death and dissolution of his body, so will also finally the whole body of nature, as having served as theater for man's sin, be dissolved by the *fire* of the divine displeasure. On the other hand, Christ, by the spiritualization of his body, as taken out of the bosom of nature, has already consecrated nature itself to an ultimate transfiguration. On the basis of this beginning, therefore, will the Holy Ghost bring forth out of the bosom of the perishing world a new world—not another, but the same world in transfigured form, even as the raised body of Christ was not another but the same, but in a transfigured

condition. And nature, as thus renewed, will exist under the antithesis of heaven and earth, a "new heaven and a new earth." And the whole circle of natural objects will, also, come forth from death as integral parts of the new eternal state of things.

Also, by the same power of the Holy Ghost, as going out from Christ, will, then, the souls of the departed be clothed with glorified bodies. For by this power there will be brought to the soul, out of the transfigured world, materials analogous to the substance of its previous body, and upon these materials the soul will then impress the traits of its germinal body, so as thus to attain to full objective expression. In the case of those still living at the second coming of Christ, the process will be that of a simple transformation. Thus, even as Christ arose with the buried body, so each person will then appear in the "same" body which was laid in the grave. And this identity holds of the whole essence of the body, both its primary features and form, and also its substance. As to whether this identity of the materials implies the identity of the chemical elements, or even the identity of the ultimate atoms, is a question which *loses all significance* so soon as we reflect that these elements and atoms themselves are in turn composed of invisible forces, and that in order to become integral parts of an organism they must be dissolved back into these forces, and then arise out of them under a new form.

Should we now endeavor to specify more definitely the nature of the transfigured world and body, we are at once met with a supreme difficulty. All our conceptions are cramped and tinged with the merely earthly categories by which our present life is every-where hemmed in. How, then, can we correctly conceive of the transmundane life which is above such limitations? At best, therefore, we can only approximate the reality by the help of earthly *analogies*.

With such purpose, then, let us go back a little and take man's earthly nature afresh into view. As coming from the creative hand, man was a personal soul standing in a natural unity with God and with nature. He stood thus under two laws—the law of communion with God and nature, and the law of selfhood. By his moral freedom he stood under an imperative to raise this *natural* unity into a *moral* unity, and

thus give to the law of communion such supremacy as alone would insure to his normal selfhood its real dignity and true co-ordination into the order of the kingdom of God.

This imperative man did *not* obey. By sin he gave to the law of selfhood supremacy over the law of communion. Thus his natural harmony with God and nature was broken up. Communion with God was interrupted, and Paradise was banished from earth. What were the objective effects of this?

By the primal law of creation all things stand in harmonious juxtaposition, that is, in concatenation with each other. This law involves both selfhood and communion, for concatenation implies both the reality of the things, and also their union with each other. According, now, to the quality of the life prevalent in the things, the one or the other of these laws reigns supreme. If selfhood reigns, then the harmonious juxtaposition is changed into a hostile opposition. If communion reigns, then the juxtaposition is exalted into a spiritual interpenetraation. By the fall of man the former took place. Selfhood became supreme. Thus man isolated himself from God, from his fellow, and from nature. The primitive juxtaposition of things, instead of rising into spiritual interpenetration, sank into hostile opposition, antagonistic isolation. Thus they came to lie *spacially* outside of each other, without any overlying bond of union.

Space is not a mere *human conception*. It is of the essence of things that they exist *in space*. To deny the reality of space is to reduce the world and ourselves to mere conceptions. Space itself, however, is neither a thing nor a substance. It is simply a term expressive of the mode of the existence of things in this world. Hence space extends no farther than finite creation. It is true, our empirical thinking tends to regard it as unlimited. For what limit can we set to space? What lies beyond our farthest stretch of imagination? Space, of course. Thus we are lost in the endless, and the endless is the limitless; but the limitless is the formless. Who, now, can grasp that which is devoid of outline? Consequently that which is without end is inconceivable.

What, now, has this to do with the world? The world as made by God is a finite organic whole, wherein each member is mutually related to each other and to the whole. As space

is not existent *per se*, but is simply implied and involved in creation, hence space is limited by the world. Beyond this created world there is no space, in the earthly sense; whatever lies there is, in relation to this world, spaceless. Or, rather, we might call it superspacial; for there lies that which surrounds and upholds this spacial world, and is, indeed, its ground and goal.

Space, then, as we know it, with its law of individualistic isolation, is by no means a law of universal existence. It holds good only for this world of flesh, where the principle of selfhood reigns supreme over that of communion. *Above* this world exists a world of absolute interpenetration, a world of love, wherein the life of communion prevails in ideal perfection. There the natural juxtaposition of things has become a moral union: there is heaven, the throne of God; there all life exists in a blissful omnipresence. But, also, *below* this world of flesh there exists a world—that world wherein the principle of selfhood has attained to absolute mastery, and has suppressed the principle of communion—a world in which the primitive juxtaposition of creatures had sunk into the absolute isolation of infinite mutual hate—an omnipresence of diabolicity.

In the midst, between these worlds, the supernatural and the subnatural, stands now this earthly world of ours, with its strong sin-occasioned drift toward the lower, but yet with its ideal affinity for the upper not entirely extinguished. And similar is the condition both of humanity and of external nature—the latter as a reflex of the former.

This leads to a further step. All true communion between finite creatures exists simply by the fact that a bond from above extends down to them and holds them together. Thus all communion between men assumes a normal character only as men subordinate themselves to the collective kingdom of God, that is, only as one ego unites itself to another in the supreme, the divine, Ego. The same relation is reflected in the world of nature. There is a natural earth and a natural heaven; and between the two there is communion through the law of attraction, which embraces them both. *Light* is the chief revelation of the upper to the lower sphere of nature, even as God's revelation to man is metaphorically designated as light. Light in nature corresponds to spirit in personality. Furthermore,

we observe in the lower world of nature a tendency of things to self-concentration. This is the very essence of *matter:* we call it *gravitation.* Gravitation and light are the two poles of nature, which correspond to the antithesis between human selfhood and communion with God. As now personal selfhood, so long as it holds fast to God, is, *per se*, good; so of earthly gravitation. As light in nature is analogous to spirit in personality, so is gravitation analogous to the assumption of a body by the personality. And as gravitation is, *per se*, good, so is also the body. As now, by the union of spirit and body, man becomes a "living soul," so by the co-operation of light and gravitation *life* is preserved—the soul of nature. But gravitation forms only the basis for the earthly life, even as does the body for the soul in man. The power that generates the life is light, even as the fructifier of the soul is spirit, love, divine communion. Thus, just as all merely natural life is absolutely dependent upon the influence of natural light, so all moral creatures absolutely depend upon communion with the "true Light," Christ.

The divine intention was, that the law of gravitation should be the obedient servant of the law of light. And it was to be the task of man, by the spiritualization of his corporeity, to effect this state of things. Had he obeyed God he would have done this. Then, earth would have been exalted into an eternal Spring of paradise. Then, with the growth of humanity in spiritualization, a paradisaical condition would have been imprinted upon the entire earth. But when, by the reaction of man's sinful selfhood upon nature, the law of gravity gained the upper hand, then nature became relatively impervious to the transforming power of light. For though light was not entirely banished from matter—as, indeed, it is *absolutely* shut out from nowhere but from *hell*—still the tendency of all earthly life is downward, and it finally sinks entirely into darkness. Thus, collective nature has become a "body of flesh." The world is *flesh* because of its drift downward, whereas it ought to be spirit, with a drift upward; that is, it ought to be entirely subordinate to the service of spirit, instead—as it does—of offering obstinate resistance to it.

Thus, from the supremacy of the selfhood principle, a twofold tendency has been imparted to nature—a tendency *down-*

ward, and a tendency to *isolation*. Now, as all natural life consists in a flow of forces upward toward the light, and together toward union, hence it is evident how hostile to all life is this supremacy of selfhood. *Fire* is the culmination of this life-hostile principle. Fire, either active or latent, permeates the whole present constitution of nature. Proof of this is the ever-continuing decomposition of all earthly organisms, which is simply perpetual combustion. But highest proof is that word of Scripture, according to which at the end of days the whole body of nature, heaven and earth, are to "pass away" in fire—not a fire introduced from without, but a fire which lurks in the very essence of this fleshly world, and which, on the manifestation of Christ's light "from heaven," will burst forth from within with all-consuming might.

This combustion of natural objects is their *death;* and man's body, as not spiritualized, but as fallen under the law of sin, shares in the same death. The soul, having broken off from communion with God, has ceased to be master over the downward drift of matter; hence it is unable definitively to hold together the elements of its body. Accordingly these elements finally break away from its control, and sink away into the "dust" from whence they came. Premonitions of this finality are diseases; death is simply disease complete.

After the universal combustion, a transfigured "heaven and earth" will come forth; and simultaneously will also come forth our bodies in a transfigured state. Then the Spirit of God, with its law of *communion* and *love*, will become the dominant principle of creation. Thereby the constitution of nature and of our own corporeity will necessarily be radically changed.

A chief trait of the transfigured world will be that all matter will be open to, and pervaded by, *light*. The drift to isolation is thereby overcome. Every thing is bound together in light. Although the antitheses of *upper* and *lower* will still subsist, their subsistence will be absolutely normal; hence the law of communion will be supreme, and will be obediently served by the law of selfhood. Individual objects will, as it were, only contribute, by dissolving the common light into a thousand tints, to reflect the full beauty of that light in harmonious glory. Thus the principle of selfish juxtaposition will give place to that of mutual interpenetration. Thereby is realized in the world

of matter the same general law of love, which attains to its highest expression in the realm of personality. Thus there will prevail in nature a ceaseless drift of elective attraction and union, in virtue of which no object will stand in isolation for itself, but only in vital interpenetration by the whole. And while at present each object lives more or less at the expense of other objects, then there will be the freest intercommunication of forces and offices, so that each will live in all, and all in each.

Thus, life has attained to its ideal. The current from the center to the periphery meets with no obstacle to its free flow. There is no longer any antagonism of forces. Fire has lost its death-power, and is become a servant of light. No one organ lives at the expense of another; no one life-center at the expense of another center. All is subordinate to the indwelling Spirit, and has in this Spirit its principle of life; hence all is in absolute harmony, and all is imperishable.

And what holds good of nature in general, holds pre-eminently so of the future body. As being the very crown of the world, it will be thoroughly permeated with the principle of harmony, of communion, of love. It, in fact, will be the fruitful nucleus from which all transfiguring power will go out into the body of nature. It will be a thoroughly spiritualized body, but its relation to the soul will be the same as in the earthly state. As the earthly body is plastically formed by the soul, and receives from the soul the character the soul receives from the spirit, so with the heavenly body. The elements of this body will be drawn from the nutrient storehouse of nature. But as this nature will be a spiritualized, glorified nature, hence the body derived from it will be a spiritual body. In a word, the future body of the redeemed will be spiritual, because of the indwelling supremacy of the life-giving Spirit of God, in virtue of which the spiritualized soul will incessantly repair its body with imperishable elements from external spiritualized nature. Such a body will be essentially a *body of light*, a *heavenly body*. Being thoroughly imbued with the spiritual element, it will be in absolute harmony with itself and with God, the objective principle of all things; hence it will be *immortal*.

It is only in this, its true spirituality, that the body answers its real destination. It is only now that it is a true mirror of

the soul. True, the body of flesh is in some degree also a reflex of the soul. In its stubbornness, its clumsiness, its deformity, and diseases, it is, in fact, a good index of the disordered, abnormal, sinful soul. Here the body assumes a degree of cramping independence over against the soul, so that the soul is actually taken captive. And so thoroughly is this the case, that even the truly regenerated soul is unable, because of its concatenation with untransfigured nature and society, radically to stamp itself upon the body. At its best earthly state the body is, therefore, in some degree a vail, instead of a mirror, of the soul. And to some extent this would have been so, even had man not fallen into sin. For while the unfallen, natural soul was normally maturing into a spiritual soul, the natural body would still have lacked in spiritualization, and hence would have been a partial vail to the inner sentiments of the heart, as, indeed, would have been required by the very nature of a moral probation. But at the close of the probation the body without would have become the thorough reflex of the soul within. Now precisely this is what the new body of the saved will be in heaven. Here there will be a perfect outward reflection of all that passes within. It will be a body of light, and hence it will reveal and manifest to the universe the very finest shades of thought and sentiment which exist in the soul. It will be a perfect image of the spirit of communion and holy love—a perfect outward manifestation of the spiritual harmony within. The primitive antithesis between the spirit-soul and the nature-soul in man will be raised into absolute harmony and unity. Hence man's merely animal and vegetative functions will no longer have a sort of relative independence of his personality. The crude, nutritive process will no longer exist as such. But the glorified bodies will not be mere monotonous duplicates of each other. As there is endless variety of individuality in character, so this variety in its most delicate shades will shine forth from the heavenly bodies. And in the midst of the variety there will be absolute harmony. All the bodies will be light; but as one star differs from another in glory—as there is one glory of the sun, and another of the moon—so with the galaxy of resurrection bodies. But the pattern of the glory of them all will be the glorified body of Christ.

Here human nature will have attained to complete glory. With the clarification of the body the personality rises to complete inner unity. Whereas in this life we consist of the three elements—body, soul, and spirit—which may even be separated from each other, in the heavenly life the body and soul will be so pervaded with spirit that the entire human being will present but one unitary spiritual life. As Christ, the head of the kingdom, is *the* Spirit by pre-eminence, so we, his members, will likewise be *spirit*—spirit in the highest and, also, most concrete sense, as a realistic unity of personal and natural life in the divine ideal, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

When all is thus transfigured, then *pure beauty* will reign. Heaven is the true home of beauty. For the essence of beauty consists in this—that the life of the soul beams perfectly forth from the body, and that the body thereby sheds a halo of glory back upon the soul. All true art is a groping after heavenly ideals, and all art-works are anticipations of future spiritual realities. But in the "yon-side" each human being will be a living art-work, and the life of communion among the saints will be an eternal evolution of holy art-life.

And as the new body will be a mirror of, so will it also be a suitable *home* for, the soul. This is not true of the present body. Its crudeness robs us of light and freedom from without, and annoys us with sufferings from within. And while this crudeness serves partially as a vail from the approaches of evil, it, also, largely vails us off from the influences of the good. Thus, instead of beholding heavenly things from face to face, we are shut up to the path of *faith*. While the old body is an occasion of manifold temptations, the new one will be in absolute obedience to the spirit, and hence will offer no hinderance, but only help. And as it will stand in full communion with the kingdoms of natural and of spiritual light, hence it will be superior to the laws of gravitation and of passivity. Hence it will move at will through the realm of space. Wherever the soul may will to be, there it will be able to be. Hence the body will not be a prison, but, on the contrary, a *free* home, for the soul.

Also the new body will serve the soul as a perfect *organ* for intercourse with the objective world. This intercourse will be

as essential in the future as at present. Indeed, it will only then exist in perfection, for nature will stand in a more obedient relation to the soul. Light will no longer be located in the stars, but will fully pervade all being. There will be no more "need" of sun and moon, but the glorified Christ will be an omnipresent fountain of light. Hence there will be no longer any "day or night," or any change of seasons; there will be an eternal day, and an ever-blooming spring-time.

And as with nature in general, so with natural objects in particular. There will be nothing desert or waste; but the divine breath will pervade all things. Vegetation will exist in ideal beauty. Greed and hostility will find no place in the animate realm; the wolf will "lie down with the lamb" in unbroken peace. In general all primitive forms of existence will reappear in ideal perfection. Man will enjoy nature through all of his senses. The Paradise that existed before sin will be restored after redemption. We shall "eat of the tree of life," and drink of the fruit of the vine. But our eating and drinking will not be for the satiation of wants; it will be a pure enjoyment of the goodness of God.

But man's relation to nature will be not merely receptive, but, also, active. As it is man's call even here to shape nature into perfection, much more will it be so hereafter. The whole realm of glorified materiality will be one vast platform for the plastic influence of glorified spirits. Hence, science, and art, and the mechanism of life, will reach the ideal perfection toward which they here grope in vain.

For his active relation to nature, glorified man will have in his glorified powers the suitable means. As his heart will beat with the heart of God, hence his spirit will find no hinderance to its outgoings. All charismata, all miraculous gifts, will settle down upon man as his permanent endowments. We are sown in weakness, but we "rise in power." There will be no alternation of work and rest, of vigor and weariness; but we shall subsist in ever-full vigor and enthusiasm.

Nor will the new body be more serviceable for communion with outer nature than with the world of personalities. It is through the body that love reveals its inner life and imparts its gifts. But how defective for this service is our present

body! How imperfectly are our best sentiments, experiences, and goods, communicable even to our most intimate friends! What a hinderance is even the external barrier of space! These obstacles to love will all be fallen away. Our perfect union with Christ will be a perfect union with all that is Christ's. Whatever is inwardly at one, will also be outwardly in union. Though the special limitation of the body will not cease, this limitation will form no exclusion of person from person. Our outward materiality will not decide *where* we are; but we shall *be* just where the outgoings of our heart call for us. As we shall all be united by the bond of love, so there will exist a certain omnipresence of our personal being—not, indeed, a physically necessary omnipresence, but simply a morally conditioned one. The body will be the perfect servant of the soul; hence it will be capable of instantly following, and keeping pace with, all the outgoings of imagination and thought. The law of love, whereby we live *in* those on whom we fix our heart, will be perfectly reflected in the body. The indwelling of soul in soul will be also an indwelling of body in body. And in this each will find his due place—so that even as the Church of Christ here forms but one body with many members, thus, also, hereafter saved humanity will form but *one* organic *body*, whereof we shall all be members, each in his place. And of this organic whole, the head, the focal point, the sun, will be Christ himself. As our souls will eternally live of his life, so our bodies will eternally shine in the radiance of his glorified body.

Thus we reach the goal of our search. Thus the dualism of being is solved into unity. Nature is not a mere temporary scaffolding for a momentary purpose: it is the necessary substratum of a moral universe. Our bodies are not mere caducous husks, to be thrown off when the soul is ripe. But nature and the kingdom of God, the rational soul and the human body, belong normally and essentially together. When the one is transfigured, the other is transfigured. And when, at the goal of moral development, they are risen to integral unity, then they persist, through eternity, as intimately united as form and substance, light and color.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The English in their Continental Homestead. 2. The Framework of Society. 3. The Church and the State. 4. The Ruins of Ephesus. 5. The Blue Laws of Connecticut. 6. Mr. R. W. Thompson on the Papacy and Civil Power. 7. Roman Forgeries.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1877. (Philadelphia.) — 1. Ethical Prolegomena. 2. Is the World Growing Better? 3. Baptism and Remission. 4. Mohammed and his Religion. 5. The Relation of the Free State to Education. 6. A Didactic Poem.

NEW ENGLANDER. July, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Relation of Student-Life to Health and Longevity. 2. Bible Hygiene. 3. John Stuart Mill. 4. The Source of American Education—Popular and Religious. 5. Advantages and Disadvantages of a Society in Connection with a Church. 6. Robertson of Brighton. 7. Shall Womanhood be Abolished? 8. The Eastern Church.

NEW-ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1877. (Boston.)—1. Alexis Caswell, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Brown University. 2. Autobiography of William Roch. 3. A Study of the Virginia Census of 1624. 4. The Powder-Mill in Canton. 5. Documents relating to Emigrants from Jersey. 6. Barnstable Family Names. 7. Marriages in West Springfield, Mass. 8. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–79. Diary of Timothy Connor. 9. The Indian Attack on Casco in 1676. 10. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 11. Thomas Newcomb's Account-Book. 12. The Gayer Family. 13. Town Rates of Newton and Billerica. 14. Documents relating to Col. John Humphreys's Farm at Lynn. 15. Passengers and Vessels that have arrived in America. 16. Documents relative to the Dalliber Family. 17. Baptisms in Dover, N. H., 1767–1787, by Rev. *Jeremy Belknap*, D.D. 18. Longmeadow, Mass., Families. 19. Abstracts of Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 20. Will of Robert Fitt. 21. Genealogical Waifs. 22. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September–October, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The "Electoral Conspiracy" Bubble Exploded. 2. The Decline of the Drama. 3. The War in the East, (with Maps.) Part II. 4. Perpetual Forces. 5. How shall the Nation regain Prosperity? 6. New American Novels. 7. "Fair Wages." 8. Reformed Judaism. 9. The Recent Strikes. 10. Progress in Astronomical Discovery.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, July, 1877, (Gettysburg.)—1. General Synod. 2. The Author of the Augsburg Confession. 3. Missions in the First and in the Nineteenth Centuries. 4. Andrew Marvell, the Incorruptible Member from Hull. 5. Our Present Knowledge of the Sun. 6. Modern Evangelism. 7. The Germans in the General Synod. 8. Peter Not the Church's Foundation. 9. Individualism.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July–August, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The Electoral Conspiracy. 2. The War in the East, (with Maps.) 3. Fitz-Greene Halleck. 4. The American Constitution. II. 5. Moral Reflections. 6. New Russia. 7. How shall the Nation regain Prosperity? 8. Reformed Judaism. 9. America in Africa. I.

Mr. Wells' article on our national prosperity shows how we have lost it, and reserves to a second article the showing how to regain. The loss has arisen from vast destruction by wars

and bad fiscal policy, but mostly by the immense improvement in machineries on farms, in mills, and in all the productive agencies, by which the laborer has been supplanted and millions flung out of employment. The productive agencies have been increased and the purchasing power diminished, and all our new retrenchments and economies increase the evil.

HOW PUBLIC BURDENS HAVE BEEN PRODUCED.

Since 1860 the national debts of the world, incurred mainly for war purposes, have been increased by a sum larger than ten thousand millions of dollars; at least an equal amount, taken from current annual product, was expended during the same period for similar unproductive purposes; and a *third equal sum* will probably fail to represent what has been invested during the same time in enterprises, industrial or productive in their inception or purport, but which are now unproductive in the sense of returning any income to those who contributed. A part of this latter aggregate undoubtedly represents change in the distribution, and not absolute waste of capital or wealth; but the items of loss omitted in any such estimate, and of which it is impossible to take more than general cognizance, would, if obtainable, undoubtedly carry the aggregate of the destruction or impairment of the world's capital since 1860 far above the sum of the figures above mentioned. Had all these losses fallen exclusively upon the United States they would have been equivalent to the destruction or transfer of all its existing accumulated wealth — the result of all the capital earned and saved, or brought into the country, since it became the abode of civilized man. In the case of Prussia, a country of small fortunes and small incomes, the losses sustained by 432 joint-stock companies since 1872, as measured by the fall in the market prices of their stocks, has been recently shown by Dr. Engle, of Berlin, to be equal to nearly six years of the public revenue, and to represent a very large part of the comparatively small savings of that nation. In short, the world, for the last fifteen or sixteen years, has been specially wasting its substance—playing on a great scale the part of the Prodigal Son—and such a course, if persisted in, will, in virtue of a common law, ultimately bring nations as well as individuals alike to the husks. Such, however, through invention and discovery, has been the comparatively recent increase in the world's power of production, that resort to the husks need be but temporary; and were it not for continued war expenditures and bad economic laws, the restoration of the world's impaired wealth, through economy or increased industry, would soon be effected.—Pp. 116, 117.

OUR PRODUCTION OF WOOLEN MILLS.

The fact is now very generally recognized that the capital which, under the stimulus of war and a vicious fiscal policy, has

been invested in the United States since 1860 in iron-works and woolen-mills, and which represented the savings for years of the labor of a very large number of persons, has been in great part as much wasted as though destroyed by fire or sunk in the ocean. A most remarkable item of evidence in support of this statement is to be found in a communication on the state of the Woolen Goods Trade in the United States, made to the New York "World" under date of February 17, 1877, by one of the most prominent manufacturing firms in New England, (Mudge, Sawyer & Co.,) in which they state "that there would be no improvement in the [woolen goods] trade until the mills ceased over-production; that if one half of the machinery were stopped or burned the general trade would be good; that there was too much woolen machinery in the country for our market; and that, as we could not export any description of woolen goods, we should have to wait for the growth of the population or the wearing out of the machinery." Or, in other words, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, one half of the capital invested in the woolen manufacturing industry of the country, (worsted goods excluded,) amounting, according to the last census, (1870,) to $49,400,000, is so useless and harmful that the general interests of the trade would be improved if the buildings, machinery, etc., which represent and embody such capital, were subjected to conflagration or compulsory inaction.—Pp. 116, 117.

EXTRA LABOR NECESSARY TO PAY OUR NATIONAL DEBT.

With the existing power of production in the country, about twenty-five minutes' extra labor per day on the part of its adult male working population would suffice to defray all the interest on our present National, State, and municipal debt, and establish a sinking-fund sufficient to extinguish the aggregate principals of the same, provided a market and sale could be obtained for the resulting products of such labor at substantially existing prices.—P. 118.

HOW MACHINERY FORESTALLS LABOR.

Ninety cotton operatives, with an average annual food-purchasing power each of $300, (increased from $200 since 1838 by increase of wages,) will now purchase and consume farm products, or their equivalents, to the aggregate value of $27,000 per annum; requiring the present labor of 135 farmers, producing $200 per annum through improved machinery and processes (as compared with $100 in 1838) over and above the subsistence of themselves and families. The ratio of industrial or economic equilibrium between cotton-cloth producers and the producers of other commodities essential to a comfortable livelihood in the United States in 1876 was therefore approximately as 90 to 135; or, in other words, the labor of 225 persons is as effective in 1876 in meeting the demands of the country for cloth and food products as was

the labor of 631 persons in effecting similar results in 1838; and as a consequence of this change in the power of production, the labor of 466 other persons have, within this time and within the special industrial sphere under investigation, been rendered unnecessary; and they have been compelled to enter into relations with new wants and new capabilities of purchase in order to find employment. Results similar, and possibly even more striking, are afforded by the analysis of other leading American industries. Thus, in the manufacture of boots and shoes, three men working with machinery can do at present what, prior to 1860, required the labor of six men to effect; while the individual or *per capita* consumption of boots and shoes in the United States has probably been more uniform during the same period than is the case with almost any other commodity. At a convention of the stove trade last year (1876) in St. Louis it was also officially reported that, under what may be called a healthy trade, there was at least thirty-three per cent. greater present capacity for making stoves in the United States than the country requires, and that three men now, with the aid of machinery, can produce as many stoves as six men unaided could have done in 1860. In the manufacture of straw goods 300 hands in one of the largest factories in New England do more with the sewing-machine than what a comparatively few years ago required a thousand to effect when sewing of the braid was done by hand; and the steam-press turns off four hats to the minute, in place of the old rate of one hat to four minutes. Similar results, derived from the consideration of our industries as a whole, are also given in the last national census, which shows that, while the increase in population in the United States from 1860 to 1870 was less than twenty-three per cent., the gain in the product of our so-called manufacturing industries during the same period, *measured in kind*, was fifty-two per cent., or near thirty per cent. in excess of the gain in population.—Pp. 120, 121.

EFFECT OF SUEZ CANAL ON LABOR.

It diverted from employment and rendered comparatively useless, between 1870 and 1875, about two millions sailing-vessel tonnage, and substituted steam-tonnage, passing through the canal. It shortened the time for operations in India produce in Europe to the extent of certainly one half, and probably five sixths; and this economy of time, conjointly with the use of the telegraph, has not only obviated the necessity of accumulating and carrying large stocks of India produce in Europe, which were essential when every Indian order necessitated six months after it was given for its fulfillment, but has also correspondingly diminished the great advantage which England formerly enjoyed in this trade from her immense capital and credit. It has restored in a degree to the Mediterranean ports the commerce of India, of which they were so disastrously deprived at the close of the fifteenth century by the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the route by the Cape of Good

Hope. Or, to sum up, it has rendered unnecessary so large and so costly an amount of the old machinery of an important branch of the world's trade — warehouses, sailing-vessels, capital, six-months' bills, and the merchant himself and his retinue of *employés*—and has so altered and twisted so many of the existing modes and channels of business as to cause immense losses, mischief, and confusion.—Pp. 123, 124.

Our productive public lands will soon be exhausted. The difficulty for the poor man to rise by manual effort into wealth is fast increasing. This is the source of "strikes," and he who deals with strikes as the evil is like a physician who doctors symptoms regardless of the real disease from which they spring. The problem is how to furnish remunerative employment to the laborer. This is the great question of the hour for solution.

Bishop Haven's article on Africa is in his best style. The policy of England to get possession of that continent is skillfully portrayed. What our true policy is will be unfolded in another article.

In the book notices of this Review we find the following striking distinction between ancient and modern art:—

When we pass from Homer to the Nibelungen, or from Virgil to Dante and Ariosto, or from Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to Shakspeare, Calderon, Goethe, and Schiller, we have the feeling that another atmosphere moves about us, as if we entered a new world. The Greek and Roman music is quite different from our modern music. It makes little account of harmony, knows nothing of thorough-bass, and its instruments were chiefly various flutes and harps. It would seem at first sight, on the contrary, that in the plastic arts, where the universal laws of statics and mechanism prevail, and the forms of nature and man are essentially the same, as in sculpture and painting, the difference between ancient and modern art must almost wholly disappear. Yet what a significant, deep distinction there is between a Greek temple and a Gothic dome—between the Moses of Michel Angelo, or an apostle's statue by Andrew Sansovini or Peter Fischer, and the Greek figures of a hero or a god—between a picture of Raphael and all that we know of ancient painting! If we ask what the difference is, we reply that the ancient art is more plastic, the modern is more picturesque. If we seek the ground of this distinction, we find it not merely in the different forms of sculpture and painting, nor in the different materials—on the one hand, clay, wood, stone, brass, and on the other hand, canvas, the pencil, and color—that are used. The real distinction lies in the sphere of intellect, or in the different conceptions of the idea of beauty.

The mere copy of an external form is not art, but art begins with a feeling or thought which seeks to express itself in some material, and the material is as unsatisfactory without the mind as the mind is unsatisfactory without the material. The main thing is the true relation between subject and form, being and manifestation, soul and body. It is obvious that accordingly as one or the other of these elements dominates in a work of art, the form of the art varies. When the external element or the body prevails, sculpture is the favorite form; when the spiritual element, the soul, is commanding, painting is the best expression. Hence we can justly say that ancient art is plastic, and modern art is picturesque. Plastic art requires physical beauty that is capable of being put into actual form. It requires such definiteness of subject that it can be presented in the three dimensions of matter; it demands that repose should prevail over movement, and also that the universal type should prevail over individual peculiarity; and the finer traits of personality should be secondary to the general proportion and the necessary laws of form. The picturesque, on the other hand, gives the lead to the ideal factor; puts spirit above nature, soul above body; brings out what is subjective, individual, characteristic, in such way as to make the personal, the individual, the essential object and aim; while the universal type appears as the substratum, as means or model. This distinction is seen even in ancient and modern literature; and ancient poetry is regulated by quantity, and modern poetry by accent; and thus the plastic and the picturesque appear.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1877. (Andover.)—1. Missionary Culture. 2. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 3. Charles James Fox as an Orator. 4. The Derivation of Unquam, Usquam, and Usque. 5. Cotton Mather and the Witchcraft Delusion. 6. Aristotle. 7. Notes on Egyptology. 8. Characteristics of Homeric Poetry. 9. American Oriental Society. 10. On Assyriology. 11. Acropolis of Athens by E. Beulé. 12. German Notices of Mr. Rowland G. Hazard's Volume on Causation and Freedom in Willing.

In his "Notes on Egyptology" Dr. Thomson gives an account of Dr. Brugsch's "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," which book he affirms "does mark an epoch in the science of Egyptology." By an immense amount of selective labor Dr. Brugsch has made out a consecutive list of Egyptian kings up to the first king Menes, whom he dates at 4,455 B. C., more than two thousand years earlier than the Hebrew date of the flood. Brugsch's labor consists largely in verifying or correcting the lists of Manetho by other records, and thus giving us a revised list.

The two lists of the first Pharaohs, found in the temple of Abydos, the list found at Sakkarah, and a fourth, in a private tomb at Thebes, show conclusively that Manetho's lists must have been compiled from records and monuments, which in his

time were regarded as chronological lists of consecutive dynasties True or false, *this was the notion the Egyptians had of their own royal succession.* The question of time, that is, of the duration of these dynasties, in the absence of conclusive dates, is quite distinct from the fact of chronological order, though the order of succession furnishes a proximate rule for the computation of time. . . .

Every point stated in the above specifications is distinctly supported by the monuments and records of Egypt; and it will at once be seen that these furnish a good back-bone of chronology, and a tolerably well articulated skeleton of history. But when we attempt to construct the body, with form, organs, integuments, life, the real difficulty begins.

With all his research, acumen, industry, enthusiasm, Dr. Brugsch has not established the chronology of Egypt, nor any one satisfactory date in that remote antiquity which possesses the highest interest for the elucidation of both biblical history and the general history of mankind. A glance at his table of royal epochs is a most disappointing sequel to his glowing pages. It is easy to mark the dates of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, and two centuries before by Cambyses; and we may feel our way back, step by step, to the close of the sixth century before Christ, and may gain two or three proximate dates in the tenth and eleventh centuries B. C.; but when from the twelfth century onward our author assigns to each reign an average of thirty-three years, allowing but three reigns to a century, and his columns read 1,200, 1,233, 1,266, 1,300, 1,333, 1,366, and so on back to 4,400 B. C. as the date of Menes, we see that such tables are as really "crooked" as are the antediluvian tables of the Septuagint. Dr. Brugsch assumes that the first sixty-five names of the royal tablet of Abydos represent not only the regular official succession, but also the direct lineal succession from father to son, in the house of Menes. Then, taking as a basis the calculation of Herodotus, that on an average three successive lives of the same stock fill out a century, he gives to these sixty-five kings a range of two thousand one hundred and sixty-five years before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which he assigns to the year 1558 B. C.—thus making a total of three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four years. But he also allows five hundred years for the interruption of the Egyptian monarchy by the Hyksos invasion, and hence goes back to the forty-first century B. C. for the ascension of Menes to the throne. Now, this whole calculation proceeds upon a purely artificial theory; and, though the condition of Egypt at that early period seems to have favored stability and longevity, yet the monuments show the frequency of wars and the habitual exposure of the king in battle. Hence, in view of the ordinary vicissitudes of government, history teaches that we must allot to sovereigns a shorter term than the average of human life—say, five or six reigns to a century, rather than three. This would reduce the era of Menes to about 3,000

B. C., "the lowest point to which a chronologist can venture to depress the date of Menes." The following are the principal dates, B. C., to which German Egyptologists have assigned the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom: Boeckh, 5,702: Unger, 5,613; Brugsch, 4,455; Lauth, 4,157; Lepsius, 3,892; Bunsen, 3,623 — a difference of two thousand and seventy-nine years. And, be it remembered, in the first eighteen dynasties not one solitary date has been fixed with absolute certainty as a point for evolving the chronology of the period.

It is a great advance toward historical certainty to have fixed with so much definiteness the names of the kings of Egypt and the order of their succession. What is yet wanting is the date of the accession of some of the leading Pharaohs of the older time. This once made sure, it may be possible to frame a chronology of Egypt that shall elucidate or rectify the chronology of the Hebrews.—Pp. 540, 542, 543.

Specialists are always to be kindly suspected, not of dishonesty, but over enthusiasm. Their conclusions are never safe until they have been well aired by general examination. Dr. Thomson well distrusts Brugsch, and we slightly distrust Dr. Thomson. We catch not a glimpse from either that indicates any thing in Egyptology to "rectify the chronology of the Hebrews."

Taken as two opposing histories or chronologies, simply as a literary question, apart from any theological interest, the Egyptian cannot stand for a moment in comparison with the Hebrew. The very absence of all Egyptian dates proves that the Egyptians possessed no true historic genius; while the very formal accuracy of the Hebrew pedigrees in point of numerical figures shows the precise reverse of the early Abrahamidæ. At every step of the Genesis genealogies we recognize a chronological, archæological, and genealogical purpose, giving exact numbers of age when principal son was born, and of years of father's life after that birth. Who knows that the successive *rulers* in the earlier Egyptian dynasties were all hereditary kings, and, not chosen governors, like Roman consuls or American presidents? Take France during the present century, and count all her executive *rulers*, including Lamartine and Thiers, and, supposing the numbers through the remainder of the century to be in ratio with the past, we would have *rulers* enough to equal two or three Egyptian dynasties in a single hundred years. We would not abate one jot of the enthusiasm of our Egyptologists, and are ourselves enthusiastic over the wonderful treas-

ures they have unearthed. But, so far as we can estimate, in chronology earlier than the twelfth dynasty their results are a magnificent unreliability. We wait for evidence on this point as yet unfurnished.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, July, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. Augustinism: Original Sin. 2. The Mission of the Microscope. 3. The Gospel according to Matthew. 4. Seiss on the Gospels. 5. Edgar Allan Poe. 6. Dabney and Bennett *vs.* Bledsoe. 7. An Extraordinary Scene.

Dr. Bledsoe, in his first article, thus arraigns the great doctor of the ancient Church:—

We arraign him, 1. Because he used "deceit and lies" in the service of the Church; because he advanced opinions he did not believe, and suppressed others he did believe, in order to confound and overwhelm the enemies of his own views of the truth. 2. Because he represented the eternal Father as a Jesuitical trickster, by whom the devil was outwitted and cheated in the awful transaction of the atonement. 3. Because he rejected St. Paul's glad Gospel of free salvation by faith alone, and adopted, in its place, the gloomy gospel and bondage of justification by works. In other words, because he rejected "the doctrine of a standing Church," and adopted in its place "the doctrine of a falling Church;" and thereby helped "the Catholic Church" down the awful declivity on which it was already descending, into all the darkness, misery, and manifold corruptions of the Middle Ages. 4. Because he pointed mankind, not to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," but to almsgiving as the means of attaining the forgiveness of sins. 5. Because he held and taught the High-Church, sacramentarian notion of baptismal regeneration, by which alone all souls, not even excepting those of new-born infants, are delivered from the everlasting torments of the second death. 6. Because he invented the dogma of original sin, in order to bolster up, and keep in countenance, that monstrous abortion of night and darkness. 7. Because he invented the scheme of predestination, by which a blind worship of the omnipotence of God is made to extinguish the glory of all his moral attributes, and put out the most glorious lights of his revealed word. 8. Because he crushed those by persecution whom he could not convince by argument; thus treading in the bloody footsteps of Saul of Tarsus, rather than in those of the meek, and lowly, and loving Jesus. In fine, because he was the forerunner, not of Christ, but of the Inquisition, with hell at his heels. And, 9. Because, by his great authority and influence with councils, he contrived to stamp all these detestable features on "all succeeding ages of the Church," till one greater than he—the Monk of Eisleben—arose to deliver the Church, in part at least, from the awful thralldom under which she had so long groaned and travailed in pain.—P. 59.

Dr. Bledsoe sustains the arraignment by a strong array of facts.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1877. (London.)—1. The Origin and Growth of Episcopacy. 2. Baptism for the Dead. 3. Universal Restoration. 4. Michael Bruce and the Authorship of the Ode to the Cuckoo. 5. The Philistines. 6. The Sinai Covenant. 7. Daniel Deronda as a Sign of the Times. 8. Religious Life in Germany. 9. Review of Literature Bearing on Apologetics in the last Eighteen Months.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July 2, 1877. (London.)—1. Divine Voices and Modern Thought. 2. The Athens of Thucydides. 3. Mr. Arnold on Butler. 4. The Ridsdale Judgment. 5. The Southern Slaves. 6. The Liberation Society.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1877. (New York.) —1. The First Lord Abinger and the Bar. 2. Recent Discoveries in Art and Archæology in Rome. 3. Oxford Gossip in the Seventeenth Century. 4. Economic "Laws" and Economic Facts. 5. The Science of Electricity as applied in Peace and War. 6. New Guinea and Polynesia. 7. The War in the East. 8. The Ridsdale Judgment and the Priest in Absolution. 9. National Interests and National Morality.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1877. (New York.)—1. The Chartered Guilds of London. 2. Illicit Commissions. 3. Harriet Martineau. 4. The Present Education of Solicitors. 5. Old Gaelic Culture. 6. Successful Lawyers. 7. The Cradle of the Blue Nile. 8. The Eastern Question.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1877. (London.) — 1. The Original Elements of the English Constitution. 2. Russian Institutions. 3. The Life in Christ. 4. Biographical Literature. 5. Mr. Forman's Shelley. 6. George Whitefield. 7. Supernatural Religion.

On Mr. Darwin's two books in regard to cross-fertilization, an interesting notice is given, furnishing some important views of the present state of the teleological question :—

Both these books are not only of remarkable value, but full of what must be of the highest interest to thoughtful minds. The former is the formal statement of what has been repeatedly and with great force asserted by Mr. Darwin, which is, that there is a great repugnance in nature to the fertilization of plants by means of their own pollen; that cross-fertilization is essential to the successful preservation of a species or variety. The pollen of a given plant must not be suffered to become the fertilizing agent of its own seeds.

It is well known now that the equivalent of a sexual method of fecundation is found throughout the entire realm of biology—from the base to the apex of the whole organic series. The most lowly organized of nature's life-forms, as well as the most complex and gorgeous, depend for their continuity upon this. But among plants a thousand contrivances are found, exquisite in their adaptations, which are merely to avoid the evil arising from the pollen of a flower falling on its own stigmatic surface, and so effecting self-fertilization. Thus it frequently happens that the pollen is borne upon one flower, and the "pistil," or seed-casket, is in another. A common example of this is the willow. More striking still, the flowers bearing the pollen may grow on one plant, and the flowers bearing the stigmatic surface and the seed to be fertilized, are

borne upon another and wholly separate plant. This is the case with the hop. Now, it is manifest that the pollen, if it reach the stigmatic surfaces, must do so by some agency outside the plant itself. This is accomplished in nature on a large scale by the agency of wind. The common hazel is a good example. It flowers from January to March; that is at a time when few insects are on the wing, and when the winds are strong and gusty, and before the foliage leaves have opened to prevent their action. The flowers are of two kinds—catkins, which are simply pollen-bearing flowers, and seed-bearing flowers crowned with tinted filaments moistened with a viscid fluid, which, as the air rushes past, laden with the exquisitely delicate pollen grains, catches by its viscidity many of these, and fertilization is secured.

The quantity of pollen thus discharged is one of the comparatively few extravagances of nature. But if a yew-tree in a pollen-bearing state be shaken, the pollen rises like a dense smoke; and the American lakes, which adjoin the vast pine woods, are, at the pollen-yielding season, covered with a rich yellow layer of simply wasted pollen.

But in the majority of plants, the structure of the pollen, or the relative arrangement of stamens and pistils, with many other conditions, renders fertilization by wind impossible; and it is here that insect agency becomes so indispensable and fraught with adaptation. Every one has observed how assiduously flowers are visited by insects. They are attracted by two things—scent and color; and these are both guides to the honey or nectar of which the insect is in search. This honey is so placed in an immense proportion of the flowers of the globe that, by a thousand entrancing adaptations, the insect in reaching it must carry away the pollen from one flower, and from its exquisitely arranged position deposit it on the stigmatic surface of another of the same species. This explains how it is that in the majority of cases richly-scented flowers are not highly colored or gorgeously decorated—either scent *or* color may be a guide to the hungry insect. And, for the same reason, flowers that bloom at night are very pale, or white.

Now, one of the means by which flowers are prevented from effecting their own fertilization is, that when the pollen is ripe and ejected, the stigmatic surface of the same flower is *not* ripe: that is, is not covered with its viscid secretion, and therefore the pollen will not adhere, and no result can follow. Clearly, therefore, unless such a flower receive pollen in some way when its stigmatic surface is ripe, its seed will never be fertilized.

A beautiful instance of how this is effected is seen in the southern English wild flower known as the Birthwort. It is a trumpet-shaped flower, with its smaller end fastened to a small hollow ball. Within this latter are to be found the anthers with their pollen and the stigmatic surfaces of the pistils. The tube of the flowers is small, and will only admit small insects. The nectar is in the ball at the bottom. The tube is lined with *stiff hairs*, set at an angle with the sides of the tube, and pointing downward. They

are quite stiff, but leave just opening enough for the passage *downward* of a small insect. It enters, let us suppose, laden with pollen from another flower. The stigmatic surface, when the flower is in this condition, is ripe; its viscid surface consequently receives the pollen, which adheres to it as the insect creeps over it in search of nectar. But, having satisfied itself, on seeking exit from the flower the insect finds itself a prisoner! The bristle-like points directed downward admitted of its ingress, but their position makes egress impossible! Hence, the tiny prisoner must content himself with the honey which he finds in this particular flower. Meanwhile, the pollen brought by the insect has done its work; the stigma dries and withers, and the anthers open and discharge their pollen, with which of necessity the insect is at once charged. At the same time the needle-like hairs *dry up* and wither away, and the insect can escape to bear the pollen of this flower to another. To complete the whole, a sort of flap at the top of the tube of this flower falls down and closes the entrance from future ingress.

In the common pink, thyme, and many others, the same method, with less complex or varying details, is adopted. In the cross-leaved heath, the most delicate mechanical contrivance is adopted to compel the bee, in getting at the nectar, to open the pollen box, that the dust may fall where of necessity it must come into contact with the stigma of the next flower. While in instances in which self-fertilization is adopted—quite the exception—the method by which this is effected only intensifies the meaning, and gives additional meaning to the delicate contrivances by which it is sought to be avoided.

In the common sage, again, the mechanical adaptations by which the visiting bee is made to secure the cross-fertilization of the plant, while it obtains the honey which it seeks, are simply mechanical refinements of the highest order.

To the development of the wonders which this subject discloses the former of these books is devoted; and we need scarcely say that the work is done as no other could have done it.

The second book, by the same gifted author, is written to explain in special detail the absolute perfection which the agency of insects in the fertilization of *orchids* has reached. The mutual adaptations are simply entrancing. Even in the common purple orchis of our meadows this is abundantly seen. Like the whole family, it has a "spur," in which the honey is secreted; at the entrance of this spur the pollen masses are fixed. They are set in a very delicate membrane, which breaks on the slightest touch. When it is broken, the bases of these pollen masses are exposed, and these are covered with a viscid fluid. The result is, that the insect, alighting on the lip of the flower, pushes its proboscis down the spur, breaks the delicate membrane, and exposes the viscid discs of the pollen masses, which immediately stick to the trunk, and in a few seconds harden—firmly fixed to this part of the insect. But if they were to harden, and become glued at right angles to the trunk or proboscis, the insect could not get the trunk into the next flower.

The result is, that in hardening the pollen masses *bend down*, so as to be nearly horizontal with the trunk. Now, in going to the next flower, the laden proboscis has to push its way down past the stigmatic surfaces, and the result is that the pollen is wiped off and the flower fertilized.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do justice to this beautiful subject: the contrivances are so manifold: the adaptations so refined and palpable. But we may note that in the Catasetums—a group of foreign orchids—the complexity of contrivance is only rivaled by the precision with which the end is secured. The insect creeps into the flower and seeks the nectar. In doing so it must touch a spur; this is sensitive in so high a degree that when it is touched it causes the rupture of a delicate membrane, which restrains an elastic pollen mass: this at once springs out with immense force, and strikes the insect with a gummy surface or disc. The result is, that it adheres; and the insect flies away, startled, to seek another flower; and in doing so wipes the pollen off on to the surface that requires it.

But few things are more marvelous than the fact that there is a wonderful orchid known as *Angræum sesquipedale*, which has a spur—not three-quarters of an inch, but actually from eleven to twelve inches in length. At the base of these wonderful spurs there is an inch and a half of honey. This could only be for the attraction and access of insects. But no insect could he found at the time with so enormous a proboscis as to reach down to this nectar. But, said Mr. Darwin, in effect, there must *be* such an insect, or the plant must speedily perish. And the result is, that careful search has brought it to light. Herr Fritz Müller has found the very insect—sent home its proboscis, which is no less than eleven inches long, and a drawing of which appeared some time since in "Nature," taken from an original photograph.

Now, it is impossible for the student of theology to be unmoved by such wonderful evidences of *present adaptation* as are disclosed by these researches. Paley would have, indeed, found them to be priceless treasures—irresistible witnesses. But we may query much if Paley's argument *as it now stands* would ever have been given to the world, if these and kindred facts had been known to him. To affirm that any set of adaptations, any ground of adjustments, leading up to a well-defined and exquisitely accomplished end, was *the* purpose for which it was all devised, is now known to be an unwarrantable assumption. The facts of nature forbid it. Variation is a primal law of nature. There was a time when, in the vast majority of cases, it could be affirmed that *present* adaptations did not exist. There may be, in the future, a time when again they shall be succeeded by others. There is no "final cause" within *our* ken. But there *is* a sublime capacity in nature to adjust itself to varying conditions, and amid all variations to preserve concurrent adaptation—to balance the details of design to the end to be accomplished throughout all vicissitudes. And thus, instead of the device of an artificer, conceived and completed—destined to be that and

nothing else—the great Creator has vested vital forms not only with a rigid precision of adjustment and adaptation to present circumstances, but with an elastic power of gradual *re-adaptation* to new and varying conditions, which makes designs in nature not merely a thing that *has been*, but a thing that is; and thus indicates the presence and constant action of a great unsearchable, but benevolent Spirit.—Pp. 523–527.

In the decidedly brilliant article on Tyerman's Whitefield we find the following statement touching Wesley's personal non-profession of entire sanctification:—

Of early follies Wesley had very few to confess, and he nowhere enters into much detail as to his early life. He does not often speak of his religious experience, but when he does, how guarded are his expressions, and how reverent his tone! The world might deride his pretensions, but it could not gainsay the wisdom and spirit with which they were set forth. Wesley commended the simplicity of his friend's productions, but he took care not to follow his example. He proclaimed a higher standard of spiritual privileges than his fellow Whitefield, but *he never formally professed to have attained it.* This reserve was not so much prudence or policy, as a necessity of nature, rather deepened than otherwise by culture and experience. Religious conference with him had its times and seasons: he did not in this respect take the whole world for his parish.—Page 412.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1877.—1. The Life and Correspondence of Kleber. 2. The Sibylline Books. 3. Indian Famines. 4. Copernicus in Italy. 5. North-Country Naturalists. 6. Metropolitan Medical Relief. 7. Venice Defended. 8. The England of Elizabeth. 9. Geffcken on Church and State. 10. The Russians in Asia Minor.

The following extract from Article VIII gives a significant account of

THE GLORY, DECLINE, AND FATE OF THE ENGLISH YEOMANRY

Besides the merchants there were yeomen in England, a class which will soon be as extinct among us as the woolly-haired rhinoceros and the cave-bear of our prehistoric period. A yeoman, according to Harrison, was "a freeborne Englishman who could spend of his owne free land in yearlie revenue six pounds." They lived well and worked hard, and made money by the increased price paid for their produce. So that these little farmers, too, had a share in the national advancement, and were able to buy out poor gentlemen, and, educating their sons at schools and universities, so made them gentlemen, and left them capital. "These were they," says Harrison with honest pride, "that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called 'Master' as gentlemen are"—like Master Shallow—" or 'Sir' as to knights appertaineth"—like Sir John Falstaff—"but onelie 'John' and

'Thomas,' yet have they been founde to have doone verie good service; and the kings of England, in foughten battles, were woont to remaine among them, who were their footmen, as the French kings did amongst their horsemen; the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist." Such were the yeomen of Harrison's time, worthy sons of those who had conquered at Cressy, Agincourt, and Flodden; men who afterwards went with Sidney and the Veres and Ogle to the Low Countries, who steadily withstood the Spaniards at Nieuport, and defied the leaguer of Ostend. As Cromwell's Ironsides they broke the power of Charles and his cavaliers, and swarmed up to London with Monk when the second Charles came to what he called his own again. When England began to maintain a regular standing army, and military service was no longer national but mercenary, we do not find the yeomen so constant to the wars. But their arms were felt at Landen and Neerwinden under William of Orange, and they helped to win the wonderful series of victories which adorn the career of Marlborough. Perhaps there were still a few of them at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and at Culloden the Butcher Cumberland may have led some against the Highland clans. Wellington's glorious campaigns were fought and his victories won by armies molded out of such vile materials, that they justified the remark that a good general can make a soldier out of any thing. Certainly there were few yeomen in his ranks. In these modern times if we ask for the English yeoman and what has become of him, the answer must be a reference to those Doomsday-books of the three kingdoms which tell the fatal truth that the land of Great Britain and Ireland has passed into the possession of a few thousand owners, who, if they were all mustered, would not make up one of the *corps d'armée* of Germany or France. Things, of course, might be worse even than this, and we may still come to that worse condition. We remember that Sparta, the soldier-state when ancient Greece was Greece indeed, had passed, when the Romans took possession of it, into the hands of one or two heiresses.—Pp. 106, 107.

This brief history illustrates the fearful tendency of our modern civilization to concentration of power, the enthronement of King MONOPOLY. Before our civil war it was fast growing in the great landed estates of leading slave-holders. It now appears incarnated in the four railroad monarchs of our Northern States. And our Southern brethren are audibly calling for a similar incarnation in their own section.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. TH. BRIEGER, Professor of Theology at Marburg. Vol. II. First Number—1. RITSCHL, Prolegomena for a History of Pietism. 2. A. HARNACK, The Recent Literature (from January, 1876, to April, 1877) on the History of the Church until the Council of Nice. 3. K. WIESELER, The People of the Galatians in the Institutions of Gajus. 4. Epistolæ Reformatorum. 5. SCHAEFER, A Contribution to the History of the Conversions of Protestant Princes to the Church of Rome.

Professor Harrack continues in this number the very valuable article on the recent literature relating to Church history. An acquaintance with these articles is almost indispensable for any one who desires to keep up his knowledge of this department of Theological literature. Many of the works reviewed in his article have already been mentioned in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. The article quotes some new essays on the controversy whether Peter has ever been in Rome. The number of those who deny this has been strongly reinforced by Prof. Lipsius, who, in a long article in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, (1876, pp. 561–645,) undertakes to refute the arguments which have recently been adduced by Hilgenfeld and Joh. Delitzsch in behalf of those who assume the presence of Peter in Rome. The view of this latter has, on the other hand, been supported by Prof. Weizsäcker in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*.

The controversy whether the nationality of the Galatians in Asia Minor was Celtic or German, on which we reported in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1876, also continues to call out a number of essays and articles on this tribe in Germany and France. Perrot, in an article, entitled, "De la Disparition de la Langue Gauloise en Galatie," (in the *Mem. d'Archéologie, d'épigraphie, et d'Histoire*, Paris, 1875,) tries to show that this Celtic language had become extinct in Galatia long before Jerome. Bertrand, in several articles in the *Revue Archeologique*, (1875 and 1876,) finds a distinction between Celts and Galatians, while another French writer in the same periodical (*Revue Archeo.*, 1875) maintains the identity of Celts, Gauls, and Galatians. In Germany, the foremost champion of the German nationality of the Galatians, Prof. Wieseler, has not been discouraged by the fact that most German writers on the subject are willing to acknowledge the Celtic nationality; but he has

written in defense of his views a new book entitled, "The German Nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor; a contribution to the history of the Germans, Celts, and Galatians, and their names," (*Die Deutsche Nationälität der Galater.* Gütersloh, 1877.) The learning and thoroughness of Prof. Wieseler is recognized by all German writers; but Prof. Harnack thinks he has not made out a good case, and that the defenders of the Celtic nationality of the Galatians seem to have the advantage.

No part of the recent literature on the ancient history of the Church is so copious as that on the apostolical Fathers. This is, to some extent, owing to the discovery and edition of the complete text of the two epistles of Clemens Romanus, by the Metropolitan Bryennios in Serre, Macedonia. Prof. Harnack enumerates and reviews not only all the recent works which have been called forth by this literary discovery, but also all the important articles in the theological periodicals of Germany, France, England, and other countries.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. 1877. Fourth Number.)—*Essays:* 1. HERING, Luther's First Lectures as Testimonials of his Doctrines and his Life. 2. SCHMIDT, On Galatians, ii, 14–21. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. BAUR, Christianity and School. *Reviews:* 1. BAUDISSIN, Essays on the History of the Semitic Religions, reviewed by RÖSCH. 2. ZSCHIMMER, Henke's Posthumous Lectures, reviewed by JACOBI.

In his article on Christianity and School, Professor G. Baur discusses the importance which Christianity and the Evangelical Church have for popular education and the school. He begins with the proposition that Christianity, in its inmost essence, is an educational institution in the highest sense of the word. Christianity is based upon the belief in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind. Redemption includes deliverance from error and superstition as well as from sin, and Christianity aims no less at enlightening the intellect than at strengthening the will. How high an opinion the ancient Church fathers had of the educational functions of Christianity appears from the fact that they called Christ θεῖος παιδαγωγός, the divine educator. The educational systems of Greece and Rome were in direct opposition to Christianity, and the education of whole nations by the sole influence of Christianity did not begin until the Germanic nations entered into the foreground of the world's history. They had at that time no educational system

which had to be overcome by Christianity; but they received from the Christian Church their higher education and their political organization. One of the greatest historians of Germany, Dahlmann, says on this subject: "Modern Europe has received all higher education, and especially its progress in the organization of States, through Christianity. The question is not whether the one or the other truth and enlightenment might not have reached the Germanic nations through some other source also. The giver deserves thanks, and the receiver does not free himself from the duty of gratitude by the consideration that some one else might, also, at length have helped him. Christian antiquity has created limbs of our national existence which we could not do without even if we would." The educational power of Christianity was greatly neutralized by the hierarchical organizations of the Church of the Middle Ages, which, in order to preserve its absolute rule, could not favor an education of the whole people for independence. A new epoch in the educational agency of Christianity begins with the Reformation, and the history of educational progress from that time is almost identical with the history of the evangelical Church. Many statistical facts are quoted by the author to show that generally the Protestant nations rank highest, and the Roman Catholic nations lowest, in the scale of popular education. After tracing briefly the history of the educational influence of Christianity, the author discusses the relation of the school to State and Church. Like the majority of German theologians, he favors the principle of denominational schools. After previously examining and combating the views, 1. Of those who would exclude religious instruction from school altogether; 2. Of those who would teach the general tenets of religion, but not those of any particular denomination; 3. Of those who would provide religious instruction for the children of each sect, but, with this exception, would make the remainder of school instruction undenominational, he briefly states his views of the denominational school.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) March, 1877.—1. PUAUX, Paris and Montauban, (Second Article.) 2. REY, John Stuart Mill, (Third Article.) 3. ALBRESPY, Rationalistic Sermon on Reformation Day.

April.—1. STAFFER, Primitive Man and his Origin. 2. RUFFET, Bernardino Ochino of Sienna.

May.—1. BONIFAZ, Early Protestant Preaching. 2. RUFFET, Bernardino Ochino of Sienna, (Second Article.) 3. VORAZ, On the Lay Character of Public Instruction.

June.—1. REY, John Stuart Mill, (conclusion.) 2. STAFFER, Abélard, a posthumous play by A. de Remusat.

July.—1. Installation of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris, and the Addresses by Professors LICHTENBERGER and MATTER. 2. ROLLER, Theological Faculties. 3. PUAUX, Daniel Encoutre.

August.—1. PUAUX, Daniel Encontre, (Second Article.) 2. CADENE, Massimo d'Azeglio and Italian Society.

The *Revue Chretienne*, as well as other Protestant papers of France, have given for some months great prominence to the discussion of the question of theological faculties, and especially to the proposed establishment of a faculty of Protestant theology at Paris. Before the war between France and Germany the Protestants of France had two theological faculties, one for the Reformed Church at Montauban, and one for the Lutheran Church at Strasbourg. By the annexation of Alsace to Germany the faculty of Strasbourg was lost to France, and the French Lutherans, in particular, were deprived of their only theological school. As the immense majority of the Lutheran congregations was situated in Alsace and Lorraine, the loss of these provinces for France involved the reduction of the Lutheran Church to very small dimensions. It was, nevertheless, agreed on all sides that the Lutheran Church, having the character of one of the State Churches, must retain a theological school, and the re-establishment of the late faculty of Strasbourg at some French town was, therefore, demanded by the Protestants and at once contemplated by the Government. Several reasons were adduced for locating it at Paris, for there, after the loss of Alsace, the Lutheran Church has now its stronghold; and in Paris, the grand center of French scholarship and literature, the young theologians, it was thought, would have an opportunity, not to be found anywhere else, to fully acquaint themselves with the present condition of literature and science. The latter reason awakened a desire

among many leading men of the Reformed Church to have likewise a theological school at Paris. Different propositions were made. Some desired the transfer of the faculty of Montauban to Paris, where it could render much greater services to the Church than in a provincial town like Montauban. Others urged the establishment in Paris of an additional theological school, and as the denominational landmarks which separate the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches are not so marked in France as in many other countries, the establishment of a mixed school containing chairs for both the Reformed and the Lutheran Church was generally commended by this party. Objections against the establishment of a school at Paris were raised on the ground that life in a city like Paris, while promotive of the scholarship, might prove injurious to the piety of theological students. Finally the transfer of the school at Montauban to Montpellier has been urged from reasons similar to those adduced in behalf of establishing a second school at Paris, for Montpellier, like Paris, is the seat of several faculties, and would afford to the students of Protestant theology similar advantages of university life as Paris.

From what has been said of the views of those who advocate the transfer of the school of Montauban to Montpellier, and the establishment of a new school at Paris, it may be inferred that they must have hailed with delight the project of M. Wadding ton, the late minister of public instruction, to reconstitute the former French universities. France is at present the only country in Europe which has no complete universities containing all the usual faculties, but instead it has five classes of faculties independent of each other; namely, for 1, theology; 2, law; 3, medicine; 4, mathematics and natural science (*facultés de sciences;*) and 5, literature, or philosophical, historical, and philological science, (*facultés de lettres.*) There were in 1876 six faculties of theology, (five Roman Catholic and one Protestant, at Montauban;) twelve for law; sixteen for medicine; fifteen for science; fifteen for literature. Only Paris, Bordeaux, and Lyons have all the five faculties; Montpellier has four; Montauban only one. This explains why so many friends of theological science desire the transfer of the school of Montauban to Montpellier, or the establishment of a new school at Paris. The restoration of complete universities in

France had been strongly urged by one of the greatest French educators, M. Cousin, in his work on the "Condition of Public Instruction in Germany." (*Etat de l'Instruction publique en Allemagne.*) He wished the government to "substitute for these poor provincial faculties, which every-where are languishing and dying, some great scientific centers, few in number, but well located, which would shed around a strong light—some complete universities, as in Germany—a union of the five French faculties, affording to each other a mutual support, a mutual light, a mutual impulse." M. Waddington was contemplating the realization of this scheme when the liberal ministry, of which he was a member, was forced by the attitude of the illiberal president of the French republic to resign.

One work, however, in which M. Waddington as a Protestant had taken the greatest interest, was, soon after his resignation, completed by his successor. The faculty of Protestant theology at Paris, which is to take the place of the former faculty at Strasbourg, was opened on June 1, under the presidency of M. Mounier, the president of the French Academy. An address was made by Professor Lichtenberger, the dean of the faculty, and an introductory lecture given by M. Matter, professor of dogmatic theology. The faculty consists of two sections, one called the theological and the other the preparatory section. At the time of its opening four professors had been appointed, Sabatier, Matter, Lichtenberger, and Berger, all favorably known as authors of theological works. Two chairs had yet to be filled. The course of studies in this theological section comprises three years. During the first two years the students are required to attend fifteen lectures a week, during the last year ten. The number of lectures to be attended by the students of the preparatory section is likewise fifteen. The requisite number of lectures for the students of both sections may embrace some lectures of other faculties or other literary institutions. In order to be admitted to the preparatory section, one must be a *bachelier ès lettres*, or, at least, have presented himself for the second half of the studies requisite for the baccalaureate. In order to be admitted to the examination, called *ascension en theologie*, (promotion to the theological section,) one must have studied at least one year in the preparatory section. The written papers to be presented will

comprise a philosophical essay, a Greek version, a German or English version. The oral examination will refer to the languages of the Old and New Testaments, the history of ancient and modern philosophy, reading of the Latin and Greek fathers, and of the German authors who will be designated at the beginning of each year. The examinations take place three times a year, on Easter, and at the beginning and close of the school year. The students of the preparatory class will be required to write an essay on a subject indicated by the faculty, which will count at the examination for promotion to the theological section. The students coming from the Protestant faculties of Geneva and Montauban will be examined in the authors studied by them during the last year of their attendance at these faculties. The requisites for the theological baccalaureate consist of six essays and an oral examination, embracing dogmatic theology, ethics, exegesis of the Old and the New Testaments, Church history, and practical theology. Two sermons will be demanded independently of the printed thesis. The examination for licentiate of theology will, besides the two French and Latin theses, embrace three subjects to be selected by the candidate from among the six which have just been mentioned in connection with the examination for the baccalaureate. The examination will be composed of two papers on each of the three subjects, the one on a written subject, the other on a Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or German text to be selected by the faculty. For the degree of doctor only one French thesis on a general subject is required. The library of the faculty is open every day from 9 to 12 A. M. and 2 to 5 P. M.; the students have to pay ten francs a year for its use.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

THESE English colonies are growing so rapidly that their figures begin to tell in statistical summaries. A hundred years have not yet elapsed since the English deported and settled there the first white criminals. In 1877 the total population already exceeded two and a half millions. The rate of the progress of population has been much more rapid than in the United States. While the population of the United States has

increased during forty years (1830–1870) from 12,870,000 to 38,560,000, or about 300 per cent., that of Australia and New Zealand has during the same time risen from 300,000 to 2,000,000, or nearly 700 per cent. The vast resources of the country make the continuance of a large rate of increase of population almost certain, and foreshadow the time when it will occupy a conspicuous place among the most populous countries of the globe.

In anticipation of this point, it is of importance to establish the fact that the whole population of Australia is almost exclusively of Teutonic origin, and that the Australian empire will rank, by the side of England, the United States, and Germany, among the great representatives of the Teutonic race. As its only national language is now and will be in future the English, it will aid materially in establishing forever the ascendancy of English as the most widely spoken language of the globe. For Protestants it is a special interest to know that Protestantism has a large majority among the people of these colonies, and that while in Europe and America the Roman Catholic Church numerically prevails, the Protestant character of Australia and New Zealand appears to be fully secured.

The following table contains the chief results of the censuses of the several Australian colonies, taken in 1870 and 1871:—*

Colonies.	Protestant.	Rom. Cath.	Jews.	Oth'r Relig.	Pagan.	Not declared.
New South Wales	339,392	147,627	2,395	1,166	7,455	5,946
Victoria	517,541	170,952	3,571	6,289	17,650	15,515
South Australia..	146,777	28,668	435	508	....	9,238
Western Australia	17,456	7,118	62	149	....	....
Queensland	80,475	31,822	291	588	3,188	3,740
Tasmania	74,242	22,091	232	2,763	....	....
New Zealand....	206,701	35,648	1,262	678	2,612	9,492
Total	1,382,584	443,926	8,248	12,141	30,905	43,931

Among the 43,900 persons registered in the last column there were 24,000 who objected to state their religion "from conscientious scruples," (9,965 in Victoria, 5,436 in South Australia, 8,630 in New Zealand.) The remainder of 20,000 is made up of persons whose declaration could not be verified, and is partly explained by discrepancies which occur in every census.

The column "other religions" embraces minor sects no further specified—Mohammedans, Mormons, (97 in Victoria, 107 in New Zealand,) those who declared that they belonged to "no denomination," (2,787 in Victoria, 139 in Western Australia, 195 in New Zealand,) and, finally, those who declared to have no religion, (2,150 in Victoria, 27 in New Zealand.)

The Pagans are chiefly represented by Chinese settlers in the gold districts. Among the 30,000 Chinese there are no more than about thirty

* We take this table from an article on Australia in the new edition of Herzog's Theological Cyclopedia, by Dr. H. Wagner, the editor of the "Gotha Almanac," and associate editor of the statistical periodical, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," to which frequent reference has been made in our articles.

or forty females. The number of converts to Christianity is only about a few dozens. The Jews nowhere exceed one and a half per cent. of the total population.

The proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants does not materially differ in the several colonies. The Roman Catholics formed in New South Wales, 29.3 per cent. of the total population; in Western Australia, 28.4 per cent.; in Queensland, 26.5 per cent.; in Victoria, 23.4 per cent.; in Tasmania, 22.2 per cent.; in South Australia, 15.4 per cent.; in New Zealand, 13.9 per cent. The greater or lesser per centage of Roman Catholics in the several colonies keeps pace with the per centage of persons of Irish descent.

The following table, which exhibits the relative per centage of persons born in Great Britain (England, Wales, Scotland) and in Ireland, proves this. In 1871 there were of every one hundred natives of the United Kingdom:—

In the Colonies.	Born in Gt. Brit'n.	Born in Ireland.	In the Colonies.	Born in Gt. Brit'n.	Born in Ireland.
Queensland.....	62	38	Victoria	70	30
New South Wales....	64	36	New Zealand	78	22
Western Australia....	69	31	South Australia	80	21

The following table exhibits the statistics of the principal divisions of Protestantism:—

Colonies.	Episcopalian.	Presbyterian.	Wesleyan.	Congregationalist.	Baptist.	Lutheran.	All others.
N. South Wales.	231,792	49,122	39,566	9,253	4,151	....	5,508
Victoria	257,835	112,983	94,220	18,191	16,311	10,559	7,442
South Australia.	50,849	13,371	43,403	7,969	8,731	15,412	7,042
West. Australia.	14,619	529	1,374	882	1	....	51
Queensland	43,764	15,373	7,206	2,647	2,897	8,588	....
Tasmania	53,047	9,064	7,187	3,931	9331	....	82
New Zealand ...	107,241	63,624	22,004	3,941	4,732	2,341	2,818
Total.....	759,147	264,066	214,960	46,814	37,754	36,900	22,943

It appears from this table that the Anglican Church is the leading denomination in each of the colonies. The Presbyterians are the second largest denomination in five colonies; in South Australia they are exceeded in number by the Wesleyans and the Lutherans, and in Western Australia by the Wesleyans and the Congregationalists. The Wesleyans are the second largest denomination in South Australia and in Western Australia, and rank third in all the others. The united membership of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists constitute 90 per cent. of the total Protestant population. The following table gives the percentage of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans in the total Protestant population of each of the colonies:—

Colonies.	Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Wesleyans.	Colonies.	Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Wesleyans.
Western Australia..	83·6	3·0	8·0	New Zealand	51·9	30·0	10·6
Tasmania.....	71·5	12·2	9·7	Victoria.....	49·8	21·8	18·2
New South Wales..	68·4	14·5	11·7	South Australia ...	34·6	9·2	29·6
Queensland.....	54·4	19·1	8·9				

The Anglican Church had in 1877 sixteen dioceses, namely: In New South Wales, the dioceses of Sydney, Goulburn, Grafton and Armidale, Newcastle, Bathurst; in Victoria, Melbourne; in Queensland, Brisbane; in South Australia, Adelaide; in Western Australia, Perth; in Tasmania, the diocese of Tasmania; in New Zealand, Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Christ Church, Waiapu, Dunedin. The bishop of Sydney has the title of Metropolitan of Australia.

The Roman Catholic Church sent the first priest to Australia in 1818. The first vicarate apostolic was established in 1835. The first establishment of regular dioceses took place in 1842, when Pope Gregory XVI. appointed an archbishop of Sydney and bishops of Adelaide and Hobarton. In 1874 a second archbishopric was erected at Melbourne, to which belong five suffragan sees, Ballarat, Sandhurst, Adelaide, Perth, Hobarton; while the Archbishop of Sydney retains six suffragans, Bathurst, Maitland, Goulburn, Armidale, Brisbane, Port Victoria. In addition to these thirteen archdioceses and dioceses on the Australian continent there are three dioceses in New Zealand, at Auckland, Wellington, and Dunedin.

As the percentage of large religious denominations may be expected to remain nearly if not wholly stationary, we can calculate with a high degree of probability the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics at the time of the latest census or enumeration. The following table contains the population of each colony in 1875 or 1876, the percentage of Protestants and Roman Catholics at the time when the last religious census was taken, (1870 or 1871,) and a calculation of what the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics would amount to in 1875 or 1876, in case the percentage of both would remain about the same:—

Colonies.	Last Census, or Calculation.	Total Population.	Protestant. Per Cent.	Protestant. Estimate	Roman Catholic. Per Cent.	Roman Catholic. Estimate.
New South Wales..	Dec. 31, 1875	606,662	67·5	410,000	29·3	178,000
Victoria.....	" "	823,272	70·9	584,000	23·4	193,000
South Australia....	Mar. 26, 1876	213,271	77·7	166,000	15·4	33,000
Western Australia..	Dec. 31, 1875	26,709	68·0	18,000	28·4	8,000
Queensland.....	May 1, 1876	173,180	66·6	115,000	26·5	46,000
Tasmania.....	Dec. 31, 1875	103,663	74·7	78,000	22·2	23,000
New Zealand.....	" "	375,856	70·4	267,000	13·9	52,000
Total 1875, 1876.....		2,322,603	74·4	1,638,000	22·9	533,000

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

THE "History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church," by E. de Pressensé, has long taken its place among the standard works of the Protestant world on Church history. Up to the end of 1876 three divisions, making five volumes, had appeared. The first division, containing vols. i and ii, treats of the "Apostolic Age;" the second, (vols.

iii and iv,) of "The great Struggle of Christianity against Paganism—The Martyrs and Apologists;" the third, (vol. v,) of "The History of Christian Doctrines." The fourth division, constituting the sixth volume, has recently been published. It is entitled "Ecclesiastical, Religious, and Moral Life of the Christians in the Second and Third Centuries," (*La Vie Ecclesiastique, Religieuse et Morale des Chrétiens au Deuxième et Troisième Siècles.* Paris, 1877. New York: F. W. Christern,) and is divided, as the title-page indicates, into three books, the first of which is devoted to the ecclesiastical life, and treats of the growth of the Church, catechumens, and baptism; the organization of the Church authorities; Church discipline; the mutual relations of the Churches to each other; the religious crisis in the third century—its general character and its issue at Alexandria; the crisis at Rome, and the ecclesiastical crisis at the time of Cyprian. The second book refers to the private and public worship of the Church, and contains six chapters: 1. The first transformation of the primitive worship; 2. Family worship; 3. The days and edifices devoted to public worship; 4. Character and transformation of public worship during the second and third centuries; 5. Archæology of public worship, public prayer, sacred chant, and reading of the holy writ, sermons; 6. Celebration of a public worship at Alexandria at the time of Origen. The third book, headed "The Moral Life of the Christians," treats of, 1. The principle of moral reforms of the Church in the face of the attempts of social renovation in the Roman Empire; 2. Christianity and the family; 3. Christianity and slavery; 4. Christianity in its relations to the State; 5. Christianity and social life; 6. Christianity and Asceticism; 7. The Christianity of the Catacombs.

Like the former volumes, also, the present will appear at once in an English and a German translation. Several chapters had previously been published as articles in the *Revue Chrétienne*, and have been noticed in our review of that periodical. We know of no Church historian who combines to a higher degree than Pressensé thoroughness and scholarship with brilliancy and elegance of style, and his works, therefore, are as interesting as they are instructive. In what esteem he is held by the literary authorities of France may be seen from the fact that the second division of this Church history has received a prize from the highest literary tribunal in France, the French Academy. We cannot recommend the present volume more highly than by saying that it is in every respect equal to the best that Pressensé has written before.

A very valuable addition to the literature of cyclopedias has just been made by J. Vapereau, the editor of the well-known *Dictionnaire des Contemporains.* He has completed a *Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures*, (Paris, 1877; New York: F. W. Christern,) which, in one volume of 2096 pages, treats, 1, of authors (about eight thousand) and their works; 2, of anonymous, collective, and national works; 3, different styles of literature: 4, history of literature, literary facts and institutions; 5, literary esthetics; 6, prosody; 7, linguistics and grammar; 8, bibliography. The book is the fruit of more than fifteen years' labor, and, as might be

expected from the well-known reputation of M. Vapereau and his experience in cyclopedic works, it contains a very large amount of interesting material. M. Vapereau has a happy talent of condensing many important facts into a small compass, and this dictionary is really the repository of much valuable information which it will be difficult to find even in the large general cyclopedias. This may especially be said of the very valuable department of anonymous, collective, and national works, to which greater prominence is given than in most other cyclopedias. Although the work is not of a theological character, it abounds in interesting theological articles. We have noticed a number of omissions and some inaccuracies in articles relating to American affairs, but no one who is familiar with cyclopedias will on that account conceive an unfavorable opinion of the book; for imperfections of this kind are common to all cyclopedias. On the whole, this work contains so large a number of valuable articles, especially on the literature of France, that we can heartily recommend it.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Systematic Theology. By MINER RAYMOND, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. Two vols., 8vo., pp. 534. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1877.

These fine volumes, coming with little pre-announcement from our Western Publishing House, are a pleasant surprise. That Dr. Raymond was competent to furnish an able Systematic Theology we were well aware, but had no notice that he had so imminent a purpose, or that he would come upon us in such magnitude and momentum. Yet the magnitude is largely due to the stately print, broad leads, and liberal margins so handsomely furnished by the publishers. Compressed into the close print of our Commentary, the work would be a respectable duodecimo. But how smoothly one can run over the magnificent pages! How rapid our progress; and with what velocity are we becoming a great theologian as we read! And, then, the author's own style rushes on in an impetuous yet transparent current, and it is wonderful with what dispatch a row of false dogmas is knocked down and a true system built up.

A gracefully written Introduction, by Dr. Curry, gives a brief survey of our past theological history as a Church. We think his survey leaves too decided a blank in its account of our theological text-books previous to Watson. Wesley intended his ser-

mons to be a "Theological System;" and Fletcher's Works, together with our Doctrinal Tracts, all early republished in this country, and deposited in the itinerant saddle-bags, formed a noble body of divinity; rendering the earlier generations of Methodist preachers in many respects better theologians than our younger ministers of the last forty years. We, moreover, cannot see why the distinctive phrase "*evangelical* Arminianism" should be used in this Introduction any more than *evangelical* Calvinism; for Arminius was as evangelical as Calvin, and there is as much unevangelical Calvinism as unevangelical Arminianism. Nor does it seem to us quite accurate to say, that as to "the character and work of the Holy Spirit there is really no difference" between Methodists and Calvinists, when we recollect how strongly Wesley emphasized and Calvinists denied both the witnessing office of the Spirit and the extent of his sanctifying work.

Dr. Raymond's style is fresh, free, copious, abounding in full, cumulative periods, sometimes with sentences rolling rapidly over a whole page and more. It is in a strain of almost uninterrupted *oratory* from end to end. His expositions consist not in exact incisive lines, but in a bold current; elucidating rather by successive touches than by precise statements. We see the true shaping of doctrines in the symmetry of the entire representation. The great outline of his system is true to the Wesley-Arminian theology; presenting that theology in its clearest, most modern, and most American aspects. As a New Englander, he owes some of the clearness of his distinctions to the discussions among the different classes of Calvinisms in New England; and far more to the contemporaneous discussions of our Wesleyan New Englanders, whose chief was Wilbur Fisk. The animated style of Dr. Raymond's work, its moderate compass, its avoidance of overmuch scholastic erudition, its clearness and trueness to the structure of our theology, render the work very properly a "popular theology," and adapt it, as intended, to pupils in theology, to intelligent laymen, to our sub-pastors, and Sabbath-school teachers.

The structure of the work accords with the usual order of topics in systematic theologies. The first volume is occupied with proofs of the reality of revelation, and of the existence and nature of God. The second treats of the Scripture doctrines of man's fall and his redemption, and the finalities of human destiny. A third volume will discuss Christian ethics and institutions.

In his anthropology Dr. Raymond takes very uncompromising ground against the genetic evolution of species, including man,

committing himself so far, we regret to say, as repeatedly to declare that if that theory be proved true the Bible must fall. We can hardly think that Dr. Raymond has fully analyzed that subject. More surprising things have happened than that he should live to revise and reverse this opinion. Old interpretations of some passages in Genesis, borrowed, perhaps, from an old false science, must, indeed, be changed; but these changes need not affect our structural theology. Even Romanism does not forbid her scientists and biblicists from maintaining, with Mivart, after Augustine and other early fathers, that Adam's formation was a derivative evolutionary creation.

Evolution requires no greater changes of interpretation in the history of man's creation than has already been made in the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. The Bible will no more fall by the adoption of evolution than it fell by the adoption of the antipodes. Our views of revelation may be as justly changed by new discoveries as our views of nature. We do not believe in the evolutionary creation of man. *We* shall not believe until it is *proved*. But we shall believe it when it is proved. And we shall then read certain texts and explain certain doctrines by the light of that discovery. We do not yet believe the pre-Mosaic antiquity of man. We shall believe it when it is proved. One may, then, either with Stanley and Farrar, consider the first ten chapters of Genesis as a separate inauthentic document; or, with Dr. J. P. Thompson and others, may snap asunder the genealogies, and antedate the Adamic creation far back into a former geological period; or one may, with M'Causland, hold that the Adamic race was a later creation. As we have repeatedly intimated, it is this last theory we should far prefer. Dr. Raymond's argumentations against it, he does not seem to recognize have already been answered by us in our Quarterly; and to us they are entirely nugatory.

Our author rejects the doctrine of hereditary guilt, indeed of all necessitated "desert." This is the true ground. Dr. Bledsoe takes the same ground essentially, when he rejects all necessitated "holiness." But the true doctrine rejects necessitated "holiness" from the deeper ground that necessitation destroys desert—desert whether good or evil—all moral merit or demerit, all moral responsibility. On that fundamental ground we affirm, with Dr. B., the non-meritoriousness of necessitated holiness, but do not deny the possibility of its existence. The two views, however, differ more in nomenclature than in essence. In accordance with the

rejection of hereditary guilt our author also rejects the conception that Christ was guilty or punished. His death was not to him penalty, but a substitute for penalty upon the sinner.

We cannot quite accord with our author in rejecting the trinality (or, as it is uncouthly called, the *trichotomy*) of our nature, as body, soul, and spirit. He says, quite incorrectly we think, that the doctrine is mainly founded on 1 Thess. v, 23; but, as we have noted in our comment on that passage, Paul must have been well aware that that trinality was in his day a current one in Platonic and other philosophy, and must have accepted its recognized use. Paul's distinction of *soulical* body from spiritual body in 1 Cor. xv, 44, recognizes this distinction, (see our note on the verse,) and is still stronger than his words in Thessalonians. In an essay by Olshausen, translated by our own hand and inserted some twenty years ago in our Quarterly, it is maintained, with great learning, that this trinality reigns in the psychology of the whole Bible, and in the psychology of the early Church, and disappeared in consequence of its appearing to favor the Apollinarian heresy. Dr. R. would not, of course, deny that in a permanent classification of our mental operations, there is a lower generic class which we share with animals, and a higher generic class which we share not with animals, but with higher natures than our own. This is a most momentous fact. But if we have thus two sets of lower and higher operations, these operations are founded in our lower and higher natures. It may not be necessary to say that these two natures are two separate entities. And yet it is certain that the lower nature does exist separately in the brutes; and that not only does the higher nature exist separately in bodiless spirits, but our own glorified bodies will lose most if not all our animal nature. This is, indeed, the very thing implied in Paul's *soulical* and *spiritual* body. The trinality has, in our view, a great value both in exegetics and theology. On this point we refer our readers to our late book-notice of Mivart's "Lessons from Nature."

In his doctrine of retribution our author has reserved to himself a nice little bit of independence, perhaps of heterodoxy. He rejects annihilationism, post-mortem probation, restorationism, universalism, and accepts the doctrine of eternal misery. But he limits the degree of misery to so small an amount that even the damned prefer existence in damnation to non-existence. The eternal misery is, then, one which every body would prefer to annihilation. Hereupon his reasoning is ingenious. He has his reply to our own objection against it; which objection is, that for us that

eternal misery must be less in degree than the misery of this world. Our own individual deep feeling is, that we would prefer non-existence even to a perpetuation of our present sort of life. Had we no hope of a better state we should, with Harriet Martineau and Lord Macaulay, hold perpetual unconsciousness most desirable. We should say with Job and Dr. Muhlenberg that we "would not live alway." It is the better world that relieves this world from pessimism. According to Dr. R., eternal unconsciousness is a worse punishment than eternal misery. If we held that view, as we have said in a former Quarterly, we should hold that eternal unconsciousness solved the theodicic problem. It reveals the severest penalty upon sin without the slightest imputation upon the divine justice. No man has a right to perpetual consciousness, and God does him no wrong in withdrawing it, especially if the man does not use his conscious existence well.

We are happy to note that in these volumes a very free use is made of our work on "The Freedom of the Will." First we note that our terminologies, invented by us for the assigned reason that the English vocabulary on that subject is shamefully deficient, is used and stamped for currency by the high authority of Dr. Raymond. Such terms as *alternativity*, *either-causal*, *pluripotent*, *unipotent*, *volitionate*, *volitionality*, *freedomist*, *equipotent*, were condemned as barbarisms by the adverse reviews. Dr. Smith, in the Presbyterian Review, gave a list, the Danville Quarterly an exhaustive list, and the New Englander uttered a condemnation. In reply to Dr. Smith we quoted an equal number of "barbarisms" from his translation of Hagenbach; and in reply to the New Englander we quoted an equal number from Herbert Spencer, whose style had just been unqualifiedly eulogized in that periodical. The fuss that was made about the matter by such periodicals justifies our present allusion to it.

But there are other more important appropriations from our volume in Dr. Raymond's chapter on the Will and elsewhere which are still more complimentary. He has taken key-thoughts, definitions, and special passages, found *in our volume and to be found in no previous work*, the product of our own thought, and has used them freely, which is gratifying, but, what is not gratifying, without any acknowledgment, thanks, or credits either to the book or the author; both of which are entirely unmentioned in these two noble volumes. In such case Dr. Raymond, whom we nevertheless hold to be a man of unimpeachable honor, has not only inad-

vertently done himself a wrong, but has rendered his work legally liable to an invalidation of copyright.

The following are some of the passages:—

THE APPROPRIATION.	THE ORIGINAL.
Freedomists object to this definition that it is only freedom *to* an act, not, also, freedom *from* it. It is mere physical or mechanical freedom,...the freedom a *clock hammer* has to strike.	As the *clock hammer* in the given case is free only *to* the stroke, so the agent in the given case is free *to* the given volition, and not also in direction *from* it. He has only the freedom of a mechanical object, not the freedom of a volitional agent.—P. 23.
Freedom of will is freedom both *to* and *from* the act.—P. 146.	There is freedom [in an agent] both *to* and *from* the act.—P. 23.

This formula of *to* and *from*, (with its "clock-hammer" illustration,) first originating in our work, is there repeatedly used as a key-thought; and so it repeatedly is in these volumes.

THE APPROPRIATION.	THE ORIGINAL.
What causes the will to specify, to put forth one volition rather than another? is urged as though it were not only the crucial question, but also determinative of the whole dispute. ... We answer, The will is cause of the volition, and insist that the answer is complete.	What causes the will [to specificate, p. 122,] to put forth the particular volition and no other? This is the crucial question...by the complete answer of which it [necessitarianism] must confess itself conquered.—P. 88.
To inquire further is to ask, What causes the cause to cause? But if an answer be demanded, we say, Nothing causes the will to cause.—P. 150.	Requiring additional cause would be asking, What causes cause to cause? Ask, then, What causes the will to cause the volition? and the reply is, NOTHING.—P. 92.
The question may be retorted: If the will be bound in all cases to one volition, what causes it to be so bound? And if the cause be adduced, we still inquire, What causes that cause to be bound to its sole causation? And if the fastener be found what fastens the fastener?	We return a retort:...How can cause be necessitated to one effect? What... binds and imprisons cause down to one result? Here is a thing to be accounted for...this uniformity...by which every particular causality...is fastened to one solely possible effect. And when we have found the fastener, what fastens the fastener?—P. 99.
Evidently the questioner is a bad philosopher to ask such a question.—P. 150.	Nay, you are a bad philosopher in asking.—P. 92.

This retort is a vital point, and is original in our volume.

The so-called strength of a motive, considered as a somewhat antecedent to choice, and action is the probability that the agent will act in accordance	The so-called strength of a motive may be again defined *the degree of probability that the will will choose in accordance with it*. . . . The chance may be

with it. Events may be very highly improbable that are at the same time possible.—P. 154.

improbable, and yet prove successful. —P. 130.

This definition of "the strength of a motive" is key to several of our chapters, and is original with our volume.

The question is asked, What is the use of a power to the contrary—a power which confessedly is never used? Evidently all the argument there is in this question turns on the term, power to the contrary, as though freedomists taught there are two powers... whereas the truth is, that the will is one power equipotent for either of several results.

It is sometimes asked, What is the use of a power which is never used? We reply, The argument lies only against a particular mode of expressing the alternatives of will, namely, the phrase "power of contrary choice." Should we say that freedom is a power of choosing *either of several ways*, the question loses its force.

Several of our definitions, as follows, are appropriated, some as acknowledged quotations, all without credit to the real author.

THE APPROPRIATION.

Will has been defined to be that power of the mind by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act. —P. 144.

A cause has been defined to be a subject by whose existence another subject comes into existence, or may, without contradiction, be supposed to come into existence.

The word *power* indicates that in a cause by whose existence the effect comes into existence, or, without contradiction, may be supposed to come into existence.

The absence of power in a subject to be otherwise than it is, is the idea of necessity.—Vol. ii, p. 273.

THE ORIGINAL.

Will is the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act.—P. 15.

A CAUSE is a subject by whose existence another subject comes into existence, or may, without contradiction to any known truth, be conceived to so come into existence.—P. 47.

Power is that element in a cause by which the effect comes into existence, or may, without involving contradiction, be supposed to come into existence.

Necessity in a thing is the non-existence therein of adequate power to be otherwise than it is.—P. 48.

There is, of course, a great body of theology which is common property, and for which no one gives any body credit. But to appropriate from a living writer thoughts, and words, and formulæ by him first brought into existence, without the slightest naming of himself or his book, is a palpable violation of literary justice. We may note that Dr. Cocker has largely used our work in his late volume on Theism, but with the amplest giving of credit. We were gratified at receiving his high indorsement. But it is no author's right to appropriate any body and give thanks to nobody.

Our Theological Century: A Contribution to the History of Theology in the United States. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 12mo., pp. 70. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1877.

This *brochure* was first prepared by the learned author for public delivery as a lecture, and appears in print with some enlargements and adaptations to the reading public. It is written in the author's usually transparent style. It traces our theological history through Five Successive Periods, delineates their Characteristics, sums up their Theological Results, and prospects the Necessities for the Future.

The Five Periods noted are: 1. The Liberal and Scriptural Period, embracing the Colonial Age of New England; 2. The Reactionary Period; or, the Half-Way Covenant Period, that is, of the New England Congregational Churches; 3. The Controversial Period, which is not very distinctly described, in which some sort of transition was made from one set of Calvinistic text-books to another set of Calvinistic text-books. As the previous was the "liberal" period, we should be left to infer that the transition was to a less "liberal." 4. The Unitarian Period, that of "the calm Channing, with whom the race of conservative Unitarians was born and expired." 5. The Ecumenical Period, beginning with "the great revival of 1858 and 1859." This programme, with its treatment, suggests some ruminations.

And, first, we may remark its almost exclusively New England aspect. We shall not assume to decide whether this is the fault of the historian or of the facts. But as the present history goes, American theology is mainly New England theology. Our theological brain thus far has been a Yankee one. What say Dr. Bledsoe and Dr. Summers to that result? Let us get up a pretty sectional fight on that subject, and see if Princeton contains the only namable theologians south of New England or New York.

The work is characterized by a very liberal spirit. But for the occurrence of four or five Methodist names, which would have been Calvinistically ignored, we should not have guessed that the volume, if anonymous, had come from a Methodist theologian. This peculiarity arises from the fact that the amiable author has lived at a distance from the field of conflict, was matured after the crisis of the battle was past, and has taken his impressions of the unwritten events from Calvinistic books. It takes a New England Methodist scholar to write the Methodist phase of the Methodist-Calvinistic discussion. How we wish it had been done by the master hand of Wilbur Fisk. Meantime Dr. Fisk's "Calvinistic Controversy," published at our Book Rooms, contains the

best extant statement of that memorable issue. Nor should Dr. Francis Hodgson's fuller work on New Divinity be overlooked.

The characterization of the old first Puritanic Period as "liberal and scriptural" strikes us queerly. It was "liberal" to all who held stiff Calvinism, and it was "scriptural" with Scripture screwed into the model of Calvin's Institutes. But the front presented by this Calvinism to our Methodist fathers seemed to them any thing but "liberal." Modernized New England Calvinism has, as we supposed, gradually become a more liberalized Calvinism, especially in localities where Arminianism is strong. We are unwilling to fling any shades into the sunny picture given by our author of the present "irenical" period. Perhaps we are one of his "theological Bourbons." But our impression is that a great body of Calvinistic divines entertain not the least doubt that this period of peace is a period of universal submission to their own stereotype scheme of dogmas. And Dr. Hurst's book appears to us slightly calculated to confirm their impression. We take it that this pamphlet is a brief outline of a future fuller history.

Our Calvinistic brethren have been lately much excited with a statement of Dr. M'Cosh, that a few imported British preachers have revolutionized the style of American preaching. It is no quarrel of ours, for we have not the least idea that the very learned Scotchman recognized at the moment that there is any Methodist preaching in America. Moreover, the topical style of preaching thus condemned by Dr. M'Cosh finds its ample models in such Scotchmen as Chalmers, and such Englishmen as Robert Hall. But to all who feel stung by this apparent national brag we find in Dr. Hurst's pages some proof that brag is not exclusively an English peculiarity. Thus Dr. Hurst quotes, with full concurrence, the following stroke of magniloquence by Dr. Edward Robinson, our great Palistinean traveler, in the Bibliotheca Sacra:—

> Look first at theology, and I venture to say, after no limited opportunites of personal observation, that the clergy of the United States, as a body, hold a higher rank, both in the science and in the practice of the profession as preachers, than do those of any country of the old world, with the single exception, perhaps, of Germany. In that country there certainly is more of learning; the different departments of theological science are followed out to their utmost limits by men who devote their lives to each, on the principle of the division of labor. Such men, however, are not always, nor usually, preachers; and I hold that the power of American preachers over American mind is greater and more effective than that of the German preachers over German mind. *In Great Britain, as is well known, both theological science and pulpit eloquence are comparatively in a low state of cultivation;* and while the great body of her clergy, both in depth of thought and impressiveness of manner, *must yield the palm to their brethren of the United States,* it is no less true that several of their most current and scientific works for biblical and theological study are also the productions of American scholars.—Pp. 45, 46.

Dr. Hurst ratifies this boast as at present true, and adds a prophecy of a far superior American future. We think that in grandiloquent self-appreciation the Rev. Mr. Bull is quite surpassed by Rev. Bro. Jonathan.

The Origin and Destiny of Man. By H. W. THOMAS, D.D. Phonographic Reports of a Series of Sunday Evening Sermons. Aurora, Illinois: Pierce, Burton, & Co. 1877. Price, $1 75. Mailed to Ministers, $1.

These sermons claim to have been delivered in the ordinary routine of public duty; to have been purely extemporaneous, yet caught as they fell by the cunning of the phonographic art; and to have been at first delivered without any thought of publication. The preacher is aware that a large class of thinkers, both lay and clerical, are of opinion that the pulpit should pass without notice the great questions that science presses at the present day upon theology, and should, it is said, persistently and purely preach the doctrines of the Gospel, leaving to the press the work of conducting the pending scientific-theologic discussion. But scientists have very perturbing utterances to make, and with all consideration for those who think otherwise, he would rather the people should hear them from the pulpit than read them from the newspapers. Nor does it seem wise to deal with these questions by allusions and slants that only reveal antagonism without explaining its grounds. Boldly, fully, and fairly he takes his ground, and gives a survey of the whole case. Where his own view is clear, he states himself explicitly and defends himself bravely; where he has misgivings, he quite as bravely says "I do not know." Perhaps he shows greater courage in some of his doubts than in any of his affirmations. His sermons drew immense congregations through the whole course, and the preacher closes in a tone of jubilant success. His style, making allowance for extemporancity, is brilliant; his touches are often luminous and richly colored; and if he does not bottom his subject as deeply as a Dawson or a Winchell, yet his volume shows that there are preachers who can handle these subjects with popular success, and proves that the pulpit need not shrink in silence before the professor's chair.

The course of topics is God, Creation, Origin and Antiquity of our Race, Evil, Salvation, Death, Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, Retribution, Heaven. This is quite a round of popular theology.

In dealing with creation he takes the nebular hypothesis, and finds it symbolized in the Mosaic cosmogony. On the antiquity of the race he inclines to the M'Causland view of the pre-Adamite

man. On the origin of our race he holds the Darwinian view an open question to be candidly discussed. He quotes Baring-Gould on the question of the first man according to evolution, when we think he would better have quoted Mivart, as noticed in a late number of our Quarterly.

Whether the Mosaic chapter on the fall of man be a narrative of fact or a picture of truth, he leaves for his hearers to opine; but he is clear that while there is hereditary sinwardness, there is no such thing as hereditary guilt. "I find our depravity to be in this, that conscience is overcome by the flesh, by appetite, and by passion; but while it is still true to the right, it has not power to rule."

It is upon his doctrine of Retribution that our preacher specially maintains a bold indecision. The "orthodox" doctrine of inevitable endless conscious misery for the finally impenitent he does not quite accept. The doctrine of annihilationism he considers sustainable by strong reasons. The diminutionism of Bushnell (and we may add, of Augustine) he thinks "strange," but gives it a fair and plausible statement. The doctrine of a *post-mortem* probation he will not affirm, yet appears most to favor.

In the last session of the British Wesleyan Conference the venerable Dr. Osborn propounded that no question not left an open question by Mr. Wesley should be allowed to be an open question by that Conference. Whatever point in theology Wesley has once affirmed and never queried, all Wesleyan preachers must hold unquestionable. The British Conference seems to ratify the proposition. Dr. Thomas's book would, undoubtedly, exclude him from the British Conference. And there have been editorials in our official papers, even in our greatest official, that would quite as clearly exclude the editor. We suspect that Dr. Raymond's mild eschatology would exclude him. We are not sure that if Mr. Wesley himself were a thoughtful theologian of the present day the rule would not excommunicate him. We imagine that the census would be small of American Methodist preachers who would accept Mr. Wesley's physical views of hell. In our own opinion the doctrine of restorationism, or after-death probation, has the least to recommend it from Scripture, reason, or analogy of nature, of any known theory of retribution.

Dr. Thomas is an eloquent expounder of truth. His sermons abound in beautiful passages. While liberal to all the evangelical schools, and refusing to be iron-bound to any doctrine, he is hearty in his general Methodism. He has an eminent power of taking

the hard matter of a theological system, stating it in diffusive popular terms, coloring it with conceptual hues, blending it with the analogies of experience, and fusing it into the popular mind and heart. Without indorsing all its statements, we heartily commend his little book to the discriminative perusal of our ministry and of our reading laity.

Helps to Official Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church: their Powers, Duties, and Privileges; and suggesting sundry Mistakes, Methods, and Possibilities with regard to their respective Departments of Service; designed to render them more efficient and useful. 16mo., pp. 180. By JAMES PORTER, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

Our trustees, stewards, and class-leaders are the three unordained *orders* of our individual Churches. The right performance of their duties is of inestimable importance to the Church, and yet not only has no training-school been instituted, but even no systematic manual of instruction has ever been published until the appearance of this little work by Dr. Porter. Few men in the Church are better qualified by experience and by analytical sagacity for producing such a volume. It brings within a few hours' reading and a few dimes' purchase a body of principles which, properly studied and practiced, would conduce to a large reformation of the practical management of our Church economy in many places.

The trustees are furnished with views of the nature of their office, and important suggestions as to the management of the Church property, and especially in regard to the important business of building churches. Bitter experience has taught us wisdom on this subject, and our author has wisely put the true conclusions on record. To stewards are suggested the proper treatment of pastors, their duties to the poor, and the best methods of meeting church expenses. Of leaders, the origin, qualifications, and duties are described, and directions given how to render class-meetings profitable. Of the whole official body the important duties are treated in regard to granting licenses, obtaining pastors and supplies, allowing salaries and ministers' vacations, and regulating the church music. The two concluding chapters discuss Sunday-schools, rules of parliamentary order, temperance societies, and forms of bequest.

This manual is very valuable to the inexperienced young pastor; and many a pastor would do well to see that each one of his official members has a copy. Many an official board would double its efficiency by adopting its principles.

The little manual of Mr. Munger is admirably contrived to serve both as a reference and as a study for thorough knowledge. Every student of the Bible, both Old Testament and New, should have, if not its contents in his brain, its pages at hand for ready use.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Reconciliation of Science and Religion. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, D.D., Author of "Sketches of Creation," "Doctrine of Evolution," etc. 12mo., pp. 403. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

The present volume has received from the critical columns of our highest dailies the most respectful notice as a valuable contribution to the adjustment of the greatest questions mooted between the scientific and theological sections of thought. It consists largely of a collection of monographs already separately published, some of them in our own Quarterly, all tending to one general result, and possessing, perhaps, sufficient unity to be on the whole a treatise on one general subject.

The first three chapters contain an ingenious view of the varying antitheses in successive ages between science and religion, or rather between the interaction of our intellective and our religious faculties. There are periods in which, under the predominant exercise of our intellectual faculties, investigations are prosecuted and science is formed or advanced. Many pseudo-scientific assumptions which religious faith, borrowing from the previous crude pseudo-science, had mixed up with her own intuitions and inspirations, are hereby disturbed and routed, and faith is thereby disparaged and skepticism rules the age. But in due time faith reasserts herself, her high intuitions break forth, and men are restless until their higher nature has recovered its true ascendency. This is religious revival, and it is a purer religion that emerges. Yet traces of the mixture of false science which are embodied into this system remain, and again a science revival attacks these spurious elements and faith again trembles. In due time she rises again, still further purified, and thus a series of oscillations takes place, in which science and faith interchange triumphs, which our author constructs into graphic diagrams. These interactions between religious inspiration and natural investigations Dr. W. traces among the various more civilized races of mankind. He finds them in the psychic history of Egypt, China, India, Greece, as well as the modern Christian nations. From this it follows, or

is plausibly assumed, first, that religion and science are both as indestructible as the faculties in which they are based, and hence the realities they realize are also valid and indestructible; second, that any fear that science will destroy religion is as absurd as a fear that religion will destroy science, since both have an equally indestructible base, both subjective and objective; third, we have a clear development in religion by which, recognizing the good which comparative theology reveals in all old religions, we may look for a purer unfolding of religious faith, and a growing certainty in its inspirations in the future. There is no ground for the fear that Christianity is to fall before scientism. Herein Dr. W. recognizes a Broad Church, an ecumenical Church, of different shades of light and twilight, yet in its day each a true Church. He is hence "latitudinarian." He speaks, perhaps, more strongly, sometimes, than wisely, of creeds in contemptuous terms. Yet of the positive and ultimate religion of the human intuitions he believes the Bible to be a true and adequate expression. Does not this lead to a general rationalistic position within the limits of Christianity? Does it not give an easy berth to modern liberalism, the descendant and heir apparent of old Pelagianism? We could wish that our author had furnished one chapter on the great principle of the increase of obligation to truth by the increase of light; or, as we may otherwise express it, the proportionment of the degree of responsibility to the amount of means for being right. In our chapter on "The Equation of Probational Advantages" (in our work on the Will) we have pressed that topic with urgency, and we think the principle is an important appendix to all our essays on Comparative Theology.

In the following chapters the work becomes not so much a reconciliation of science and religion as an argument for the existence and knowability of God. It *includes* a showing that the doctrine of genetic evolution does not contradict this theism. But much of several chapters on Theism, however valuable, might be omitted to a greater unity of the book. An extended discussion of causality leads to a clear tracing of Intentionality in the cosmos, as disclosed by science. And this Intentionality appears in Evolution just as incontrovertibly as in what scientists are pleased to call "*special* creation." But Evolution would, in fact, be but *a mode of creation.* He forcibly says: "Even if species have a derivative origin, there is not one moment between the initial act and the final result when the impress of intelligent will is removed. In this view, not only is every species, but also every individual, the

result of direct creation; but both are creations according to pre-ordained and uniform methods."—P. 224.

View God as Infinite, and the whole animal world may be viewed as one great "special creation." And we thus come back to the dogma of Augustine, that the whole cosmos was "potentially created at once," and that it thence goes forth in a serial evolution.

The position of Dr. W. in regard to derivation of species, as appears in this volume, seems easy to trace. In the text of the work he says:—

There is not an undoubted instance of the derivation of a genuine species, its possibility is a mere hypothesis; and the assertion that *all* species are derivative is a somewhat hazardous assumption.—P. 252.

But in a foot note, written apparently at a later moment, he adds:—

The author would be sorry to indulge in dogmatism on this question. Recent observations have shown the possibility of structural changes of great significance, one of the most interesting of which is cited from the *Zeitschrift für Wissenchaftliche Zoölogie*, which represents a minute crustacean varying, with increase of the saltness of the water, from a specific form known as *Artemia salina* to another specific form known as *Artemia Milhauseni*, and with decrease in the saltness of the water varying inversely. (*Popular Science Monthly*, vol. ix, p. 122) Even this is less striking than the transformation of *Siredon lichenoides* (observed by Professor Marsh) induced, under change of habitat, by which a transition was effected not only from one supposed species to another, but from one recognized genus to another, and even from a group (Perennibranchiata) commonly regarded as of ordinal value, to another group (Caducibranchiata) often regarded as a distinct order. Obviously, however, such examples remain, for the present, open to the explanation that naturalists have overestimated or underestimated the relative value of different categories of characters, (mistaking certain ones for specific, which are only varietal.) or have assumed as adult and ultimate states those which are merely developmental; as in the remarkable instances of Medusæ, where, as an illustration, the embryonic stages of a single individual were described as four genera, *Scyphistoma*, *Strobila*, *Ephyra*, and *Aurelia*. (Packard, "Life Histories of Animals," p. 68; Clark, "Mind in Nature," pp. 62–72.)—P. 253.

Still later he adds:—

Since the foregoing note was penned, the researches of American zoölogists have made it appear that a large proportion of the recognized species of birds, mammals, and fresh-water mollusks of our country are no more than geographical varieties, having, of course, common origins. Yet we have been no less positive about the fixity of these supposed specific types than, on the same grounds, we might continue to be in respect to specific types still recognized. If we must admit that so many "good species" have had common origins, we may as well admit that all good species have been probably derived from common origins, and thus the barrier to acceptance of the derivative hypothesis would be completely broken down. In the judgment of the writer, the evidence for derivation has been continually accumulating, and, *pari passu*, the difficulties encountered by it have disappeared. This admission, however, concerns the theory only as *a mode of succession of phenomena*, and as *an explanation of the material conditions and physiological instrumentalities* under which and through which the succession is effectuated by some cause existing without the province of science. It is made, also, in view of the entire range of evidence—geological, zoölogical, embryological, and morphological—and not on the naked evidence of a few nicely graduated successions of forms.—P. 253.

In the Preface, written, doubtless, still later, he adds:—

In reference to the much mooted scientific question of the derivative origin of species, the reader will detect indications of a growing faith. A certain class of proofs has been accumulating at a rapid rate; and the author's present conviction is, that the doctrine of the derivation of species should be accepted; and that the most tenable theory of the causes, instrumentalities, and conditions of this derivation is that propounded in 1868 by Professor Edward D. Cope.—P. v.

It was in consequence of this last passage, and not from being "alarmed," that our Publishers, by advice of the Editor, inserted a *caveat* against being supposed to commit their constituency to this position. Thereby all persons, whether outsiders or insiders, were estopped from saying that our Church, through its proper organ, had taken evolutionary ground. Such *caveats* have been repeatedly inserted in our publications, by which a freedom of utterance without illegitimate commitment has been secured. No reflection upon the writer's orthodoxy is thus uttered. And we must report it as our strong impression that genetic evolution has apparently become the almost unanimous doctrine of the scientific world.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Formal Fraternity. Proceedings of the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1872, 1874, and 1876, and of the Joint Commission of the two Churches on Fraternal Relations, at Cape May, New Jersey, August 16–23, 1876. 8vo., paper cover, pp. 87. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Nashville: A. H. Redford.

This publication is late noticed because, accidentally, late it came to our table. It furnishes an important link or two in the chain of our Church history on the subject of slavery. That history begins with the publication of John Wesley's immortal manifesto against slavery. It ends when all action or feeling in the two Methodist Episcopal Churches taking rise from slavery ends. The whole forms an important chapter in human progress, in its advancements of light, truth, and freedom, and its triumph over darkness, error, and despotism. Every page is honorable to our history as showing that as soon as the slavery that divided us ceased it was our Church that made the forward advances toward peace. Such was the spontaneous movement of our Bishops at St. Louis—unhappily repelled by the Bishops South. Such was the mission of Bishop Janes and Dr. Harris to the Southern General Conference—again rejected and on mere technical grounds. Such, a third time, was the movement of our General Conference in 1876, gladly responded to by a large and increasing body of

Southern Methodists, yet reluctantly yielded to by a powerful set of bigoted Bourbons. This magnanimous persistence on our part, fearless of all charges of unseemly compliance, arose, *first*, from the fact that it was our formal act which interrupted fraternity in 1848; *second*, that we were by all notoriety much the stronger body; and, *third*, that the fortunes of war made persistent advances on our part consistent with self-respect. These same facts largely explain the reluctance of many good men in the Church South to hasty acceptance; who demanded, with no small degree of right, that propositions made should possess an unequivocal and above-board character. What has been done, time, we believe, will gradually ratify and honor.

A few weeks since the Independent, in an article which we quote as accurately as we can from memory, rebukes the Methodist Episcopal Church for its movements toward fraternity with the Church South, averring that we made too large sacrifices for such purpose, and quoting a ribald article from the Richmond Advocate, burlesquing the northern fraternitist as a monster, and, also, an article from the Nashville Advocate, declaring that the editor "understood" that our withdrawal from the South was an agreed condition to said fraternity. The editor omitted to specify what the "fraternity" is which our Church proposes. It proposes no reunion; no special brotherhood or communion; but simply the restoration of the normal relation of two evangelical Churches, formally broken for good cause by us in 1848. The reasons for that *break* having ceased, it became us, who made the break, to move a renewal of recognition. It was simply a move to restore a normal relation between two denominations. Our General Conference in 1876 made the proposal, specially premising that *in no case were we, as condition, to withdraw our position in the South.* The Southern General Conference entertained the proposal, and jointly with us appointed a commission to settle details. That commission performed their work with eminent wisdom. No withdrawal from our position was intimated, nor had our commission any authority to make any such intimation.

No one more nervously than Dr. Summers reiterates, when approaches between the two Churches are made, that fraternity must not imply any approach or hint of reunion. No one better knows that fraternity leaves us two denominations, just as we and the Presbyterians are two. And no one better knows that it is perfectly in rule that two, or any number of, denominations may

occupy the same territory. So long as we remain two denominations there is no reason for our Churchly withdrawal from the South. If the next southern General Conference, soon now to meet, professes so to have "understood," and insists on such withdrawment, that ends the whole fraternity matter. It will then be they who are responsible for the break. It will be their turn to offer the proposals of fraternity; and we shall wait with all tranquillity, even though it be through centuries and æons, for the avatar of that proposal. We shall then have shown to the world that we are irresponsible for a deadly schism in universal Methodism.

What sacrifices we have made for "fraternity" we do not know. It may be that an equitable rule adopted by the Cape May conference requires the giving up some property on both sides. We do not consider a concession to an equity, agreed upon by a proper referee, to be any "sacrifice." Our utter condemnation of slavery, our refusal to rescind the so-called "Plan of Separation," our utter rejection of all proposed "conditions" precedent to fraternity, were firmly maintained, and will be maintained. If we have made any concessions apparently adverse to the negro, those concessions, like those made by President Hayes, and approved by the Independent, were really favorable to him as relieving him from a vast amount of oppression and massacre. Church-burners and school-house burners still, however, seem to perform their work. If the Church South holds any complicity with such, as we believe she does not, the offense that produced the break of 1848 will have been repeated, and the break will, doubtless, follow. Our Church desires peace, fraternity, and evangelic co-operation with all other Churches, and especially with all other Methodisms. But we are not likely again to sectionalize ourselves, as most inconsistently we did in 1844. We believe that the southern General Conference will be uninfluenced by such petulant southern editorials as the "Independent" quotes, and will act with wisdom, and for peace. If otherwise we are ready for the exigency.

And while dealing with the Independent, we may notice the deep interest it takes in our Methodism, and especially its "failure." In apparent hopes of that "failure" it has for some time sympathized with the small minority among us who are anxious to upset our system. It exulted before the last General Conference at the prospect of revolution, and cheered on the then editorial course of our Advocate to its disastrous result. When the present editor of the same paper took his seat, a course of very discourte-

ous personalities was opened upon him. Those discourtesies were in the shape of pitiable taunts and sneers and formal attacks. Those personalities were below the level of respectable religious newspaper comity. Our young Editor, unaccustomed to such newspaper warfare, bore it for a long time—much longer than *we* should have borne it in silence—and then replied, for once too strongly, in the same personal style. Forthwith his assailant came forth in a deluge of denunciation upon his victim. At this crisis, we are sorry to say, one of our own papers, the Northern Advocate, came out with a grave lecture upon our editor, about editorial ethics, never once *noticing* the persistent violations of all courtesy by the Independent. For this he was worthily dubbed Professor of Editorial Ethics by the Independent, who claimed that the Methodist press generally condemned the editor of our Advocate. The Independent is mistaken. It is himself who, by his malign course, has dishonored the religious press. As for Dr. Fowler, his paper, in spite of the terrible pressure of the times, has handsomely increased its subscription list, while rumor reports, we say it with no pleasure, that that of the Independent has been diminishing. Dr. F. stands unharmed by personal shafts; his popularity with the Church is ever more widely spreading; and if the Independent wishes to contribute to his advancement in the honor of the Church let the attacks be continued. These attacks are obviously made from the fact that Dr. Fowler's election was the clearest expression of the General Conference's purpose to maintain intact the integrity of our Methodism. So long, then, as he maintains his noble bearing, his purity of character, and his loyalty of principle, the assaults he suffers will accrue to his honor, and it will be a point of honor with the Church to sustain him. At the same time, from past experience, we query whether the Methodist editor who is guided in his Church polity by the cheers of the Independent comes to any good when he meets his General Conference.

Life and Papers of A. L. P. Green, D.D. By Rev. WILLIAM M. GREEN. Edited by T. O. SUMMERS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 592. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1877.

Dr. A. L. P. Green's name is conspicuous in the records of the great discussions before, during, and after the "great secession" of Southern Methodists from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Though a young man in 1844, he was one of the most influential misleaders in that great misstep. To *his* subserviency to slavery, his hostility

to the continuance of the hitherto conceded exclusion of slaveholders from our episcopacy, his agency in the judicial despoilment of our Church, his disloyalty to the government of his country, his eloquence, statesmanship, and commanding character, were largely due the terrible disasters that wrecked his section of the nation. Without any personal acquaintance with him, we had the impression, perhaps a false one, that he was a man of extreme and imperious character. To his opponents he may have seemed so, may have *been* so. But that to his own friends he appeared and *was* eminently genial, and even fascinating, the abundant testimony of his associates, in the present little volume, are amply demonstrating. No testimonies from the opposite side are adduced in the book. We are unable, therefore, to say, of our own knowledge, whether or not Dr. Green exemplified the statement we once read in regard to his section, to the effect that "a Southerner when he is pleased with you is one of the most genial and hearty friends in the world; but cross his path adversely and he is—the very devil." This may not have been a true general characterization, and we shall assume that it had no application to him, and we accept the portrait drawn in his biography. He was, then, a sample of the many great and good men who were not only followers but leaders in the great Southern error.

There is a great deal of bad taste, and even eccentricity, on the part of the author; such as a dissertation on "hash," and one on walking with a cane, so fatuous that the editor feels obliged to deny any responsibility for it. But he often also shows no little piquancy, sharp sense, and skill in portraiture. In spite of its absurdities, and even somewhat perhaps in consequence, he has produced a very interesting book, and cheated us, in spite of our wrath at his follies, into reading him clean through before we were aware.

Dr. Green's was a true Methodist-preacherly history, much like what we have read a hundred times, but with a Southern hue that has a fresh interest. He was a seventh son of a severe Wesleyan father, consecrated by a pious mother in infancy, phenomenally "converted" at nine years of age, a class-leader at sixteen, an exhorter, soon after developing into a "boy-preacher" on a circuit. That was the old regular route. His perfect *physique* in perfect health found a fearful mar in circuiting over the mountains of Tennessee amid the deep December snows. His fine person, affable manners, attractive eloquence, knowledge of human nature, ability to command, soon wrought for him a natural ascendency

among his fellows. On circuit, in station, in conference, at camp-meeting, he was naturally at home, and easily a prince. He aimed at *effects;* to stir up religious movement, to get the largest possible number of souls converted, to build up Churches, to spread the power of religion through all the land. He was a regular elect to successive General Conferences; received a D.D. from a Presbyterian college; was appointed one of the managers of the law-suit against the Methodist Episcopal Church. During the civil war, when the national armies took possession of Nashville, he left with the insurgents, imagining that on account of his share in the Church suits he was liable to be thrown into prison. For other assigned reasons than this, namely, for alleged fierce seditious talk and action, we recollect that at one time some leading ministers in Tennessee were placed under durance. General Butler was disposed, as he himself said, "not only to shut up certain churches, but to shut up certain preachers." Dr. Green was, however, moderate and cautious, and when the rebellion ceased obtained a regular pardon.

Though not a scholar, he was a reader. We are told that "he was fond of metaphysics—read Edwards, Bledsoe, and Whedon," the names being, doubtless, ranged in climax order. The portraitures of the various traits of his character by the pen of the biographer, aided by sketches and paragraphs from Bishops Paine, M'Tyeire, Dr. Summers, and others, furnish a very noble ideal. The engraved frontspiece images his person pleasantly to the mind's eye. He became, we are not told how, wealthy; which enabled him to open house to a wide social set, and to "work for nothing and find himself." So much ability consecrated with so much unselfishness to the holiest of causes secured him no earthly immortality. On his death-bed he received a sympathizing letter from "the now sainted E. S. Janes," dated from the "Round Lake Camp-meeting, 1874.

The "Papers" written by Dr. Green did not, like the biography, beguile us into extended reading. There is one on the "Church, North and South" which were better omitted. We need only say that it contains the flagrant misstatement that "the North was disposed to depose Bishop Andrew," and many other misstatements and omissions to match. Had the North been so disposed it could have deposed Bishop Andrew; but it was not, and so did not. We add, in fairness to the Biographer, that he furnishes antidote to this fiction by recording the real action of the General Conference of 1844 in the bishop's case. He furnishes two

or three small misstatements of his own, but in general is moderate and fair minded. As we have really read it, we need not say that his book is decidedly readable.

The following is a favorable and suggestive specimen of Mr. Green's lively digressions:—

> There are various reasons why the camp-meeting conducted on the old plan must be ere long a glorified thing of the past. This is not a matter of love or preference, but of destiny, to which we all must bow and "make the most of it." In the Southern States camp-meetings are, and have been, sustained by the few, as to expense. The *few* are active business men, whose time is more fully occupied than in *ante-bellum* days; they have not the slave labor and excess of provisions. Labor, provisions, and time have all become valuable. A meeting conducted on the gratuitous plan smacks of good cheer and Southern hospitality; but, while it is fun to the multitude, it grinds exceedingly hard on the generous *few*. I am satisfied that the Northern hotel plan is the best. There are few camp-meetings now, not because the people do not like them, but because there is no feasible plan for conducting them. We have furnished these observations especially for the benefit of a class of camp-meeting loafers (a number of whom remain to this present) who are very lugubrious at the degeneracy of the times caused by the scarcity of camp-meetings, but really (*inter nos*) because the opportunity is denied them of leaving their families at home on short allowance and gormandizing (themselves) at the big meetings. I have heard my father often, in his good-humored way, refer to these religious *whang-doodles* who infested alike camp-meetings and quarterly meetings. A pen-portrait of one, under the *cognomen* of Benhadad, is furnished in these pages.—Pp. 63, 64.

Bernardino Ochino, of Siena. A Contribution toward the History of the Reformation. By KARL BENRATH. Translated from the German by HELEN ZIMMERN, with an Introductory Preface by WILLIAM ARTHUR, A.M. 8vo., pp. 298. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1877.

This work of Dr. Benrath introduces a new name to many who are not unacquainted with the history of the Reformation. Ochino was born in the year 1487, in the city of Siena, Italy. He was, consequently, four years younger than Martin Luther, and twenty-two years older than Calvin, and the contemporary of the great leaders of the Reformation. The Popish assertion that Luther rebelled against the Church because it stood in the way of his selfish purposes and plans is abundantly refuted by the fact that, before he nailed his challenge to the door of the Church at Wittenberg, men of the best mind and purest lives in various countries were pondering sadly over the religious corruptions of the times, and anxiously inquiring for some way of return to the original simplicity and power of the Gospel.

Ochino was one of these purer members of the Catholic clergy who saw the errors of the Church, and would gladly have reformed it from within. Like Luther, he was a monk, having become, first, a member of the order of the Observants, and afterward a Capuchin, of which order he became one of the four generals in 1535, and

three years later was placed at the head of it. He was in the highest repute for sanctity, and his reputation for zeal and eloquence was so great that the Pope appointed him apostolic missionary, and gave him a sort of roving commission as Papal evangelist. His labors in this capacity were in great request in the chief cities of Italy, and created a lively competition among them to secure him for courses of sermons. Thus, in 1539, he preached in Venice a series of lenten discourses, which, as one of his hearers declared in a letter to the Pope, "won a thousand souls for Paradise." Another of his hearers exclaims with enthusiasm, "Ochino can move stones to tears!" So great was the strife to secure his services that the Pope assumed the right to decide between conflicting claims and appeals.

But the spirit of the Reformation was at work, and the writings of Bucer, Luther, and Calvin were making their way silently among the people. In Naples was a little circle of gifted, devout inquirers. Juan Valdez, a Spanish layman, seems to have been a leader among them. Ochino became acquainted with this pious company, and his views matured rapidly under their influence. They believed the great doctrine of salvation by faith, and felt that the reform which the Church needed was not, as some fancied, a more vigorous working of ecclesiastical machinery, but a return to the simplicity of the Gospel. This friendly circle soon became suspected. Ochino was the most prominent member of it; trusty men were sent to watch him, and scent out the heresy which might be lurking in his sermons and writings. One of his peculiarities was easily detected. He preached little about penance, purgatory, and the saints, but much about Christ and his power to save. As early as 1536 he had been accused of leaning toward Lutheran heresy. In 1539 the spies who heard his sermons in Naples reported to Rome that he was unsound in the Catholic faith. This same year he published a work entitled "Seven Dialogues," in which he quietly ignores the corrupt teachings of Rome, and points the soul directly to Christ. One of his interlocutors, for instance, utters the following significant declaration: "In my last hour I will not appear before the throne of the Holy Trinity otherwise than sprinkled by the blood of Christ, and rich through his merits, and in no other manner will I enter Paradise."

In 1542 he again preached a course of sermons in Naples, the Pope consenting, but sending secret orders to watch his utterances. Here matters reached a crisis. The news came to Ochino that his friend, Giulio Terenziado, had been thrown into prison at Milan

for heresy. Ochino was so indignant that he publicly denounced the "casting of the heralds of the truth in dungeons and chains." The Papal nuncio at once prohibited his preaching any more. The people were moved by this act, and compelled the nuncios to give way and permit the preacher to complete his course of sermons. Rome, however, was alarmed, and soon a Papal Bull was issued establishing a reviving of the Inquisition for the suppression of heretics. Ochino was, perhaps, the first, certainly among the first, called to account, being summoned to Rome for that purpose. On his way thither, in obedience to the Papal command, he became convinced that the only alternative that could be left him by his enemies would be a renunciation of his clearest convictions, or death. At Florence he met Peter Martyr, who had received a similar citation to Rome, but had made up his mind to travel in the opposite direction. Ochino determined also to fly. Reaching Geneva in October, 1542, he was warmly welcomed by Calvin and the other reformers.

In 1545 he became pastor of a Church of Italian refugees at Augsburg, but his friends lost the power to protect him there, and in 1547 he fled to England. Cranmer and the other leading Protestants gave him a cordial reception, and he was made Professor of Theology at Oxford. In 1553 Edward VI. died, and the Catholics once more regained power, their first act being the banishment of foreign theologians. Ochino returned to the continent, and became the pastor of a reformed congregation at Zurich. Here he published a work in dialogue form, discussing, among other things, the lawfulness of polygamy, and his critics charged that the debate was so conducted that the wrong side was victorious. A storm was raised, and the city council, without hearing the accused, condemned him and banished him from the city. He went to Basle, but was not permitted to remain. The city of Nüremberg was so humane as to allow him to spend the winter there, and then compelled him to depart. Taking refuge in Poland he found himself among Papal enemies, and was again compelled to fly. He went next to Moravia, where, in the year 1564, and the seventy-seventh year of his age, he died, leaving it an open question whether the Catholics or the Protestants were his most unreasonable and cruel persecutors. The book throws a curious light upon the men of those times, and is a valuable addition to the literature treating of the Reformation.

Camp, Court, and Siege: A Narrative of Personal Adventure and Observation during Two Wars—1861–1865, 1870, 1871. By WICKHAM HOFFMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General United States Volunteers, and Secretary United States Legation at Paris. 12mo., pp. 285. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

While in the American army the author witnessed many important operations in the Southern States. He was at Hatteras, New Orleans, Vicksburgh, Baton Rouge, etc., and what he saw he describes graphically and gracefully. At the close of the war he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Legation at Paris, which city he reached in the autumn of 1866. He remained in Paris during the Franco-German war, and, of course, had a good inside view of the siege of that city, with its various incidents and events—grave, gay, and grotesque.

This is a book of anecdotes rather than a complete history, yet it is very readable and entertaining, and sets before the reader so many items of significance and value that he peruses every line, and, on reaching the end, wishes it was longer. In fact, we cannot help feeling that the author, with his facile pen and his unrivaled opportunities for observation, ought to have produced a more valuable work. The siege of Paris would have special interest at the present juncture, when the principles and the proceedings of the Communists have suddenly become matters of importance to us.

Periodicals.

The National Repository.

It will add a great finish to Dr. Curry's great services to the Church if he succeeds in rehabilitating our monthly periodical on firm foundations, and raising it to its ancient prosperity. Our feminine better half of the Church made but a faint struggle against the disfranchisement, and seems to have retired in submissive silence. But a periodical for their department is still wanting; certainly will be, unless the sisters of the Church are very unanimous and very earnest both in calling for a representative periodical and in supporting it. The editor—who is both old and new—has put upon the concern a fresh cover and face, and infused into it a new and manly life. That its life shall be vigorous and lengthened is, we believe, the hope and wish of all.

Dr. Curry's history, like our own, extends into a miniature antiquity. A generation or two, rising into a knowledge of Church affairs, recognizes him as one of the fixed institutions. During the pro-slavery days, that "tried men's souls," he was a firm, un-

flinching leader, whose plume tossed high in the van, and whose falchion did serious execution. The zest and energy with which he has entered into the interests of the Church in all its departments, the devotion and untiring ubiquity with which he has made those interests his own, have imparted many a force to her operations, given many a guidance to her career, and won a large confidence of the Church in his integrity and ability. Only would she have him not dream that he has a high mission to reconstruct her institutions, or to substitute in place of the Church of Wesley and Asbury the pseudo-church of Curry. The great body of our preachers and people have love for and faith in our historic Methodism, and is unwilling to write its finis. The great problem is not how our polity can be changed, but how its great possibilities and powers can be worked to their highest tension and greatest result.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Thomæ Kempensis de Imitatione Christi. Libri Quatuor. Per CAROLUS HIRSCHE. Berolini. 1874.

This new edition of the original text of the matchless book of Thomas à Kempis has more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the scholar. Professor Hirsche has made the writings of Thomas à Kempis a patient study for a series of years. As a preparation for this work he published a short time since a special work, entitled "Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Imitation of Christ;" and he is now preparing a Lexicon to the same. The text before us has good pretext for claiming to be the purest and best that has ever been published. It is the first time that the original manuscript, in the handwriting of Thomas à Kempis himself, has been printed for the public. It is also the first printed edition which reproduces the peculiar punctuation, and preserves, in its single lines, the poetical rhythm and the partial rhyming of the original. The careful editing of this hitherto but imperfectly known manuscript will make an epoch in the history of the celebrated book. Besides the care bestowed upon the text, the editor has furnished it with careful summaries of the drift of thought, and with citations of the original sources, in the Scriptures, the Fathers, etc., of which Thomas à Kempis made use, all of which results in a most beautiful, intelligible, and charming presentation of one of the very best books that ever issued from a consecrated human heart. Readers of Latin cannot do themselves a more real favor than by putting a copy of this original Thomas à Kempis in a

handy corner of their libraries, in order that in occasional odd moments of time they may refresh themselves in its deep, broad, and calm waters. It alone is worth all the other books on the higher life that were ever written. F. W. Christian, New York, will import single copies, and deliver them per post for less than two dollars.

Das Buchlein von der Nachfolze Christi, (The Imitation of Christ.) Von MORITZ SCHWALB. Henschel, Berlin.

An essay on the religious work of the above-mentioned little book. Schwalb is a rationalist, but he admires the *Imitatio*. A marvelous trait of the disputed author, says Schwalb, is his self-forgetfulness, his impersonality. Did he live and see it amid the sublimities of lofty mountains and sparkling cascades? or on a prosy, sandy plain? He betrays it not. His eye saw only the glories of the invisible world. As to its general drift, the book is both eudemonistic, mystical, and practical. But the mystical phase predominates. The goal aimed at is to enjoy God in love. Sin is want and void. Blessedness comes of an *influxus realis* of the divinity into us. Man's desert arises from *how* he bears himself toward self-proffering grace. Solitary contemplation is the holiest act. The magic power of the book lies neither in its dogmas nor in its style, but in its genuine religiousness. In this respect it is decidedly Roman Catholic; and yet it strikes a chord that is common to all hearts, and even to all religions. This chord is man's irradicable thirst after God. The form of blessedness aimed at is the monastic; but the means urged are universally valid. In this the book is truly cosmopolitan, for every age and clime and religion—for man as man. A grand feature of its nature for the present and the future is its unionistic tendency. It embraces and fosters the good that is in all Churches and all religions. Over it the Romanist and the Protestant, the orthodox and the neologist, and (in many chapters) the Christian and the Jew, or even the Mohammedan or Buddhist, may strike friendly hands.

Essai sur L'Intempérance, par EDMOND BERTRAND. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

France and Germany are following America and England in creating a literature and a public sentiment in regard to the scourge of intemperance, and their books are well worthy of careful comparison with those of their more progressive neighbors. M. Bertrand is an eminent lawyer and publicist, and he looks upon the subject from the stand-point of a clear-headed patriot and statesman. His book is the result of great painstaking and study,

and deserves hearty recognition for its rich presentation of facts and statistics, as well as for its great candor and dispassionateness in dealing with the great evil. Part first of his *Essai* treats of the extent of intemperateness, particularly in England and France. Part second gives the bearing of intemperance upon poverty, upon home comfort, upon wages, and upon education. Part third shows the influence of intemperance on mortality, crime, suicide, and insanity. Part fourth discusses the means appropriate to prevent, repress, or diminish the evils of dram-houses, and the results which may be hoped for therefrom. And this frame-work the author has well and carefully filled out. We know not where else so much information as to the many and complicated legal and moral attempts that have been made on the continent against the great curse could well be obtained in such a reliable shape.

La Loi du Dimanche. Par ERNEST NAVILLE. Geneva.

An eloquent discourse, delivered at Geneva last October before a convention called to consider the means of securing a better observance of the Sabbath. It breathes the earnest, sensible views which one would expect as a matter of course from this conscientious Christian philosopher. He makes a broad distinction between Sunday laws from a social stand-point and Sunday laws from a dogmatic stand-point. He holds that States which recognize no State Church can consistently act only from the former stand-point, and he endeavors to show that merely social considerations abundantly justify the State in exacting the sacred observance of the Sabbath.

Miscellaneous.

The Student's Commonplace Book: A Cyclopedia of Illustration and Fact, topically arranged. For the use of Students in Every Department of English Literature. Interleaved for Additions. Vol. I. English Literature. With an Appendix containing Hints on the Formation of a Library, etc. By HENRY J. FOX, D.D., Professor in the State University of South Carolina. New York, Chicago, and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Co. Quarto. Price by mail, $4 50, sent post-paid. 1877.

Dr. Fox's title-page, above given, is a book notice. The volume claims to give the result of our thirty years of miscellaneous reading. The hint was first derived from Todd's Index Rerum, but that inadequate work suggested a great number of improvements. To those who have a taste or genius for this class of memoranda (we have neither) the present volume may be recommended as, perhaps, the best of its kind.

Titi Livi ab urbe condita, Libri I, II, XXI, et XXII. With Notes by CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D., Late Professor of Greek at Columbia College; and by HUGH CRAIG, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo., pp. 592. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a posthumous work, duly supplemented, by the great American master of classical exegetics. The whole forms a very valuable class-book for academic use.

An English Commentary on The Rhesus, Medea, Hyppolytus, Alcestis, Heraclidæ, Supplices, and Troades of Euripides. With the Scanning of each Play, from the Latest and Best Authorities. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D., Late Professor, etc. 24mo., green cloth, pp. 453. Harper & Brothers. 1877.

The notes without the Greek text.

The Agreement of Science and Revelation. By Rev. Jos. H. WYTHE, M.D. Pp. 306. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1877.

This is a new and revised edition of this excellent work. It has been adopted as a class-book in the ministerial course by our Bishops.

Scriptural Holiness, and How to Spread it. A Discourse. By Rev. G. W. BURNS, M.A., of the Central Illinois Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church. Published by request. Pamphlet. Pp. 20.

Not "Inskipian" in its views, but scriptural and Wesleyan.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. For the Use of Sunday-schools and Bible Classes. Nineteenth Edition. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1878.

Scriptural Views of Holiness. By W. M'DONALD, Author of the "New Testament Standard of Piety." 12mo., pp. 320. Philadelphia: National Publishing Association for the Promotion of Holiness. J. S. Inskip, Agent. 1877.

Cicero's Tusculan Disputations. Also, Treatises on The Nature of the Gods, and on The Commonwealth. Literally translated, chiefly by C. D. YONGE. 12mo., pp. 466. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

The Age of Anne. By EDWARD E. MORRIS, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford. With Maps and Plans. 24mo., pp. 241. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Moore's Forge. A Tale. By the Author of the "Win and Wear" Series. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1878.

Kilmeny. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. 12mo., pp. 333. New York. 1877.

Three Feathers. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. 12mo., pp. 323. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Notices postponed to January number:—

Brooks's Lectures on Preaching. From Dutton & Co.

Smyth's Religious Feeling. Scribner & Armstrong.

Williams on Baptist History: Baptist Publication Society.

Schaff's Creeds of Christendom. Harper & Brothers.

INDEX.

Afkman: The words Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis..... Page 610
American Catholic Quarterly Review..158, 334, 527, 708
Anderson: Norse Mythology..... 365
Anderson: Viking Tales of the North..... 374
Andrews: Recent Origin of Man..... 29
Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1876..... 560
Anthon and Craig, (Notes by,) Titi Livi ab urbe condita Libri I, II, XXI, et XXII, 764
Anthon: An English Commentary on the Rhesus, Medea, Hyppolytus, Alcestis, Heraclidæ, Supplices, and Troades of Euripides..... 764
Apthorp's Standard Map of Florida..... 186
Arnold: President Grant's Indian Policy... 409
Atkinson: Methodism in the Cities of the United States..... 481
Atonement, The, in its Relations to the Moral Universe..... 581
Freedom to Choose..... 581
Satan and his Fellow-spirits..... 583
The Origin of Evil..... 586
Man made for the Atonement..... 591
The Fall of Adam..... 593
Sacrifice for Sin..... 595
Results of this Great Scheme of Redemption 602

Badley: Indian Missionary Directory..... 388
Baptist Quarterly..... 157, 334
Baptist Quarterly Review..... 161, 523, 708
Baumstark: Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage..... 576
Baur: Christianity and School..... 724
Beard: Hay Fever..... 196
Bennett: Catholicism and Protestantism as Patrons of Christian Art..... 79
Benrath: Bernardino Ochino, of Siena..... 757
Benrath: On the Author of the Writing, "Of the Benefit of Jesus Christ"..... 540
Berean Question Book, The..... 196
Bertrand: Essai sur L'Intempérance..... 762
Bibliotheca Sacra..... 157, 335, 523, 718
Bickel's (Gustavus) New Hebrew Grammar 569
Black: A Princess of Thule..... 388
Black: Kilmeny..... 764
Black: Madcap Violet..... 388
Black: Three Feathers..... 764
Bledsoe on Augustinism: Original Sin..... 716
Blydon: Liberia at the American Centennial 448
Blyden: Mohammedanism and the Negro Race..... 100
Bonar: My Old Letters..... 195
Braddon: Weavers and Weft..... 388
Braden: The Problem of Problems and its Various Solutions..... 568
Brambach: Aids to Latin Orthography..... 572
British and Foreign Evangelical Review 168, 337, 585, 717
British Quarterly Review..... 337, 590, 717
Brooks: King Saul..... 187
Bruce: The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects.. 547
Burnaby: A Ride to Khiva..... 388
Burns: Scriptural Holiness and How to Spread it..... 764
Bushnell: Christian Nurture..... Page 195
Bushnell: Sermons for the New Life..... 195
Bushnell: Sermons on Christ and his Salvation..... 195
Bushnell: Sermons on Living Subjects..... 388
Butts: The Epistle to the Romans in Greek 368

Cameron, Mrs. H. L.: Juliet's Guardian... 580
Cameron, V. L.: Across Africa..... 568
Carson: The Cooking Manual of Practical Directions for Economical Every-Day Cooking..... 580
Catholicism and Protestantism as Patrons of Christian Art..... 79
Art Tendencies in the 15th Century..... 82
Spirit of Architecture in the 15th Century 84
Spirit of Music and Poetry in the 15th Century..... 86
Leaders of the Reformation Friendly to Art..... 90
Liberty of Thought Essential to Art..... 98
Catholic Toleration in Maryland..... 337
Charlesworth: Oliver of the Mill..... 196
Chinese, The Classical Literature of the.... 805
Christian Quarterly..... 157
Cicero's Tusculan Disputations..... 764
Clark: Holiness..... 505
Clarke: Harriet Martineau..... 524
Classical Literature of the Chinese, The.... 805
The Nine Classics: Names and Subject-matter..... 806
Characters of the Four Sages of China... 810
Leading Features of their Philosophy.... 811
The Classics: Pure in Love..... 816
The Classics, Wonderful Moral Effect of. 817
Coleridge: The Rime of the Ancient Mariner 195
Congregational Quarterly..... 523
Contemporary Review..... 165, 337, 581
Crafts: Through the Eye to the Heart..... 196
Craik: Annie Warwick..... 388
Cunningham: A Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas..... 746

Darwin on Cross-Fertilization..... 717
D'Aubigné: History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin..... 195
Davies: Gems and Pearls for Parents and Children..... 196
Dawson: The Atonement in its Relations to the Moral Universe..... 581
Dickens: The Uncommercial Traveler, Hard Times, and The Mystery of Edwin Drood..... 196
Dippold: The Rise and Development of the Castes of India..... 626
Direct Evidences of Evolution, The..... 289
Divine Origin of the Bible, The..... 667
Preliminary: 1. Things Assumed..... 667
2. Elements which Must be Eliminated..... 667
The Fact: 1. General Course of Proof... 668
2. Particular Proofs of the Divinity of the Scriptures..... 669
3. Objections..... 670
The Mode: 1. Inspiration Defined..... 673
2. Theories of Inspiration..... 674
Douglas: Mar's White Witch..... 590

Edinburgh Review.....Page 162, 590, 721
Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis, The Words 610
English and American Methodism Contrasted 296
The Class-meeting 277
The Leaders' Meeting 279
The Quarterly Meeting 279
The District Meeting 281
The Annual Conference 282
Local Preachers 286
Financial Support 286
Expositor, The 164, 579
Extempore Preachers 585

Fancher: Methodist Fraternity 191
First Century of the Republic, The 873
Foreign Literary Intelligence.. 171, 356, 544, 732
France 545, 732
Germany 356, 544
Herzog's Theological Cyclopedia 171
Foreign Religious Intelligence 167, 358, 542, 729
Australia and New Zealand 729
Church of Greece, The 353
Ecclesiastical Statistics of Europe 542
Greek Oriental Church, The 170
Roman Catholic Church in Europe, The.. 167
Formal Fraternity 751
Fox: The Student's Commonplace Book .. 768
Fraser: Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture 195
Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Ninth Annual Report of 576
Freedmen, The 462
First School Opened 468
Formation of American Missionary Association 465
Statistics of Aggregate Results 475
Statistics of Illiteracy 476
Froschammer: Ueber die religiösen und kirchenpolitischen Fragen der Gegenwart... 572
Froude: Short Studies on Great Subjects .. 579

Gardener: Leviticus; or, The Third Book of Moses 176
Genesis I and II, Exposition of Original Text of 335
Gibson: The Chinese in America 371
Gildersleeve: The Apologies of Justin Martyr 365
Gladden: The Christian Way 579
Glory, Decline, and Fate of the English Yeomanry, The 721
Golden Butterfly, The 368
Gracey: Rev. Wm. Taylor and India Missions 251
Grant's (President) Indian Policy 409
Green, W. M.: Life and Papers of A. L. P. Green, D.D. 754
Griffis: The Mikado's Empire 368
Grimm on Additions to English Lexicography of the New Testament 588

Haeckel: The History of Creation, etc..... 176
Harper's Half-Hour Series 579
Hauser: The Orient and its People 194
Haus und Herd 191
Hawley: Dancing as an Amusement, etc... 368
Hayes' (President) Inaugural Address 378
Hay: Nora's Love Test 580
Hemenway: The Divine Origin of the Bible 667
Henderson: Practical Cooking and Dinner-Giving 196
Hero in the Battle of Life, and other Brief Memorials, A 580
Hirsche: Thomæ Kempensis de Imitatione Christi 761
Hodge: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans 764
Hoffman: Camp, Court, and Siege 760
Holbrook: Liver Complaint, Nervous Dyspepsia, and Headache.....Page 388
Holiness 505
Holiness Defined 506, 510
" Growth, Characteristic of 514
" Necessity of 519
Heaven Closed against Unholy 520
Holtzman on The Relation of the Epistle of Clement to the Canon of the New Testament 588
Horsfield: English and American Methodism Contrasted 276
Horsley: A Text-Book of Harmony 580
Hurlbut: The Lesson Compend for 1877... 196
Hurst: L. Annæus Seneca 571
Hurst: Our Theological Century 741
Huxley and Evolution 239
Objections to Preliminary Positions of... 292
Nature of the Argument in favor of Evolution through a Material Continuity .. 296
Ulterior Questions Waived by Huxley... 300

International Convention for the Amendment of the English Orthography, Proceedings of the 875

Johnson: Half-Hour Studies of Life 579
Joint Commission at Cape May 160
Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 194

Kingsley, Charles, his Letters and Memoirs of his Life 567
Klosterman on "Ezekiel" 587
König: The Remainder of the Works of Baruch 347
Köhler's Work on Irvingism 347
Köstlin on "State, Law, and Church"..... 345

Lacroix: Schoeberlein on the Resurrection Body 679
Lange: Commentary on the Holy Scriptures 364
Lange: Exodus; or, The Second Book of Moses 176
Language and History 5
Language Gives no Sure Chronological Data 7
Popular Speech of Primeval Nations utterly Lost 11
Conditions of Linguistic Growth Uncertain 16
Language an Unsatisfactory Test of Mental Development 22
Larned: Old Tales Retold from Grecian History 196
Larned: Old Tales Retold from Grecian Mythology in Talks Around the Fire..... 376
Lathbury: Fleda and the Voice 195
Liberia at the American Centennial 448
Liberia, Foundation of 449
Liberia, Extent of Territory of 451
Regeneration of Africa the Special Work of Negroes 455
The Needful Preparation 456
London Quarterly Review (London) 161, 337, 531, 717
London Quarterly Review (New York) 161, 337, 561, 717
Long: Central Africa 388

Macaulay, Lord 197
Conditions of his Intellectual Life..... 200
Eminence as an Essayist 210
Success as a Poet 212
Success as a Historian 214
Character as a Statesman and Orator.... 218
MacDonald: Scriptural Views of Holiness.. 764
Macduff: The Footsteps of St. Peter..... 195
Maclay: The Classical Literature of the Chinese 305

Mathews: Hours with Men and Books. Page 579
M'Cosh: The Development Hypothesis 196
M'Donald: The Life and Writings of St. John 864
Merivale: Epochs of Ancient History..388, 579
Methodism in the Cities of the United States 481
Importance of Cities..... 481
Early Struggle of Methodism in New York..... 484
Numerical Success of Methodism in the Fourteen Largest Cities of the Union 487
Numerical Status of Ten Cities at Each Decade since 1800..... 498
Controversy with the New York "Independent"..... 496
Methodist Almanac for 1877, The..... 195
Meyer: Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Epistles to the Corinthians..... 747
Meyer: Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Acts of the Apostles..... 579
Miley: Pope's Christian Theology... 389
Mitchell, S. S.: The True Man and Other Practical Sermons..... 196
Mitchell, T., Phonetic and Stenographic Short Hand..... 185
Mivart: Lessons from Nature as Manifested in Mind and Matter..... 188
Mohammedanism and the Negro Race..... 100
Rise and Spread of Mohammedanism in Negroland..... 105
Educating Influence of the Koran..... 107
Superior Manliness of Mohammedan Negroes 110
Moore's Force..... 764
Morris: The Age of Anne..... 764
Mudge: Hand-book of Methodism..... 556
Munger: The Chronology of Bible History and How to Remember it..... 747
Murray: Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea from 1835 to 1875..... 876

National Quarterly Review.....884, 523
National Repository, The..... 760
Naville: La Loi du Dimanche..... 768
Nebular Hypothesis and Modern Genesis .. 127
Origin of the Nebular Hypothesis..... 129
The Cometary System..... 130
Satellites and "Kirkwood's Analogies"... 136
The Spectra of the Nebulæ 137
The Hypothetical Nebula in its Relation to Molecular Science and Geology... 141
Origin of Rotary Motion..... 143
Ring Formations and Equilibrium of Revolving Spheroids..... 145
Actual Velocities..... 147
Relation of Orbital and Rotary Motion.. 149
Direction and Perturbations of Planetary Motions..... 151
The Stable Equilibrium of the Solar System 154
New Englander.....157, 334, 523, 708
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.....157, 334, 708
Newton: Rays from the Sun of Righteousness..... 196
"New York Nation," The..... 164
Nippold: Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht..... 573
North American Review.....158, 337, 523, 708

Parsons: The Nebular Hypothesis and Modern Genesis..... 127
Patton: The Judgment of Jerusalem Predicted in Scripture, Fulfilled in History 196
Pearne: The Freedmen..... 462
Pearse: Mister Horn and his Friends..... 196
Pease: Philosophy of Trinitarian Doctrine. 357
Peck: The Great Republic..... 186
Penel: Primary Instruction in Paris..Page 351
Perowne: The Book of Psalms..... 360
Peschel: The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution..... 557
Platt: Heredity, Responsibility in Parentage 590
Pollard: The Other Gipsy..... 196
Pond: The Thirty Years' War..... 321
Pope: A Compendium of Christian Theology..... 389
Pope's Christian Theology..... 389
Main Divisions of the Work..... 393
Original Sin..... 399
The Atonement 406
Porter: Helps to Official Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church..... 745
Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review..... 158
President Grant's Indian Policy..... 409
Board of Commissioners..... 411
Thomas C. Battey's Work Among the Indians..... 415
Tribes of the Union Agency..... 425

Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.....158, 334, 523, 708

Raymond: Systematic Theology..... 734
Reade: A Woman Hater..... 580
Recent Origin of Man..... 29
The Mammoth..... 29
Recent Changes in Physical Geography.. 32
Relations of Stone, Bronze, and Iron..... 36
Ruins of Troy..... 39
Peat Mosses..... 41
Mud of the Mississippi. 43
Mud of the Nile..... 45
The Cones of the Tiniese..... 46
Recent Date of the Glacial Age..... 48
Age of the Lower Beach..... 49
Antiquity of Man in America..... 51
The Mound Builders..... 52
Skull from California..... 54
Red Man Gauged by his Speech, The..... 527
Reeves, Mrs. Hannah Pearce, Preacher of the Gospel..... 480
Woman's Position Prior to the Christian Era..... 482
Mrs. Reeves's Early Life..... 484
Conversion and Call to Preach..... 486
Remarkable Sermon..... 440
Her Power of Christian Womanhood.... 444
Revue Chretienne.....351, 726
Riehm: Messianic Prophecy..... 552
Riggs' Article Regarding Wesley's Position to the Church of England, etc..... 165
Rise and Development of the Castes of India, The..... 626
The Rig-Veda..... 627
Position of Women at Primeval Era of Hindu History..... 629
Caste Divisions..... 630
Famous Incident of Caste..... 635
Investiture With Thread Signified Second Birth..... 638
Woman and Caste..... 639
Quotations from Code..... 641
Robinson: Mrs. Reeves, Preacher of the Gospel..... 480

Schoeberlein on the Resurrection Body.... 679
Relation of Soul to Body..... 690
The Body an Organ for Personal Communion 695
External Nature to be Continued..... 697
Spiritualization of Body..... 699
Objective Phase of the Question Considered 692
Soul not Without Body in Next Life.... 697
Variety and Perfection in Glorified Bodies 704

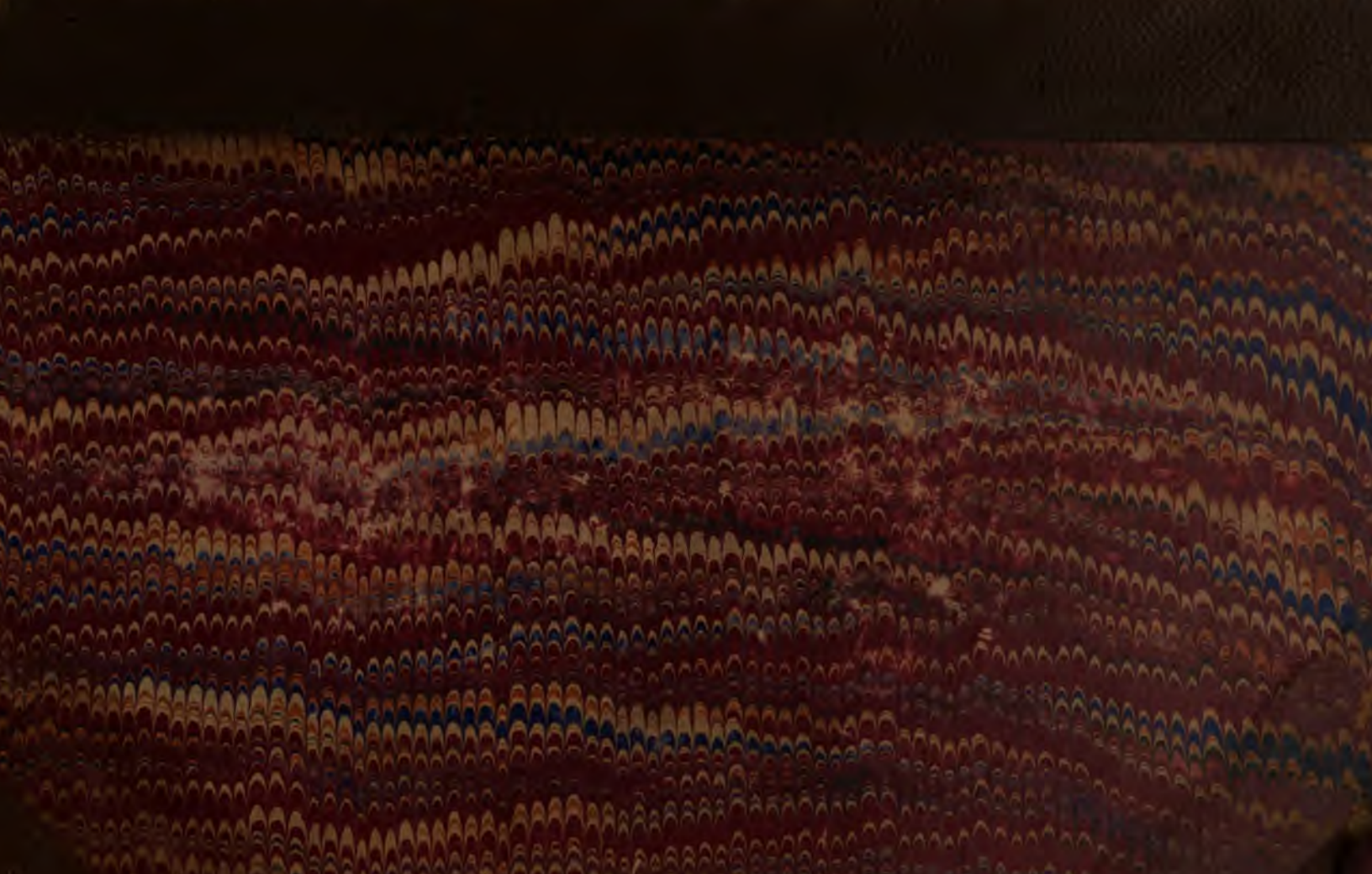
Schulte's Roman Catholicism: The Plea of an Apostate ..... Page 529
Schwab: Das Buchlein von der Nachfolge Christi (The Imitation of Christ)..... 762
Scientific Conference at Chautauqua, The.. 57
Importance of Scientific Instruction to Christian Workers..... 58
Early Success of Scientific Lectures..... 59
Venture at Chautauqua Assembly..... 60
Chautauqua Lectures..... 61
Scott: Tafsir Mati aur Marqus ki Injil ki... 556
Servants of Christ..... 579
Slaughter: The System of the World: Its Origin..... 644
Smith, R. B.: Mohammed and Mohammedism.....101, 567
Smith, Wesley: Lectures on Courtship, Love, and Marriage..... 378
Smith, Wm.: The Students' Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography..... 195
Southall: The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology..... 29
Southall: The Westminster Review on "The Recent Origin of Man"..... 225
Southern Methodist Press on Negro "Intimidation"..... 167
Southern Review.....160, 334, 528, 716
Spry: The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Challenger"..... 568
Stanley: Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church..... 178
Stanley's "Jewish Church"..... 162
Stephens: Christianity and Islam..... 567
Stevens: Lord Macaulay..... 197
Stevenson: Memorials of the Wesley Family..... 370
Sulzberger: Christliche Glaubenslehre vom Methodistischen Stand-punkt (Methodist Dogmatics)..... 388
Sun-Maid, The..... 388
Symbolic Parables of the Church, the World, and the Antichrist, The..... 746
System of the World, The: Its Origin..... 644
The Nebular Hypothesis..... 645
What is the Nebular Hypothesis?..... 649
Origin of Rotary Motion..... 653
Direction of Planetary Motion..... 654
Actual Velocities..... 659
Relation of Orbital and Rotary Motion... 663
Acceleration of Rotary Motion..... 664

Taylor, Rev. Wm., and India Missions..... 251
Grounds for Expecting a General Christian Awakening in India..... 256
Missionary Economics..... 264
Taylor, Wm.: Four Years' Campaign in India..... 251
Tegner: Fridthjof's Saga..... 377
Theological Faculties..... 726
Theologische Studien und Kritiken....166, 345, 527, 724
Thirty Years' War, The.....Page 321
Origin of..... 322
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.... 326
Treaty of Westphalia (1648)..... 333
Thomas: The Origin and Destiny of Man.. 743
Thompson, Dr.: On Implements of the Stone Age a Primitive Demarkation Between Man and Other Animals..... 335
Thompson, R. W.: The Papacy and the Civil Power..... 550
Thomson: Notes on Egyptology..... 713
Towner: Chedayne of Kotono..... 560
Trevelyan: The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay..... 197
Tulloch on Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland..... 531
Tulloch: The Christian Doctrine of Sin.... 554
Tyerman's Whitefield..... 731

Universalist Quarterly 158, 528

Vansant: Rachel Weeping for her Children. 195

Wallace: The Geographical Distribution of Animals..... 367
Wells: How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?..... 708
Wells, W.: The Scientific Conference at Chautauqua..... 57
Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, The..... 381
Westminster Review, The.... 161, 337, 531, 713
Westminster Review on "The Recent Origin of Man," The..... 225
Probable Reasons for Early Disuse of Metals..... 231
Theory of Three Ages practically a Delusion..... 233
Extinct Animals..... 245
Changes in Physical Geography..... 249
Wheeler: Language and History..... 5
Winchell: Huxley and Evolution..... 239
Winchell: Reconciliation of Science and Religion..... 743
Wise: Vanquished Victors..... 194
Words Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis, The, 610
Unity and Authenticity of Genesis..... 610
Moses' Ability as the Author..... 613
Distinctive Meaning of the Words..... 615
Examination of Genesis..... 619
Wreath of Indian Stories, A..... 579
Wright, C.: "Discussions"..... 525
Wright, R. J.: Principia of Political Science 366
Wythe: The Agreement of Science and Revelation..... 764
Wythe: The Microscopist..... 566

Yonge: The Life of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France..... 194

Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte (Journal for Church History)..... 348, 539, 723
Zeitschrift fur Wissenshaftliche Theologie (Journal for Scientific Theology)..... 538